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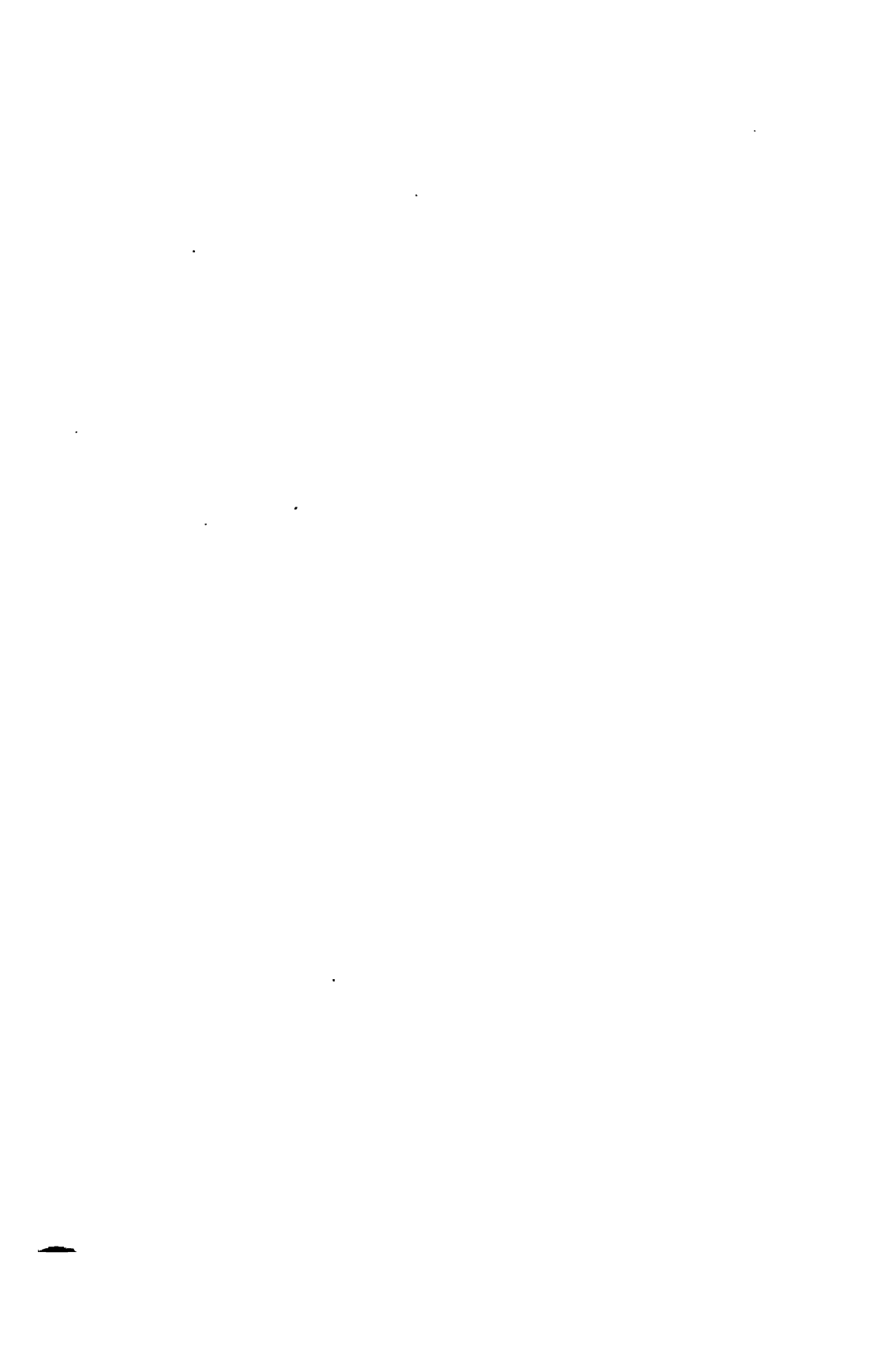
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**Hakluytus Posthumus**  
or  
**Purchas His Pilgrimes**  
  
**In Twenty Volumes**  
  
**Volume IV**

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**MCMV**

# Hakluytus Posthumus

or

## Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning a History of the World  
in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells  
by Englishmen and others

By  
SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D.  
"



VOLUME IV

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# THE FOURTH VOLUME

OF

## Purchas His Pilgrimes

Continuing the Navigations and Voyages of Englishmen to the Arabian, Persian and Indian Shoares, Continents and Ilands; with Observations of the Worthy Ambassage of Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, and English Voyages to the Ilands of and beyond the Indies.







### Chap. IIII.

[I. iv. 414.]

Observations of William Finch, Merchant, taken  
out of his large Journall.

#### §. I.

Remembrances touching Sierra Leona, in August  
1607. the Bay, Countrey, Inhabitants, Rites,  
Fruits and Commodities.



He Iland which we fell with, lyeth some  
ten leagues to the South of the Bay, the  
latitude is eight degrees, it hath no in-  
habitants, nor did I learne the name. It  
hath some Plantans, and by report good  
watering and wooding for ships. Some  
league from the shoare is a dangerous

breach of rocke, scarcely at high water to bee discerned.  
The Bay of Sierra Leona is about three leagues in breadth.  
On the South is high land, full of trees even to the Sea-  
side, having divers Coves, in which wee caught plentie  
and varietie of fish. On the further side of the fourth  
Cove is the watering place, of excellent water continually  
running: at which place, on the rockes, we found the  
names of divers English men which had bin there;  
amongst the rest, of Sir Francis Drake, which had bin  
there seven and twentie yeeres before, Thomas Candish,

*This should  
have followed  
next after  
Master Haw-  
kins, with  
whom he went  
into the  
Mogolls  
Countrey, if I  
then had had  
it. But better  
a good dish,  
though not in  
duest place of  
service, then  
not at all:  
neither is he al-  
together borne  
out of due  
time, which  
comes in due  
place (whiles*

*we are yet in India) and in time also before the Mogoll affaires received any later accesse or  
better maturitie: and for that circumstance failing thou shalt find it supplied in substance, with  
more accurate observations of Men, Beasts, Plants, Cities, Deserts, Castles, Buildings, Regions,  
Religions, then almost any other, as also of Waies, Wares, Warres.*

A.D.  
1607.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Captaine Lister, with others. About the middest of the Bay, right from the third Cove lyeth a sand, neere about which, is not above two or three fathome; in most places else eight or ten close to the shoare. It floweth East South-east, and higheth sixe or eight foote, a strong tide of ebbe; the latitude eight degrees and a halfe North.

The King keepeth his residence in the bottome of the Bay, and is called by the Moores, Borea, or Captaine, Caran, caran, caran. Hee hath other pettie Kings under him, whereof one, called Captaine Pinto, a wretched old man, dwelleth at a Towne within the second Cove: and on the other side the Bay, Captaine Boloone. Boreas Dominions stretch fortie leagues into the land; he hath tribute of Cotton-cloath, Elephants teeth and gold: he hath power to sell his people for slaves, (which he proffered unto us) and some of them are by Portugall Priests and Jesuits made Christians, and have a Chappell, wherein are written in a table, such dayes as they are to observe holy. The King, with some about him, are decently cloathed in Jackets and Breeches, and some with hats, but the common sort go naked, save that with a Cotten girdle about their waste, they cover their privities; the women cover theirs with a Cotton-cloath, tacked about their middles and hanging to the knees, wrapped round about them; the children goe starke naked. They are all, both men and women, raced and pinked on all parts of their bodies very curiously, having their teeth also filed betwixt, and made very sharpe. They pull off all the haire growing on their eye-lids. Their beards are short, crispe, blacke, and the haire of their heads they cut into allyes and crosse pathes; others weare it jagged in tufts, others in other foolish formes; but the women shave all close to the flesh.

*Christianitie  
at Sierra  
Leona.*

*Their  
apparell.*

*They are also  
Gallants and  
fashion-  
mongers.*

*Townes and  
Houses.*

Their Townes consist of thirtie or fortie houses, all clustered together (yet each hath his own) covered with reed and enclosed with mud-walls, like our hovels or hogsties in England, having at the entrance a matte in stead

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of a doore, locked and bolted, not fearing robbery, where the household holds correspondence to the house. In stead of a carved bed-sted, they have billets of wood laid overthwart, upon which, in stead of a fether-bed, they spread a matte or two. Some are so proud, that they have their (Arras) hangings also of mattes about the walles, yet most about their beds betwixt them and the wall. Their other furniture, is two or three pots of earth to keepe water in, and to boyle such meate as they can get, a gourd or two to fetch Palme-wine, and a halfe gourd for his quaffing cup, earthen dishes for their loblolly, a basket or two by the walles for his Maria to gather cockles, with a snap-sacke for himselfe made of rindes of trees to carry his provant, with his Tobacco and Pipe, and thus is their house furnished. When they goe abroad each weareth one of those snap-sackes on his shoulder, wherein he carrieth his provision and Tobacco (which in no wise must be long from his mouth) with his do-little sword by his side, made by themselves of such iron as is brought them; having also his bow and quiver full of poysoned arrowes, pointed with iron in forme of a Snakes-sting, or else a case of Javelins or Darts, pointed with iron of a good breadth and sharpe; and sometime with both. They are bigge and well set men, strong and couragious, of a civill-heathen disposition. They keepe themselves for the most part unto their owne wives, of whom they are not a little jealous. I could not learne their Religion what it is: they have some Images, yet know there is a God above: for when wee asked them of their wooden Puppets, they would lift up their hands to heaven; more they knew not: but howsoever it comes to passe, their children are all circumcised. They are very just and true, and theft is punished with present death. When any dieth, a little thatched shed is set over his funerall hearse, under which in earthen pots they continually keepe fresh water, and in earthen platters set divers meates, sticking about them some three or foure bones.

*Their household-stuffe and riches.*

*Their Armes.*

*Their feature and conditions.*

*Circumcision.*

[I. iv. 415.]  
*Funerall.*

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*Their food.* To the South of the Bay, some fortie or fiftie leagues distant within the Countrey inhabiteth a very fierce people which are man-eaters, which sometime infest them. The Moores of Sierra Leona feed on Rice, of which they have no great quantitie, sowing only what is needfull, in places neare to their houses, where they have burnt up the wood, not having otherwise so much free ground: they sow also another little seed which they call Pene, of which they make bread, not much unlike to Winter-savory seed. They have some few hennes about their houses, but no other flesh, except sometime they get a Fawne of the wilde Deere, running in the Mountaines (not many) or some fowle. They feed also upon Herbs, Cockles, Oysters, whereof they have great store growing on the rockes and trees by the sea-side, but of a flash taste. They take much good fish with waves and other devices. They feed also much on rootes, and plant about their houses many Plantan-trees, Gourds, Potatoes, Pompions, and Guinne-Pepper. But Tobacco is planted about every mans house, which seemeth halfe their food: the boll of their Tobacco-pipe is very large, and stands right upward, made of clay well burnt in the fire. In the lower end thereof they thrust in a small hollow cane, a foot and halfe long, thorow which they sucke it, both men and women drinking the most part down, each man carrying in his snap-sack a small purse (called Tuffio) full of Tobacco, and his Pipe. The women doe the like in their wrappers, carrying the Pipe in their hands. Unto their Tobacco they adde nothing but rather take from it: for I have seene them straying forth the juyce of the leaves, being greene and fresh, before they cut and drie it (making signes that otherwise it would make them drunke) then doe they shread it small, and drie it on a sherd upon the coles. We beheld in a certaine Iland neare (and no where else) halfe a dozen of Goats, but could not get a taile of one all our time.

*Oysters on trees.*

*Tobacco-pipes.*

*Little flesh.*

*Fruits.* They have innumerable sorts of fruits, growing wilde

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*Woods of  
Limmons.*

*Palmito wine.*

*Plummes.*

in their woods ; whole woods of Limmon trees, especially a little on this side the watering place neare the Towne, and some few Orenge trees. Their drinke is for the most part water ; yet the men devour much Palmito wine, which they call Moy, giving little or none to the women. It is strange to behold their manner of climbing these trees, which have neither boughes nor branches, save only on the top, being also of great height and bignesse : with a withe he graspeth his body and the tree together, and so bearing backe his body, and lifting up his withe before him, he foots it up with such speed and certaintie, comming downe againe also so orderly, bringing his gourd full of wine on his arme that it was admirable. They have divers sorts of Plummes, one like a wheaten Plumme, wholesome and savoury : a blacke one also, as bigge as a Horse-plumme, much esteemed, having an aromaticke savour : Mansamillias like to a wheaten Plumme, very dangerous, as are likewise the boughes of the tree, full of sappe, perillous to the sight, if it should happely flye in. They have Beninganions about as bigge as a Limmon, reddish on the rinde, very wholesome : another fruit called Beguill, as bigge as an apple, with a rough knottie skinne, which being pared, it eateth like a Strawberry, being like it also in colour and graine, of which wee did eate many : there is store of wilde grapes in the woods, of a wooddie and bitterish taste. They eat the nuts roasted which fall from the Palmito tree : they use small store of Pepper and graines, this in Surgerie, that in Cookery. They have certaine fruits growing sixe or eight together on a bunch, each as long and bigge as a mans finger, of a browne yellowish colour, and somewhat downie, containing within the rinde a certaine pulpie substance of pleasant taste ; I know not how wholesome. There grow in the woods trees like Beeches, bearing fruits like Beans, of which I observed three kinds : one great and tall, bearing a cod like a Beane-cod, which hath in it foure or five square Beanes,

*Beane trees of  
venomous  
nature, where-  
with they  
poyson their  
arrows.*

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almost like the seed of a Tamarinde, enclosed with a hard pill like a shell, within which is a yellow kinnell, a dangerous poison used by the Negros, to envenome their arrowes; they call the fruit Ogon. The second is lesse, his cod crooked byas-wise, of a thicke rinde, sixe or seven inches in the bending, and halfe so much in breadth, containing five large beanes of an inch long. The third is large, hath short leaves like the former, the fruit much bigger, on a strong wooddie stalke, thicke and massie, a little indented on the sides, nine inches long, and five broad: within which are five long beanes, larger then the other, called by them Quenda, which they affirme also to be dangerous.

*Carob trees.  
Cola, a fruite  
of much  
esteeme.*

I saw Trees like Willowes, bearing fruits like Pease-cods. They have a fruit called Gola, which growes up further in the Countrey, inclosed in a shell; it is hard, reddish, bitter, about the bignesse of a Wal-nut, with divers corners and angles: this fruit they much set by, chewing it with the rinde of a certaine Tree, then giving it to the next, and he having chewed it to the next, so keeping it a long while (but swallowing none of the substance) before they cast it away, to which they attribute great vertue for the teeth and gummies, these Negros being usually as well toothed as Horses. This fruit passeth also amongst them for monie, this happie-haplesse-people knowing none other. They plant also Potatoes, and higher within Land, Cotton, called Innumma, whereof with a Spindle they make a good Threed, and weave it artificially, making cloth thereof a quarter broad, to make coverings for their members, and being sewed together, Jackets and Breeches. They have another Wood called Cambe, wherewith they dye their Purses and Mats red. The Limon Tree much resembleth a Crab-Tree, and is exceeding full of prickles, carrying a slender leafe like a Willow, abounding with fruit as our Crab-trees, beginning to ripen in August, and continuing on the Trees till October; whither they beare twice a yeere I know not.

*Potatoes.  
Cotton.*

*Cambe, a wood  
to dye Red.  
[I. iv. 416.]  
Limon Tree.*

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*Plantan Trees  
or Reeds.*

The Tree which beareth Plantans is of a reasonable height, the bodie about the bignesse of a mans thigh, and seemeth to be an annuall Plant, and in my judgement might better bee accounted amongst Reedes then Trees; the bodie not beeing of wooddie substance, compact of many leaves, wrapped close one upon another in manner of an Artichoke stalk, adorned with leaves in stead of boughes from the very ground, which are for the most part about two ells long, and some ell broad, having a very large rib in the middle thereof. The fruit is a bunch of ten or twelve Plantans, each a span long, and almost as thicke as a mans wrist, some-what crooked or bending inwards, growing on a leavie stalke on the mids of the Plant, at the first greene, growing yellow as they ripen, and tender: the rinde being stripped off, the substance within is also yellowish, pleasant in taste. Beneath the fruit on the same stalke hangs downe a leavie tuft, sharpe-pointed, which seemeth to have beene the flowre, which I know not whether it hath any seed or no. They call this fruit Bannanas, and have reasonable plentie: they are ripe in September and October: we carryed some to Sea greene, which lay sixe weekes in ripening.

*Bannanas.*

Guinny Pepper is not plentiful, it groweth in the Woods wilde, a small plant like Privet, or Pricke-wood, adorned with little slender leaves, bearing a small fruit like unto our Barberie in forme and colour, greene at first, turning as it ripeneth, red; but not growing in bunches as Barberies, but heere and there two or three together about the stalke: they call it Bangué. Of their Pene whence they make their bread is spoken, a small slender herbe like grasse, the stalke full of Seed, not inclosed with any huske; the same I thinke which the Turkes call Cuscus, the Portugals Yfunde.

*Guinny  
Pepper.*

*Millet or  
Panike.*

The Palmito Tree is strait, high, knottie (only in the rinde) the wood of a soft substance without boughes, except in the top, those also seeming rather Reeds then boughes, being all pithie within, inclosed with a hard

*Palmito Tree.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

rinde : the leafe long and slender in manner of Sword grasse, or the flagge of Calamus : the boughes are from the bodie of the Tree some yard or better in length, beset on both sides with sharpe and strong prickles, standing like the teeth of a Saw, but longer. It beareth a small fruit like to an Indian Nut, as bigge as a Chesnut, inclosed in a hard shell, and streaked with threeds on the out-sides, contayning a kernell of a hard hornie substance without taste. The people eat them rosted, and call the Tree Tobell, and the fruit Bell. The manner of extracting the Wine is this : they cut off one of the branches within some spanne of the head, a little opening the place by incision, and thereto make fast the mouth of a guord, which in foure and twentie houres will be filled with a cleere whitish water, distilling from the Tree of good relish and strong, wherewith the people will be drunke.

*Oyster Trees.* There grow likewise within the Bayes great store of Oysters on Trees, resembling Willowes in forme, but the leafe broad and of thicknesse like Leather, bearing small knops like those of the Cypresse. From this Tree hang downe many branches, (each about the bignessee of a good walking sticke) into the water, smooth, lithe, pithy within, over-flowne with the tyde, and hanging as thicke of Oysters as they can sticke together, being the only fruit the Tree beareth, begotten thereof, as it seemeth, by the Salt-water.

*Fishes.* Fishes they have many of ordinary kind, and some which seemed to us extraordinarie : Mulletts, Raies, Thorne-backes, Old-wives with beetle Browes, Fishes like to Pikes, Gar-fishes, Cavallios (like Mackerell) Sword-fishes with snowts a yard long, toothed on both sides like the teeth of a Saw, Sharkes, Dog-fishes ; Sharkers, like a Sharke, but having a snowt flat and broad like a Shovell ; Shoormakers, having on each side the mouth pendants like Barbels, and grunting like Hogges, &c. We caught in an houre sixe thousand of a kind, like Bleakes.



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Of Fowles are Pellicans, white, as bigge as Swannes, with a large and long bill ; Hearnies, Curlews, Boobies, Oxe-eyes, with divers strange kindes of water-fowles. On Land are great numbers of gray Parrets, as also store of Guinny Hennes, which are very hurtfull to their Rice. This is a beautifull Fowle, about the bignesse of a Phesant, with parti-coloured feathers. I saw also among the Negros many Porcupine Quils, with other strange Fowles in the Woods, whereof we knew not the names. There are store of Monkeyes leaping to and fro the Trees, Lions, Tygres, Ounces on the Mountaines ; heere are Elephants but no store ; wee saw but three, for they are further within Land. The Negros told us of a strange beast (which the Interpreter called a Carbuncle) oft scene, yet only by night, having a stone in his forehead, incredibly shining and giving him light to feed, attentive to the least noyse, which he no sooner heareth, but he presently covereth the same with a filme or skinne, given him as a naturall covering, that his splendor betray him not. The Commodities here are few, but are further up, viz. Gold and Elephants teeth, which at certaine times of the yeare, the Portugals get of them for Rice, Salt, Beads, Bels, Garlicke, French Bottles, Copper Kettles ; low-prized Knives, Hats, Linnen checkered like Barbers Aprons, Lattin Basons, edge-tooles, Iron barres, and sundry specious trifles, but for your Toyes they will not give Gold in this place but Victuals.

*Fowles.*

*Wild beasts.*

*Carbuncle, a  
beast strange,  
if true.*

This diligent Observer hath taken liked panes touching Soldania, but because wee touch there often, and have [I. iv. 417.] alreadie given many Relations, we will double the Cape, and take a little view with him of Cape Saint Augustine.

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

### §. II.

Of Saint Augustine and Socotora, like Observations, with other notes taken out of his Journall.

*S. Augustine.*

**T**

His place is rather a Bay then Cape or Point, not having any land, much more bearing out then the rest, it lyeth in twentie three degrees, thirtie eight minutes of South latitude, hath variation fifteene degrees fortie minutes, having on either side breaches, which make it easie to be discerned, lying some league from the Mayne West South-west. Right from the Bay is deepe water to Sea-ward, but when you are entred, the ground is so shelvie, that you shall have one Anchor aground on the North in twentie two, and your other in above sixtie fathomes, and in some places more inward, not two foot at a low water, and over that, deepe againe neere the shore, yet all soft Ozie ground. The land within a mile or two is high, stonie, barren, full of small Woods. In the bottome of the Bay runne two Rivers, the Land about them sunken, sandie Land: forth these Rivers, came so strong a fresh, that the floud never stils them, although it floweth at least two fathomes, wherewith the water is thicke and muddie. Great store of Canes come downe, of which wee had seene some store, twentie or thirtie leagues off at Sea. It lyeth open to a North-west wind, we caught heere Smelts of a foot long, and Shrimps of ten inches. The best fishing is on the sandie shoare of the low Land, neere which the Natives catch many with strong Nets. A ledge of Rockes trending alongst, breakes off the force of the Sea. Within the Woods, we found on the low Land, infinite numbers of water Melons, which yeelded good refreshing: the Rivers nothing, save hurt to one by an Allegator, the water not also very good, but wooding plentie.

*Shelvy ground.*

*Two rivers.*

*The fishes.*

The place seemeth not very populous. We saw not

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at any time above twentie together : the men are comely, lustie, tall and wel-set, of a tawnie colour, wearing no apparel, but a Girdle made of rindes of Trees to cover their privities : the haire on their beards blacke, and reasonable long ; on their heads likewise, which they pleate and frizzle very curiously, neither have they bad smels on their bodies. Behind on their Girdles are many Trinkets, fastned with Allegators teeth, some hollow to carrie Tallow to keepe their Darts bright, which are their chiefe Weapons (of which each carries a small bundle) and a faire Lance artificially headed with Iron, and kept as bright as Silver. Their Darts are made dangerously with holes on each side backe-ward. They carry about them certaine Knives, like Butchers Knives, artificially made. They therefore regard no Iron, nor will barter for any thing but Silver, for which we bought a sheepe for twelve pence, a Cow for three shillings and sixe pence, they asked Beads into the bargaine, for which yet alone they would give nothing, save a little Milke brought downe in gourds, excellent sweet and good.

*The people.  
Near naked-  
ness.*

*Weapons.*

Their Cattel have great bunches on their fore shoulders, like a Sugar-loafe in fashion and quantitie, which is a grislie substance, and good meat ; their beefe not loose, like that of Soldania, but fast and good, little differing from English ; as also their sheep, which have tayles weighing twenty eight pounds a piece, therefore usually cut off from the Ewes, lest it should hinder their breeding. In the woods neere about the River, is great store of beasts, as big as Munkies, ash-coloured, with a small head, long taile like a Fox, garled with white and blacke, the furre very fine. Wee killed some with Peeeces, not being able to take them alive. There are Bats as big bodied almost as Conies, headed like a Foxe, with a hairie furre in other things like Bats. We killed one, whose wings extended an ell in length : their cry is shrill and loud. Here are Hernes plentie, white, blacke, blew, and divers mixed colours ; many bastard Hawkes : birds of infinite varietie of colour, having for the most part crests on

*Their cattell.*

*Strange beasts.  
Capt. Keeling  
in his Journall  
calls it the  
Beautiful  
beast.  
Bats huge.*

*Fowles.*

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*Chamelions,  
they eat flies.*



*Spiders silke  
weavers.*

their heads, like Peacocks. There are store of Lizards and Chamelions, which agree to Plinies description ; onely it is airie, that they live of aire without other meat : for having kept one aboard but a day, we might perceive him to hunt for flies, in a very strange manner. Having espied her setting, he suddenly shootes a thing forth of his mouth (perhaps his tongue) lothsome to behold, the fashion almost like a Bird-bolt, wherewith he takes and eates them, with such speed, that a man can scarsly discern what he doth ; even in the twinkling of an eie. In the woods on the hils are many great Spiders, which spin their webs from tree to tree, it being very excellent strong silke of a yellow colour, as if it were died by art. I found also here great Wormes, in manner of our Grubs, with many legges, which are enclosed within a double cod of white silke, hanging on the trees.

*Strange trees.*

[I. iv. 418.]

There groweth great store of herbe Aloes, and also Tamerind trees by the waters side. Here was also store of a very strange Plant, which I deeme a wild Coco-nut seldome growing to the height of a tree, of a shrubby nature, with many long prickled stalke, of some two yards long. At the ende of each foot-stalke, standeth a leafe about the bignesse of a great Cabbage leafe, snipt round halfe the leafe, like sword grasse. From the tops thereof amongst the leaves, come forth many woodie branches, as thicke set commonly with fruit as they can stand, one by another (I have seen fortie together clustering on one branch) about the bignesse of a great Katherine peare, and like it in colour being ripe, at the first greenish, fashioned almost like a sheepes bell, with a rinde bearing forth neere the head, flat at the top, and smooth ; within which rinde is contained a hard substance, almost like the Coco-nut-shell, in which is included a round white kernell of a hard gristly substance, yet to be eaten : and within that (for it is hollow) is about a spoonefull of pleasant sweet water and coole, like milke, or that rather of the Coco-nut.

Here groweth also another as big as a Peare tree

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thicke set with boughes and leaves, like those of the Bay-tree, bearing a great foot-ball fruit (such is the round forme) sticking to a strong stalke, divided by certaine seames into foure quarters. The rind of it beeing cut greene, yeelds a clammie substance, savouring like Turpentine. The rind is very thicke, with which I found divers parcels packed together, almost like the substance that groweth on trees, but harder, rather like a piece of browne woody Agarike, being thirteene in number, couched neatly together, within each of which is contained another great kernell of a darkish white colour, hard, bitter, and unpleasant of tast.

In Socotora, the Guzerats and English build them houses for the time of their stay, sleight with stones (the whole Iland seemeth nothing else) and pieces of wood laid overthwart, covered with Reed and Date branches to keepe out the Sunne, for raine in that time they feare not. About the head of the River, and a mile further into the land, is a pleasant Valley replenished with Date-trees. On the East side is Dibnee, a little Towne, little inhabited, except in their harvest of Dates. In this Valley the wind bloweth with such violence in June and July, that it is strange; yet within a flight shot off towards the Town of Delisha, over against the road, you shal not have a breath of wind. About an hundred yeers since, this Iland was conquered by the King of Caixem (or Cushem, as the Arabs pronounce it) a King of no great force, able to make two or three thousand souldiors: he hath this, and the two Irmanas, and Abba del curia subject to him. The two Irmanas, or two Brethren, are stonie, small, barren, having nothing but Turtles or Tortoises, not inhabited. Abba de la curia is large, hath store of Goates, and some fresh water, not above three or foure inhabitants, as we were certified. The Kings sonne Amor Benzaid resideth at Socotora, which he ruleth during his fathers pleasure. They have trade to the Iles of Comoro, and to Melinde, for which he hath heere two good Frigats, wherewith they fetch

*Socotora.*

*Dibnee.*

*Strange winds.*

*The King of  
Cushem in  
Arabia hath  
here foure  
Iles.*

*Irmanas two.  
Abba del  
curia.  
Socotora.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Rice and Melo from the maine, which is their chiefe food.

*The Arabs  
there.*

*Their armes.*

The Arabians here are in manner slaves to the Snakee or Prince, are all souldiours, and attend on him when he commands ; some of them are shot. Moreover, every of them weares a kind of wood-knife, or crooked dagger on their left side, without which they dare not bee scene abroad. They have also thin, broad, painted Targets. Their dagger handles and chapes, the better sort set forth with Silver, the other with Red Latten. They are

*Persons.*

tawney, industrious, civill in gesture : the women are some of them reasonable white, much like to a Sun-burnned countrey maid in England. The men are of stature like ours, well proportioned in their limmes, wearing their haire most of them long, binding a cloth or Turbant about the same like the Turkes, and a cloath wrapped about their middles, which hangeth downe to their knees ; not wearing usually other apparell, except sometimes a paire of sandals on their feet, fastened with thongs ; carrying their sword naked on their shoulders, or hanging from the shoulder in the sheath by a strap, or else on their arme ; and thus they march up and downe. They love Tobacco, but are loth to give any thing for it.

*Apparell.*

*Their women.*

Divers of them fling a Pintado or other cloth in manner of an Irish mantle over their shoulders, and others make them shirts and surplusses of white Calico : some weare a paire of linnen breeches under, like the Guzerates. But their women goe altogether in these smockes hanging downe to the ground, of red, blew, or for the most part of a light black colour, being died Calicoes : and over their heads they put a cloth, with which (when they lust) they hide their faces, making very dainty to be scene, yet are scarsly honest. And though the men be very poore, and have but to defend necessitie, yet their women (whereof some keepe foure, five, or sixe, as many as they are able) are so laden with Silver, and some also with some Gold, that I have scene one

*Galantry.*

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not of the best, which hath had in each care at least a dozen of great Silver rings, almost like Curtaine rings, with as many smaller hanging in them: two Carkanets or chaines of silver about her necke, and one of Gold bosses; about her wrists, tenne or twelve Manillias of Silver, each as big as ones little finger, but hollow, one about another, on one arme: almost every finger laden with rings, and the small of her legs with silver rings like horselockes. And thus adorned, they cannot stirre, but they make a noise like Morris-dauncers. They are kept closely by their jealous husbands. They delight in Christall, Amber, or Currall beads, but have little to buy them, but will either beg them, or make a swap with you in private. The young children (except of a few of better sort) go naked till they come to some age. They are married at tenne, or twelve yeares olde. They call themselves Musselmen, that is, Catholikes, or true beleevers, according to their false faithlesse faith of Mahomet: yea they alledge this reason for themselves (let Jesuite-Catholikes acknowledge their owne) the great multitude of them, and the small number of us, all the world, say they, being of our Religion, and but a handfull of yours. They eat their meat on a Mat spread on the ground, but neither use Spoones nor Knives (hands are the elder) in unmannerly manner: they drinke usually water, yet in secret can be content to be drunke with wine. They make in the time of yeare some wine of Dates, pleasant and strong.

*Their children.*

*Popish argument of faith.*  
[I. iv. 419.]

*Their diet.*

Thus much for the Conquerours. They call the conquered Caffars (misbeleevers, or if you will heretikes) and subject them to great slavery, insomuch that some remaine in the Mountaines, living in a wild liberty like beasts, the other not suffered to have any weapons. They are well shaped, more swart then the Arabs, weare nothing on their heads, weare their haire long, I suppose never cut, staring as if they were frighted. About their middles they weare a cloath wrapped about them, made of Goats haire, or course wooll, woven by themselves, on

*The Native Socotrans.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Gallant  
fashions.*

*Religion and  
life, most  
miserable if  
the Arabs  
their enemies  
be to bee  
credited.*

*Their mer-  
chandise.*

*Aloes or sem-  
per-vivum, the  
time and  
making  
thereof.*

*A hundred £  
three, or a  
hundred and  
two pound,  
five ounces and  
a halfe.*

their feet slight sandals. Their women goe all in smocks of coloured Calico, or course cloth hanging to the ground; on their heads usually nothing: in imitation of the Arabs, have Manillias of earth painted or of yron, about their armes and legs, beads in stead of Karkanets, painting their faces with yellow and blacke spots, loathsome to behold. For Religion, they are meere Heathen all of them, as the Arabians certified us, observing no rites of Marriage, but use their women in common. Their naturall language is much different from the Arabique, which yet the most learne. They live very miserably, and many of them are famished with hunger. Flesh they are not permitted to kill, so that they are forced to live of fish which they take at Sea, and by their share of Dates, not having wherewith to buy Rice, except with the use of their womens bodies to the Guzerates, while they remaine there. Such as have the keeping of the Cattell, maintaine themselves with the milke.

I could learne of no Merchandise the Iland yeeldeth, but Aloes, Sanguis Draconis, and Dates, and as they say, on the shoare of Aba del curia, blacke Ambergreese. Of Aloes, I suppose they could make yearely more then Christendome can spend, the herbe growing in great abundance, being no other then Semper vivum, in all things agreeing to that description of Dioscorides, in seed, stalke, &c. It is yet all of a red pricklie sort, and much chamfered in the leaves, so full of a rosin-juyce, that it is ready to breake with it. The chiefe time to make it, is when the winds blowe Northerly, that is, about September, and that after the fall of some raine, which being then gathered, they cut in small pieces, and cast into a pit made in the ground, well cleansed from filth and paved: there it lieth to ferment in the heat of the Sunne, whereby it floweth forth. Thence they take and put it in skinnes, which they hang up in the wind to dry, where it becommeth hard. They sold us for twentie Rials a Quintall, which is an hundred and three pound English: but we were after told, that they sold to others for twelve, which



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considering the abundance and easie making, may be credible. Their Date trees beare fruit twice a yeare; one harvest was in July while we were there. It is a principall part of their sustenance, pleasant in tast: and when they are through-ripe, are laid on a heap upon a skin lying sloping, whence distilleth a liquor, received in earthen pots placed in the earth, and is their Date-wine, reserved for drinke, wherewith they will also be drunke. Those dates beeing thus drained, they take out their stones, and pack them hard into a skinne, which will so keepe long. Another meanes to preserve them, is by cutting before they are through ripe, and taking out their stone, to dry them: these are the best of all, and eate as if they were candied: whole they will not keepe. In harvest time in every Valley where these trees grow, the King hath a Deputy which seeth all gathered, and brought to a certaine place (none daring to touch a Date upon paine of death without order, or severe punishment) where he divideth them in three equall parts; one for the King, one for the Arabs, and the third for the Caffars: which are after distributed severally, but not alike to each.

*Dates two harvests.*

*Wine of Dates.*

*Harvest and division.*

This Iland hath store of Civet cats, which the Caffars take in the Mountaines with traps, and sell them for twelve pence a piece to such as will buy them. Flesh is deare, tenne Rials of eight a Cow, one Goat, or two sheepe for a Rial of eight; their cattell good and fast flesh, like English beefe: their Goats large and good flesh, their sheep small, like our English sheepe, bearing course wooll: of Goats and Sheep they have great abundance. They make very good butter, but it is always soft like Creame, at foure pence or sixe pence a pound, Goats milke at three pence a quart, store of Hennes, but five for a Riall of eight, or twelve pence a piece. In the whole Iland are not above one or two Horses, very small of the Arabian breed, and some Camels. At Delisha they take much good fish, Lobsters and others. On the Strand groweth cotton Plants, but few: there groweth also amongst the stones a shrubby Plant, with thicke, round,

*Civet Cats.*

*Cattell and victuals.*

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*Eshac a kind  
of Capers.*

greene leaves, as big as a shilling, with a fruit like Capers (of which it is a kind) called Eshac, eaten in Sallets. Orenge there are few and deare, exceeding sweet Basil: and on the shoare many faire shels are found, with cuttle bones, and peerle Oystershels, which the people affirme to drive thither: for there are none found, yet shels abundant.

*Coho.  
Other notes  
and remem-  
brances.*

They are beggers, buy what they can, beg what they may, yet give faire usage. Their best intertainement is a China dish of Coho, a blacke bitterish drinke, made of a berry like a Bay berry, brought from Mecca, supped off hot, good for the head and stomacke. And thus much for his discourses of these places, to which I thought good to adde these notes taken out of his Journall.

[I. iv. 420.]  
*A huge Whale.*

November the twenty ninth, 1607. in thirty foure degrees, we saw a monstrous overgrowne Whale comming up close under our sterne, and spouting water in great quantitie; having much trash growne about his head which we judged to be Limpets, and other Shel-fish. At his going downe he turned up his taile, which we deemed neere as broad as our after Deck, estimating him to be at the least one hundred tunnes in weight.

*Barrennesse.*

In Socotora at our first landing, the people having received before injurious dealings from the Portugals, (which, they said, had carried some of them away) were all fledde from us for feare to the Mountaines. Their Towne which they had left is built of stone houses covered with Rafts and Palme-branches, with artificiall doores and wooden lockes. Neere the Sea side stands their Church enclosed with a wall in manner of a Church-yard; within it a couple of Crosses and an Altar, with Frankinsence, Wood and Gumme. They said (when we came to speech) that this was not Socotora but Abba del Curia, which wee after found false, wee walked up two or three mile, not seeing so much as a sprig of greene grasse, but many Date trees, and one other tree very strange, about the height of a man, or little better, great at the roote, and lesse and lesse toward the top where it ended almost piked; the trunke smooth, not

*A strange tree.*

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covered with barke, casting forth in the top some branches of a Cubite long void of leaves, bringing forth Reddish flowres, which after change into a fruit first greene, in forme and bignesse not unlike to the Date: within which is containd many small whitish kernels, bitter, as are also the branches, full of raisinous substance. Whether this be the Mirrhe I leave to better judgements. They also saw another \* Church with a Crosse on the top of it.

### §. III.

Occurents in India touching the English, Dutch, Portugals, and the Mogols dealing with the English.

**T**He eight and twentieth of August, 1608. Captaine Hawkins with the Merchants and certaine others landed at Surat, where the Captaine was received in a Coach, and carryed before the Dawne. Wee had poore lodging allotted us, the Porters lodge of the Custome house: whither the next morning came the Customers who searched & tumbled our Trunkes to our great dislike, which had yet brought ashore only necessaries. We were invited to Dinner to a Merchant where wee had great cheere: but in the midst of our Banquet sowre sawce, for hee was the man that had sustayned almost all the losse in a ship that Sir Edward Michellborne tooke. The Captaine also of that ship dined with us. Which when it was there told us, the Captaine answered that hee never heard of such a matter, and rather judged it done by Flemmings: but they said, that they knew certainly that they were English, deploring their hard fortunes, and affirming that there were Theeves in all Countries: nor would they impute that fault to honest Merchants. This speech somewhat revived us. The day after, Mede Colee the Captaine of that ship aforesaid invited us to Supper.

*War occasion to their Countrimen, honest Merchants, especially amongst remote and Ethniike people, I adde not the scandall of their Religion and Countrey.*

*\* Of these Churches and of this whole Iland, See John d' Castro. For they were in times past Christians, which (as all other not of their Faith) the Mahometans call Caffars: but rude and brutish, the easier pray to these Arabs. Surat. Hee never calls C. Hawkins, Lord Embassador, but C. Hawkins. For he, Master Canning and Master Edwards had no such Commission, but only Letters from his Majestie, and orders from the Company, &c. The danger which men of*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Portugall  
treachery and  
hostilitie.*

The second of October, wee imbarqued our goods and provision, gave Shek Abdelreheime a Present, and got dispatch to depart: the Customers denying leave, till they had searched the ship whether she had discharged all her goods, to ship any new; but meeting with Frigats they supposing them Malabars, durst not adventure their own River. These Frigats were Portugals, which desired one to come talke with them, and Master Bucke rashly doing it, they detayned him, and after (I and Nicholas Ufflet being ashoare) Master Marlow and the rest beganne to flee; the Cockson would have fought, which he would not permit, but running a ground through ignorance of the Channell, they were taken going on the sandie Iland by Portugall treacherie, and the fault of some of themselves, nineteene with Master Bucke; but the Ginne put off the Pinnace, and notwithstanding the Portugall Bullets, rowed her to Surat. Foure escaped by swimming and got that night to Surat, besides Nicholas Ufflet and my selfe, neere twentie miles from the place. Yet had we resisted, we wanted shot, and in number, & armour they very much exceeded us. The fourth, the Captaine of the Frigats sent a reviling Letter to the Governour of the Towne, calling us Lutherans and Theeves, and said we were Flemmings and not English; charging him (on continuance of their friendship) to send aboard the Captaine with the rest of us: which Abdelreheime not only denied, but in the Mogols name commanded him to render the goods and men.

The fifth, came a Captaine of one of the Frigats which used peremptorie words, and before the Governour stood upon it that the King of Spaine was Lord of those Seas, and that they had in Commission from him to take all that came in those parts without his Passe.

The thirteenth, the Governour called all the chiefe Merchants of the Towne upon their conscience to value our cloth (before carryed to his house) which they did at a farre under rate, the Governour affirming that hee must and would have it, the Captaine denying his consent.

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On the sixteenth, we were forced to accept for some of our cloth in their hands, promise of a little more, and were permitted to carrie away the rest: causing us to leave fiftie pieces, and fourteene Devonshire Kersies for the King, with nine and twentie other Kersies; and fiftene clothes for Shek Ferred, keeping also the foure clothes which wee reserved for Presents for the King. Wee were otherwise molested by a contention betwixt Shek Ferred and Mocrow Bowcan (or Mocreb Can) about the Custome-house, that wee could not get our goods from thence. Wee heard that the Portugals sold our goods for halfe that they cost: Our men were sent to Goa.

*Injustice  
clocked.*

[I. iv. 421.]

The fifteenth of December, came Mo. Bowcan with a Jesuite Padre Peniero; to this our Captaine shewed kindness for hope of his men; to the other he gave Presents: both dealt treacherously in requitall, the Jesuite (as it was reported by Mo. Bowcan himselfe) offering a Jewell which he said was worth two hundred thousand Rials to betray us. This day came to us R. Carelesse an Englishman, who had long lived amongst the Portugals, from whom hee now fledde for feare of punishment for carrying necessities to the Dutch at Muselpatan, desiring to bee entertayned, which we did with much circumspection.

*Peniero the  
Jesuite.  
Jesuiticall  
Humanitie,  
Divinitie and  
Preaching.  
R. Carelesse  
had long lived  
with the Por-  
tugals.*

The seven and twentieth, Mo. Bowcan desired great abatements upon our cloth, or else hee would returne it, and (will wee nill wee) abated two thousand seven hundred and fiftie Mamudies, before hee would give us licence to fetch up the rest of our goods to make sales. Myselfe was very ill of the bloudy Fluxe (whereof Master Dorchester dyed) of which that Englishman Carelesse, (next under God) recovered me. I learned of him many matters, as namely of the great spoile done the last yeere to the Portugals by the Hollanders, who lying before Malacca with sixteene ships, inclosing the Towne with helpe of other Kings by Sea and Land; newes was carried to the Vice-Roy, (then before Achen accompanied with all the Gallants of India) having with him a very great

*M. Bowcans  
injustice.*

*Warre twixt  
Dutch and  
Portugals at  
Malacca.*

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Fleet of Ships, Gallies and Frigats, and foure thousand Souldiers, being commanded by the King to take Achen, and there to build a Castle and appoint an Alphandira; and thence to goe and spoile Jor and chastise the Moluccas for giving the Hollanders traffique, being minded to roote out the Holland name in those parts, for which purpose came two thousand Castilians from the Manilias.

*Andr.  
Hurtado.*

Andrew Hurtado then governed within Malacca, and sent word of their present distresse, upon which the Vice-Roy weighed from Achen (which otherwise had beene spoyled) whereof the Dutch Generall advertised, got his men and Artillery a-board, and went forth to meete him; where after a long and bloudie fight, with much losse on both sides, the Dutch departed, enforced to stop the leakes of their Admirall, likely otherwise to perish. The Portugals let slip this opportunitie, and fell to merriments and bragges of their Victorie, not looking any more for the Hollanders, who having stopped their leakes at Jor, new rigged and returned upon the Portugals, whom they found disordered and feasting ashoare, where they sunke and burned the whole Fleet, making a cruell execution: and had not the Vice-Roy before sent sixe shippes on some other service, they had beene all heere utterly extinguished. After this fell such sicknesse in the City, that most of them dyed, amongst which the Vice-Roy was one: and shortly after the Governour of the Spaniards in the Moluccas, so that their strength was laid in the dust, and the Archbishoppe made and yet \*remayneth Vice-Roy.

*\* As the time  
when this was  
written, which  
is to be  
observed in all  
this Journall.  
Malabars  
annoy the Port.  
New Fleet  
dispersed.*

This last yeere the Malabarres vexed the Portugals, and tooke or sunke of them at times, sixtie saile or more.

This yeere also was expected a Vice-Roy to come with a strong Fleet, to drive the Hollanders out of India.

This Fleet consisted of nine shippes of Warre, and sixe for the Voyage: they were separated in the calme of Guinea, and never met together after. Two of them came to Mosambique, where they were fired of the

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Hollanders, who also much distressed the Castle, but could not take it: and the time of the yeere requiring their departure, they set sayle for Goa, to the number of fifteene shippes and one Pinnasse, where they rode at the Barre, challenging the great Captaine Andrew Hurtado, who durst not visit them. Another of that Voyage having advise that the Hollanders rode at the Barre, put to the Northward, where they presently landed their money and goods and set fire of their shippe, to save the Dutch a labour: and lastly, the Souldiers fell together by the eares for the sharing of the money. This Fleet departing from Goa sailed amongst the Coast of Malabar, spoyling and burning all they could meet with. There was report of leave given them by the Samorine, to build a Castle at Chaul.

This moneth here was also newes of an Ormus ship taken by the Malabarres, and three Frigats: and shortly after of a Fleet of twentie five Frigats from Cochen, whereof sixteene were taken and burnt by the Malabars, which the rest escaped, if miserable spoile be an escape: also of fiftie Frigats and Galiots of the Malabars spoiling on their Coast. *Ormuz ship taken.*

In January, came other newes of thirtie Frigats which put for Diu richly laden, taken by the Malabars, beeing at this time Masters of these Seas. They are good Souldiers, and carry in each Frigat one hundred Souldiers, and in their Galiots, two hundred.

The first of February, the Captaine departed with fiftie Peons, and certaine Horsemen. About this time was great stirre touching the Queene Mothers ship, which was to be laden for Mocha: the Portugals then riding at the Barre with two and twentie Frigats, threatned to carry her to Diu: at length they fell to compounding, the Portugals demanding an hundred thousand Mamudies for her Cartas or Passe, and after twentie thousand, at last taking one thousand Rialls and odde money, with divers Presents, which the Mogolls were faine to give them. Mo. Bowcan gave me faire words, but the Divell was in his

[I. iv. 422.]

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heart, he minded nothing lesse indeed then paiment of his debts, seeking also to deduct some, others imbeselled, striking off by new accounts seventeene thousand of one and fortie thousand. I thought he meant to shift, if hee could, and pay nothing, secretly departing the Towne, owing much to certaine Banians, who must get it when they can: at last I got his Cheet for some, though with great abatements, esteeming halfe better secured, then to endanger all.

*Malacca  
againe  
besieged.*

The six and twentieth of March 1609, it was here reported that Malacca was besieged with thirtie ships of Holland, in succour of which the Vice-Roy assembled all these his Northerne Indian forces, appointing Andrew Hurtado Generall, being the more cranke, by newes of a New Vice-Roy with fourteene saile to winter at Mosambique. Meane while a ship of Cambaya which had been at Queda, came for Goga, which the Portugalls finding without Cartas, made prize of. The Customers at that time by new prices and reckonings, sought to make prize in great part of us. I was also in the beginning of Aprill taken with a burning Fever, which drew from me much blood, besides ten dayes fasting with a little Rice: and after my Fever, miserable stitches tormented me. The next moneth I was visited againe with a burning Fever.

*Portugals take  
prize all ships  
which saile  
without their  
Pass.*

The twelfth of May came newes that Melik Amber, King of Decan, had besieged the Citie of Aurdanagar (which had been the Metropolitan of that Kingdome, conquered by the Acabar) with two and twentie thousand horse, and that after divers assaults, the Mogolls made shew to deliver up the Citie, upon condition that hee would withdraw his armie some foure or five \* Cose from thence, that they might passe with more assurance with bagge and baggage: which being done, they suddenly issued forth with all their forces upon the unprovidedemie, and made a great slaughter, but feared hee would bee revenged on those parts which were lesse able to resist. The Canchanna gathered great forces, and de-

*He still calls the  
Mogols father,  
the Acabar  
(others use to  
leave out the  
article) and so  
in others.  
\* A Cose or  
Course is a  
mile and halfe  
English.*



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manded of Surat three hundred thousand M. towards the charge, sending also for the Governour, an expert Decan Souldier.

The twentieth of June, came newes of the arrivall of five shippes at Goa, and of the Vice-Royes Death, whereupon Andrew Hurtado was chosen Vice-Roy, being the only stay left of all those parts, and reported a brave souldier. He presently gave order for shipping to be built, intending after the breaking up of winter to make a bolt or shaft with the Hollanders, which were now reported to lye before Malacca with eighteene ships. The Portugall ships in the way had met with one of this Towne, and finding her without Cartas, brought her with them as prize for Goa, where on the Barre shee was cast away; whereupon the Governour for Chan-Channa, and the Customer for Mo. Bowcan seised on Tappidas the owner, a Banian, for money owing to them, whereby also we lost his debt to us, for which we may thanke the Portugall.

*Andrew Hurtado Vice-Roy.*

The twentieth of July, Sha Selim commanded Can Channa and Manisengo, two great Commanders of his, to invade all the Kingdomes from hence to the South, even to Cape Comori; for which a huge armie was assembling. In resistance of whom, three great Kings were combined, the King of Decan (whose chiefe Citie is Genefro) the King of Visapor, and the King of Golcunda (whose chiefe Citie is Braganadar) who also gathered great forces, making head neare Bramport, upon the Mogolls Frontiers, expecting the breaking up of winter, both armies lying abroad in Tents.

*Great warres of and with Mogolls.*

In August I received flying newes of an English Pinnasse at Gandove, which departing thence, was againe forced thither by three Portugall Frigats: I supposed that it might belong to some of our shipping, which standing for Socatora, might not be able to fetch in, and so be forced to fall on this Coast; which proved accordingly, it being the Ascensions Pinnasse, wanting water, wood, and victuall, the Master, John Elmer, with five men and two

*Ascension lost.*

*The Hopewell.*

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*Portugall  
domineering.*

*Note what  
Gospell the  
Jesuits preach  
for convert-  
ing Infidels.  
[I. iv. 423.]*

*Sacrilegious  
Calfe-slaugh-  
ter: Calvish  
devotion of the  
Banians.*

*This marriage  
of Captaine  
Hawkins, some  
say was put as  
a trick on him  
by false friends and the cause of his disrespect with the Mogoll. He tells  
otherwise himselfe.*

boyes. The Master and foure of the Company came hither on the eight and twentieth, but I had no small adoe with the Townsmen of Surat, for bringing them into the Towne, they taking them from me, pretending we were but allowed Trade, indeed fearing the Portugalls, till I should send to the Nobob foure course off, fearing force: to which evill, was added a worse of the Portugalls comming into the River with five Frigats, and carrying away the Pinnasse, weighing also the two Falcons, which they had cast by the boord: and yet a worse report came the fifth of Septemb. of the casting away of the Ascension, the company about seventie persons being saved, which the next day came to Surat, but were forced by the Towne to lye without amongst the trees and tombes, I being not able to procure leave for the Generall himselfe (notwithstanding divers letters of recommendation which hee brought from Mocha, besides letters from the King himselfe) into the Towne. Such is their slavish awe of the Portugalls, two Jesuits threatning fire, faggot, and utter desolation, if they received any more English thither. That which I could doe, was to send them refreshing, and carry them to the Tanke, where they were conveniently lodged, yet amongst tombes, till the Governor appointed them a more convenient place at a small Aldea two Course off, and with much adoe got leave for Master Rivet, Master Jordan and the Surgion, to come hither to provide necessaries for the rest. I had other trouble by the disorder and riot committed by some of them, especially one Thomas Tucker, which in drinke had killed a Calfe (a slaughter more then murder in India) which made mee glad of their departure, fifteen staying behind sicke, or unwilling to goe for Agra: and some returned againe.

The sixt of October, came Letters from Captaine Hawkins, importing his mariage with the daughter of an Armenian: and others in the latter end of the next

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moneth, for my comming to Agra. In December, we stood much in feare of Badur his comming upon Surat, he lying within two dayes journey, with sixe hundred horse and many foote: for which cause the Governour cessed all men with the entertainment of souldiers, setting upon my head ten men. I went to him, and told him that I had twentie English at his command, for which hee thanked mee, and freed mee of further charge. During this time, the Banians were forced to labour to barricado all the streets of the Citie: great watches were appointed at the gates, certaine peeces drawne from the Castle, and from Carode Garrison fiftie horse, which had not sufficed, had not the Governour of Amadavar sent one thousand horse, and two thousand foot to our succour: upon newes of which forces, Badur withdrew to his Holds. Two yeres before our comming, had this man sacked Cambaya, whereof his Grand-father had been King.

*Badur descended of the Cambayan Kings a bad neighbour to those parts.*

The eighteenth of January, I departed out of Surat towards Agra, willing yet to leave some notice thereof before I leave it. The Citie is of good quantitie, with many faire Merchants houses therein, standing twentie miles within the land up a faire River. Some three miles from the mouth of the River (where on the South-side lyeth a small low Iland over-flowed in time of Raine) is the Barre, where ships trade and unlade, whereon at a spring tide is three fathome water. Over this, the Channell is faire to the Citie side, able to beare vessels of fiftie tunnes laden. This River runneth to Bramport; and from thence, as some say, to Musselpatan. As you come up the River, on the right hand stands the Castle well walled, ditched, reasonable great and faire, with a number of faire peeces, whereof some of exceeding greatness. It hath one gate to the Green-ward, with a drawbridge and a small Port on the River side. The Captaine hath in command two hundred horse. Before this lyeth the Medon, which is a pleasant greene, in the midst whereof is a May-pole to hang a light on, and for other pastimes on great Festivalls. On this side, the Citie

*Description of Surat.*

*The Castle.*

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lyeth open to the Greene, but on all other parts is ditched and fenced with thicke hedges, having three gates, of which one leadeth to Variaw, a small Village, where is the ford to passe over for Cambaya way. Neare this Village on the left hand, lieth a small Aldea on the Rivers banke very pleasant, where stands a great Pagod, much resorted to by the Indians. Another Gate leadeth to Bramport, the third to Nonsary, a Towne ten cose off, where is made great store of Calico, having a faire River comming to it. Some ten cose further lyeth Gondoree, and a little further Belsaca, the frontire Towne upon Daman. Hard without Nonsary gate is a faire Tank  
*Indian Idoll.*  
*A faire Tanke or Pond.*  
*Stocke worshippers of a stocke or tree.*  
*Customehouse.*  
*Naites, nauta.*  
sixteene square, inclosed on all sides with stone steppes, three quarters of an English mile in compasse, with a small house in the middest. On the further side are divers faire tombes, with a goodly paved court pleasant to behold: behind which groweth a small grove of Manga trees, whither the Citizens goe forth to banquet. Some halfe cose behind this place, is a great Tree much worshipped by the Banians, where they affirme a Dew to keepe, and that it hath been oftentimes cut downe and stocked up by the rootes, at the Moores command, and yet hath sprung up againe. Neare to the Castle is the Alphandica, where is a paire of staires for lading and unlading of goods: within are roomes for keeping goods till they be cleared, the custome being two and an halfe for goods, three for victualls, and two for money. Without this gate is the great Gondoree or Bazar. Right before this gate stands a Tree with an Arbour, whereon the Fokeers (which are Indian holy men) sit in state. Betwixt this and the Castle, on the entrance of the Greene, is the market for horse and cattell. A little lower on the right hand over the river, is a little pleasant Towne, Ranele, inhabited by a people called Naites, speaking another language, and for the most part Seamen: the houses are faire therein, with high steps to each mans doore, the streets narrow: they are very friendly to the English. Heere are many pleasant Gardens, which

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attract many to passe there their time: and on the trees are infinite number of those great Bats, which wee saw at Saint Augustines, hanging by the clawes on the boughes, making a shrill noise. This fowle the people say, ingendreth in the eare; on each wing it hath a hooke, and giveth the yong sucke.

*Great Bats,  
their nature,*

The Winter heere beginneth about the first of June, and dureth till the twentieth of September, but not with continuall raines, as at Goa, but for some sixe or seven dayes every change and full, with much wind, thunder and raine. But at the breaking up, commeth alway a cruell storme, which they call the Tuffon, fearefull even to men on land; which is not alike extreame every yeare, but in two or three at the most.

*Winter.*

*Tuffon.*

Monsons heere for the South, serve in Aprill and September, and for Mocha in February and March: from the South, ships come hither in December, January and February, and from Mocha about the fifth of September, after the raines: from Ormus for the Coast of India in November. But none may passe without the Portugalls Passe, for what, how much, and

*Monsons.*

[I. iv. 424.]

whither they please to give licence, erecting a Custome on the sea, with confiscation of shippe and goods not shewing it, in the full quantitie, to the taker and examiner.

### §. IIII.

His Journey to Agra: Observations by the way, and there; and of the Decan warres there.

/Koo5

**T**He second of January, I departed from Comuariaw (a small village three Cose from Surat) to Mutta a great Aldea 7 c. 21.8 c. to Carode, a great countrey Towne, by which on the North runneth Surat River. It hath a Castle, with two hundred horse Patans good souldiers, twentie two to Curka 12 c. it is a great Village with a River on the South side. In the way 7 c. is Beca, a Castle with a great Tanke, and a pleasant Grove, 23. 10 c. to Nacampore a great Towne under the Pectopshaw. In this way on the right hand beginneth a great ridge

*Comuariaw.*

*Mutta.*

*Carode.*

*Curca.*

*Beca.*

*Necampore.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Badurs holds.*

*Wilde  
Elephants.  
Dayta.*

*Badur.*

*p l u m*

*Salere and  
Mulere,  
Cities of  
Bertopsha.  
Castles im-  
pregnable.*

*Breed of horse  
rare.*

*Nonderbar.*

*Lingull.*

*Sindkerry.*

of mountaines, which come from Amadavar-wards, neare which Badur keepeth, holding divers strong holds thereon, that the King with all his force cannot hurt him. These Mountaines runne to Bramport: on them are bred many wilde Elephants, 24. to Dayta, 8 c. a great Towne. In the mid-way you passe a stony troublesome River. This Towne hath a Castle, and is almost encompassed with a River, seated in a fertile soyle. 25. to Badur, 10 c. a filthy towne and full of theeves: heere is made much wine of a sweete fruit called Mewa, but I found it not wholesome, except it be burnt. This Towne is the last of note in Pectopshaws Land, who is a small King or Rajaw, a Gentile, keeping on the top of inaccessible Mountaines, which beginne at Curka, and extend many Courses. He holdeth two faire Cities, Salere, and the other Muliere, where the Mamudees are coyned, each having two mightie Castles, which have way to them but for two men abrest, or for an Elephant at most to get up; having also in the way eightie small Fortresses dispersed on the Mountaines to guard the way. Upon the top of these Mountaines is good pasture, and abundance of graine, fountaines running thence into the Plaines. The Acabar besieged him seven yeeres, and in the end was forced to compound with him, giving him Narampore, Dayta, and Badur, with divers other Aldeas, for the safe conducting of his Merchants amongst this Plaine; so that he now remaineth this Kings friend, sends Presents yeerely, leaves one of his sonnes at Bramport, for pledge of his fealtie. He is said to have alway in readinesse foure thousand Mares of a strange breed and excellent: and one hundred Elephants. 26. 7 c. to Nonderbar a Citie, short of which are many Tombes and houses of pleasure, with a Castle and a faire Tanke. seven and twentie to Lingull, 10 c. a beastly Towne, with theevish inhabitants, and a dirtie castle; a deepe sandie way neare the Towne. 28. 10 c. to Sindkerry, a great dirtie Towne. In the way the Governour of Lingull (with others as honest as himselfe) would have borrowed some money of me, but seeing it

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prove powder and shot, gave over, and wee drew on our Carts without trouble. On the further side of Sindkerry runneth a River of brackish water, with drinking whereof, I got the bloody fluxe, which accompanied me to Bramport. 29. 10 c. to Taulneere, a theevish way, the Towne faire, with a Castle and a River, in time of raine not passable without Boat. 30. 15 c. to Chupra, a great Towne. I rested two dayes by reason of raine, in which time came the Governour of Nonderbar with foure hundred horse, without whose company I could not have proceeded without danger, Can-Canna having been beaten, and retired to Bramport, after the losse of the strong and rich Towne of Joulnapore, whereupon the Decanes grew so insolent, that they made roades into this way, and spoyled many passengers.

*Taulneere.*

*Chupra.*

*Joulnapore.*

The second of February, 6 c. to Rawd, a countrey Village. The unseasonable thunder, wind and raine, with my disease, almost made an end of me: which made us make Mukom the third and fourth, the fifth to Beawle 10 c. a great towne, with a faire castle, 6. stayed by foule weather, 7. 16 c. to Ravere, a great Towne, 8. 10 c. to Bramport, where I pitched my Tent in the Armenians yard, not being able for money to get an house, the Towne was so full of souldiers. Some 2 c. short of this Citie lyeth Badurpore, a faire City, and betwixt these two Cities, the Campe of Can-Canna under Tents, 2 c. in length (having some fifteene thousand Horse, two hundred faire Elephants, an hundred peeces of Ordnance of all sizes) on the North side. On the other side, within twentie or thirtie course, lay Amberchapon, an Abashed, and Generall of the King of Decans Forces, with some ten thousand of his owne cost, all brave souldiers, and some forty thousand Decanees: in so much that the Citie of Bramport had certainly been lost, had not the Prince Sultan Pervis, and Rajaw Manisengo, come instantly downe with great forces. For at this time he had sent to the Can-Canna to yeeld up the Citie upon composition, deeming him not able to hold it against him.

*Rawd.*

*Mukom, stay  
for refreshing.  
Beawle.  
Ravere.  
Bramport.*

*Badurpore.*

*The tents and  
compasse of  
both sides.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Description of  
Bramport.*

[I. iv. 425.]  
*Artificiall  
Elephant.*

This Citie is very great, but beastly, situate in a low, unholesome aire, a very sickly place, caused especially by the bad water: On the North-east is the Castle on the Rivers bank (comming from Surat) large and well fortified. By the Castles side in the River lyeth an Elephant of stone, so lively, that a living Elephant comming one day to drinke, ranne against it with all his force, and brake both his teeth. The head is painted red in the forehead; and many simple Indians worship it. Some two Cose forth of the Citie, is Can Cannas Garden called Loll bage; the whole way thereto being under shadie trees very pleasant. Within it are divers faire walkes, with a stately small Tanke standing square betweene foure trees, all shaded and inclosed with a wall; at the entrance without, a faire Banketting house built aloft betweene foure trees.

*Ravere sacked.* I rested to the twelfth, for recovery (which God sent) under my Tent. Two dayes after my comming came newes of the sacking of Ravere, by fiteene hundred Decan Horse with other places neere thereto, we blessing God for our safe arrivall, the way now not passable with one thousand Horse. I was here certified also by an Armenians Letters, of a great overthrow given to the Portugall Armada upon the Mallabar Coast, consisting of fiftie Frigats and two Gallies, which being dispersed with foule weather, were sudainly out of divers creekes assailed by the Malabars, which was attended with spoile, fire, taking the rest fleeing. On the twelfth I rode to visit the Prince, and on the thirteenth, gave him a Present, found him courteous, promising what I desired. The Prince had with him twentie thousand Horse, and three hundred faire Elephants, and with him, Asaph Can with some three thousand, and Emersee Rastein late King of Candhar, with some thousand old Souldiers. And during my abode in the Campe, came also Raja Manisengo with ten thousand Horse, all Resboots, and neere a thousand Elephants: so that all the Plaines for a great distance were covered with Tents very brave to behold:



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with the Armie came divers great Boates for the transportation of forces over waters. The Prince removing I returned to Bramport: and on the sixe and twentieth, hee beeing advanced 3 c. towards the Enemie, I went to him to take my leave, where newes came of the overthrow of certaine of Manisengos forces.

The first of March, the Governor of Bramport departed for Agra, and I with him 12 c. to Barre a great Village, stonie & steep way, being the passage over the great ridge of Mountaines which come from Amadavarwards. About some 4 c. of this way lyeth the strong and invincible Castle of Hassere, seated on the top of a high Mountaine, large and strong, able to receive (as is reported) fortie or fiftie thousand Horse. And on the top are many faire Tankes and good pasture grounds. It hath had in the dayes of Badur Sha late King thereof, some sixe hundred Peeces of Ordnance. The Acabar besieged it a long time, circling it on all sides, and at length tooke it by composition. For it is said, that there bred such an innumerable sort of Emmets or other small Wormes in all the waters, that the people swelled and burst with drinking thereof: which mortalitie caused him to compound and deliver it, being by meere humane force invincible. The third, 11 c. to Camla, a small Aldea, stonie, troublesome way. The fourth, to Magergom 4 c. a great Aldea, bad way. The fifth, 10 c. to Kergom a great Village, steepe way. The sixth, 13 c. to Berkul a small Village. The seventh, 8 c. to Taxapore a small Towne. At 2 c. on this way, you passe a faire River called Nervor which comes from Baroche: upon the Banke is a prettie Towne and faire Castle, and under it the Ferrie place. To passe over with Camels is a way a C. lower on the left hand, where is an overfall, and not above three foot in the passage, but neere a mile over. The eight, 5 c. to Mandow, 3 c. whereof is up a steepe stonie Mountaine, having way but for a Coach at most.

*Barree.*

*Hassere a  
strong and  
strange Fort.*

*Camla.*

*Magergom.*

*Kergom.*

*Berkul.*

*Mandow the  
Rivers of the  
old Towne.*

This ridge of Mountaines extendeth North-east and

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*The present  
described.*

South-west. On the top at the edge of the Mountaine standeth the gate or entrance of the Citie, over which is built a faire Fort and House of pleasure; the walls extending all along the Mountaines side for many Coses. On the left hand at the entrance some two or three miles distant, on the toppe of a picked Mountaine standeth a strong Fort, and in other places dispersed some ten or twelve more. For 2 c. or better within this gate the City is ruined all save only Tombes and Meskites, which remayne in great numbers to this day, with some tottered walls of great Houses. The olde City is from gate to gate 4 c. long North and South, but East and West ten or twelve Coses; and yet to the East-ward of all lyeth good pasture ground for many courses. Aloft on this Mountaine are some sixteene faire Tankes here and there dispersed about the Citie. That which is now standing is very faire, but small in comparison of the former, with divers goodly buildings all of firme stone, and faire, high gates, that I suppose the like not to be in all Christendome. At the entrance on the South within the gate of the Citie now inhabited, as you passe along on the left hand, stands a goodly Meskite, and over against it a faire Palace, wherein are interred the bodies of foure Kings, with exceeding rich Tombes. By the side thereof standeth a high Turret of one hundred and seventie steps high, built round with Galleries and Windowes to every roome, all exceeding for goodly Ports, Arches, Pillars; the walls also all interlayed with a greene stone much beautifying. On the North-side where I came forth lyeth a piece of a foot and an halfe bore in the mouth, but the breech was in the ground. The gate is very strong with a steepe descent; and without this sixe other, all very strong, with great walled places for Courts of Guard betweene gate and gate. On this side is also a small Port, but the way thereto is exceeding steepe. All alongst on the side also runneth the wall, with flankers ever here and there among; and yet is the hill so steepe of it selfe, that it is not almost

[I. iv. 426.]

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possible for a man to climbe up on all foure to any part of it. So that to mans judgement it is altogether invincible; and yet was taken partly by force, partly by Treason by Hamawne, this mans Grandfather, forcing Seic Sha Selim whose Ancestors had conquered it from the Indians some foure hundred yeeres agoe. This Sha Selim was a very powerfull King of Dely, and once forced Hamawne to flye into Persia for ayde; from whence returning with Persian forces, he put him againe to the worst; who yet held out against him all his life time, as also a long time of Ecabars Raigne, flying from one Mountaine to another. Without the wals of the City on this side, the Suburbs entred 4 c. long, but all ruinate, save certaine Tombes, Meskits and goodly Seraies, no man remayning in them.

*The first of name that took it was Can John a Patan who built the Turret, and lyeth buried in the Palace adjoyning with three of his Successors.*

*This Citie was built by an Indian some thousand yeeres agoe.*

The way exceeding stony and bad at 4 c. end lyeth Luneheira, a small Saray where wee pitched the ninth. Betweene this and the ruines about 3 c. of the way, is a goodly Tanke inclosed with stone, and a banketting house in the midst: On the South whereof are faire houses of pleasure now ruined, from whence goeth an arched bridge to the banketting house in the Tanke.

*Luneheira.*

Some halfe a Cose beyond Luneheira on the right hand, are foure or five faire Tankes with a great Pagode, a very pleasant place. The tenth, to Dupalpore 14 c. good way, a small Towne. The eleventh, to Ouglue a faire City twelve long Coses. This Countrey is called Malva, a fertile soile, abounding with Opium. Here the Cose or Course is two miles English. The twelfth, wee made Mukom. The thirteenth, to Conoscia, 11 c. good way, a little Village. I enquired the price of Opium. They give the head three scratches, from whence issue small teares, at the first white, which with the cold of the night turneth reddish, which they daily scrape, not without infinite trouble, the head beeing very small and yeelding little. The fourteenth, to Sunenarra 8 c. way much stony and theevish, a people called Graciæ, inhabiting the hils on the left hand, which often ungraciously

*Dupalpore.  
Ouglue.*

*Conoscia.  
Opium.*

*Sunenarra.*

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entertayn Caravans. A hundred of them had done the like to a Caffila now, had not our comming prevented. It is a small Towne, short of which is a great Tanke full of wilde fowle. The fifteenth, 10 c. to Pimpelgom a ragged Aldea. At 4 c. end of this way lyeth Sarampore, a great Towne with a Castle on the South-west side, with a faire Towne-house. Here are made faire Turbants and good linnen. Short of this Towne we met Caun John a great Minion of the Kings with ten thousand horse, many Elephants, and Boats carryed on Carts, going for Bramport. On the way also we passed divers of Manisengos men, hee having in all some twenty thousand, so that it was deemed there were one hundred thousand Horse assembled.

*Cuckra.* The sixteenth, 7 c. to Cuckra, a great Countrey Towne abounding with all sorts of Graine, Victuall and Mewa Wine: at 4 c. lyeth Berroul a great Aldea. The seventeenth, 12 c. to Delout, a great Aldea, the way for the five last Coses theevish, hilly, stony, the other pleasant Plaines. The eighteenth, 7 c. to Burrow a small Towne, but plentifull of Victuall, except flesh which is scarce all this way; the way dangerous. The nineteenth, 7 c. to Sukesera a small ragged Towne. The twentieth, to Syrange 9 c., a very great Towne, where are many Betele Gardens. The one and twentieth and two and twentieth, wee make Muckom. The three and twentieth, to Cuchenary Saray 8 c. The foure and twentieth, to Sadura 5 c. The five and twentieth, to Colledge 7 c. The sixe and twentieth, 12 c. to Qualeres, a pretty small Towne encompassed with Tamarind and Manga Trees. The seven and twentieth, to Cipry seven of Surat Coues a mile and an halfe way theevish, stony, full of Trees, a Desart passage: a walled Towne, faire Houses, covered with Slate. Two nights before some sixtie or seventie Theeves (mistaking for a late passed Caravan) assayled in a darke night one hundred and fiftie Potan Souldiers, and fell into the pit they digged for others, ten being slaine and as many taken, the rest fled. The eight and

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twentieth, to Norwar 12 c. a Desart rascally way full  
of Theeves. In the Woods sate divers Chuckees to  
prevent robbing, but the Foxe is often made the Goose-  
heard. One pretty neat Meskite and in one place at  
the foot of the gate, a few poore Inhabitants wee saw  
in this dayes journey, and nineteene faire Saraies  
ruinated.

The Towne at the foot of the hill, hath a Castle on the  
top of a stony steep mountaine, with a narrow stone  
causey leading to the top some mile or better in ascent.  
In the way stand three gates very strong, with places  
for Corps du guard. At the top of all is the fourth  
gate, which leads into the Castle, where stands a guard,  
not permitting any stranger to enter without order from  
the King. The Towne within is faire and great, with  
a descent thereto; being situate in a Valley on the top  
of a Mountaine very strangely. As it is reported, this  
cliffe is in circle some 5. or 6 c. and walled round with  
Towers and Flankers here and there dispersed, without  
treason invincible. This hath been the gate or border  
of the Kingdome of Mandow, and hath been beautifull,  
and stored with Ordnance, but now is much gone to ruine.  
The twenty ninth to Palacha 7 c. the thirtieth to Antro,  
a great Towne 12 c. the thirty one to Gualere 6 c. a  
pleasant Citie with a Castle. On the East side is on  
the top of a steep piked hill, a ruinous building where  
divers great men have been interred. On the West side  
is the Castle, which is a steep craggy cliffe of 6 c. com-  
passe at least (divers say eleven) all inclosed with a strong  
wall. At the going up to the Castle adjoyning to the  
Citie, is a faire Court, enclosed with high walls, and shut  
in with strong gates, where keeps a strong guard, not  
permitting any to enter without publike order. From  
hence to the top, leads a stone narrow cawsey, walled on  
both sides; in the way are three gates to be passed, all  
exceeding strong, with Courts of guard to each. At the  
top of all, at the entrance of the last gate, standeth a  
mightie Elephant of stone very curiously wrought. This

*Norwar.*

*Strong Castle.*

*Antro.*

*Gualere.*

*Thalrap.*

*A strong  
Castle.*

[I. iv. 427.]

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Gate is also exceeding stately to behold, with a goodly house adjoyning, whose wals are all set with greene and blue stone, with divers gilded Turrets on the top. This is the Governours lodging: where is place to keepe Nobles that offend (he is said to have three such Noble-  
*Rantimore.* Prisons or Castles, this, and Rantimore 40 c. to which are sent such Nobles as he intends to put to death, which commonly is some two moneths after their arrivall, the Governour then bringing them to the top of the wall, and giving them a dish of milke, which having drunke, he is cast down thence on the Rockes. The  
*Rotas.* third is Rotas, a Castle in the Kingdome of Bengala, whither are sent those Nobles which are condemned to perpetuall imprisonment) from whence very few returne againe. On the top of this Mountaine of Gualere, is very good ground, with three or foure faire Tankes, and many other faire buildings. On the Towne side are many houses cut out of the maine Rocke, for habitation and sale of goods. On the North-west side, at the foot of the hill is a spacious meadow, inclosed with a stone wall, within which are divers gardens and places of pleasure, fit also to keep horses in time of warre. This Castle was the Gate or frontier of the Kingdome of Dely, bordering on Mandow, and is neere a mile of ascent.

*Mendaker.* The first of Aprill 1610. to Mendaker 9 c. the second  
*Doulpore.* 10 c. to Doulpore. Within 2 c. of the Towne, you passe a faire River called Cambere, as broad as the Thames, short of which is a narrow passage, with hills on both sides, very dangerous. The Castle is strong, ditched round, and hath foure walls and gates one within an other, all very strong, with steep ascents to each, paved with stone; the Citie is inhabited most-what with Gentiles. The Castle is three quarters of a mile through, and on the further side hath like Gates to be passed againe. The third to Jaiew 9 c. the fourth to Agra 9 c.

*Jaiew.*  
*Agra.* In the afternoone, the Captaine carried me before the King. I here found at my comming, Captaine Thomas Boys, with three French Souldiours, a Dutch Inginer, and

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a Venetian Merchant with his sonne, and a servant, newly come by land out of Christendome.

In May and part of June, the Towne was much vexed with fires night and day, flaming in one part or other, whereby many thousands of houses were consumed, besides Men, Women, Children, and Cattell, that we feared the judgement of Sodome and Gomorrha upon the place. I was long dangerously sicke of a Fever; and in June the heat so exceeded, that we were halfe rosted alive. June the twenty eighth, arrived Padre Peniero, an arch-knave (a Jesuite I should say) who brought Letters from the Viceroy, with many rich Presents, tending only to thwart our affaires. In this time, Mo. Bowcan was complained of by the Captaine to the King, who commaunded Abdel Hassan the chiefe Vizier to doe justice; but birds of a feather will flie together, and Mo. Bowcan partly mis-reckoned, partly turned us over to a Bankrupt Bannian; so that of thirty two thousand five hundred one M. and an halfe due, he would pay but eleven thousand: neither would he pay that present.

*Terrible fires  
at Agra.*

*See how  
Merchants  
speake the  
Jesuites, when  
Jesuites play  
the Merchants.*

In July, came newes of the ill successe of the Kings forces in Decan, who beeing within some foure dayes journey of Amdananager, hoping to raise the siege thereof, were forced through famine and drought, to make their retrait for Bramport, whereupon the Citie, after much miserie indured, was lost. This armie consisted of one hundred thousand horse at the least, with infinite numbers of Cammels and Elephants: so that with the whole baggage, there could not bee lesse then five or sixe hundred thousand persons, insomuch that the waters were not sufficient for them; a Mussocke of water being sold for a Rupia, and yet not enough to be had, and all victualls at an excessive rate. For the Decan army still spoyled the Countrey before them, and cut betwixt them and supplies for victualing them out of Guzerate and Bramport, daily making light skirmishes upon them, to their great disadvantage, that without retiring the whole army

*Amdananager  
lost to the  
Decan.*

*Perill of huge  
armies.*

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*Potana sacked.* had been endangered. At their returne to Bramport, there were not to bee found thirty thousand horse, with infinite number of Elephants, Cammels, and other Cattell dead. This Moneth also came newes of the sacking of Potana, a great Citie in Purrop, and surprising of the Castle where the Kings Treasure lay, the Citizens flying without making resistance. But upon this Cavalero, presently came a great Ombra adjoyning, and tooke him in the Castle. The Citizens returning, he sent twelve of the chiefe of them to the King, who caused them to be shaven, and in womens attire, to bee carried on Asses through all the streets of Agra, and on the next day (as it is said) cut off their Heads.

*Punishment of  
Cowardize.*  
  
*Christianitie  
seemed to bee  
affected by the  
Mogull.*

All this Moneth also was much stirre with the King about Christianitie, hee affirming before his Nobles, that it was the soundest faith, and that of Mahomet lies and fables. He commanded also three Princes, his deceased brothers sonnes, to be instructed by the Jesuites, and Christian apparell to be made for them, the whole City admiring. And yet at the same time, Abdel Hassans judgement was, that it was not justice to pay debts to Christians, in Mo. Bowcans case, whereof againe we had reference from the King to him, perhaps on like ground, [I. iv. 428.] as some Europæans thinke it lawfull to make price of the goods and ships of Ethnikes, eo nomine, therefore setting out men of warre, so to make the Christian Name, not as an ointment powred out, that the Virgin soules may be converted, and love Christ, but as filthy matter running out of rotten hearts and poisoned lips, yea, with force and armes, to exoccupate the Kingdome of Christ in those parts: at least, let reformed Professors reforme this Man-of-warre-Profession against innocents, that the Name of God through them be not blasphemed among the Gentiles. But to returne to this dissimulation (as since it hath to the world appeared) those three Princes were Christened solemnly, conducted to Church by all the Christians of the Citie, to the number of some sixtie horse, Captaine Hawkins being in the head of them,

*Three Princes  
Christened.*



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with S. Georges colours carried before him, to the honour of the English Nation, letting them flie in the Court before Sha Selim himselfe. The eldest was named Don Philippo, the second Don Carlo, the third Don Henrico : and on the ninth of September, was christened another young Prince, the Acabars brothers sonnes sonne, by the name Don Duarte, the King giving daily charge to the Fathers for their instruction, that they might become good Christians.

*English colours  
displayed  
before the  
Mogol.*

October the twelfth, we were certified by Letters of M. Jourdain from Surat, that thirtie Frigats of the Portugals were cast away on the barre of Surat, hasting before the winter was broken up, to catch more English many of the men escaped, and were glad to beg releefe at the English doore.

*Portugals  
afraid to come  
too late.*

### §. V.

Descriptions of Fetipore, Byana ; the way thither ;  
of the Nill or Indico, and of divers Mogoll  
affaires, Cities, and Castles.

**T**He first of November, I was sent to buy Nill or Indico at Byana. I lodged that night at Menha-poore, a great Saray, 7 c. by which is a Garden, and Moholl or summer house of the Queene Mothers, very curiously contrived. The second at Cannowa, 11 c. at 4 c. end, is a Moholl of the Kings. And at every cose end from Agra, is erected a stone pillar for 130 c. to Asmere, where lieth interred the body of a great Moorish Saint, called Hoghee Mondee, whereto the Acabar wanting children, made a foot-pilgrimage to beg for issue, and caused a pillar at each course to be set up ; and a Moholl with lodgings for sixteene great women at every eighth course alongst, and after his returne obtained three sonnes.

*Saray is a kind  
of publike Inn.  
See Stell and  
Crowder.*

*Ajmer  
Asmere, a  
child-giving  
Saint.*

*Shekh  
Salim  
Chisti;*

At 7 c. on this way, and 12 c. from Agra, is seated the famous citie of Fetipore, built by the Acubar, and inclosed with a faire stone wall, which yet standeth

*Fetipore  
described.*

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*Ruines.*

*Indigo*

fresh, having foure faire and strong Gates, it being some three English miles betwixt gate and gate. In the midst it is all ruinate, lying like a waste desart, and very dangerous to passe through in the night, the buildings lying wast without inhabitants; much of the ground beeing now converted to Gardens, and much sowed with Nil and other graine, that a man standing there, would little thinke he were in the midst of a citie.

*The Bazar.*

*Faire Meskite.*

To the entrance of the gate from Agra, some course in length upon a stony ascent, lie the ruines of the Suburbs; as also without the Southwest gate for two English miles in length, many faire buildings being fallen to the ground: and on the left hand are many faire enclosed Gardens, three miles alongst from the citie. At the entrance of the Northeast Gate, is a goodly Bazar (market place) of stone, halfe a mile long, being a spacious straight-paved street, with faire buildings on either side. Close within the gate is the Kings Saray, with large stone lodgings, but much ruined. At the head of this street stands the Kings house and Moholl, with much curious building: and on the further side hereof, upon an ascent, stands the goodliest Meskite of the East. It hath some twentie foure or thirty steps of ascent to the Gate, which is one of the highest and fairest (I suppose) in the whole world: on the top are a number of clustering pinnacles, curiously disposed. The top of this Gate may be plainly seene eight or tenne miles distance. Within is a goodly spacious court, very curiously paved with free stone, about sixe times the largenesse of Londons Exchange, with faire large walkes alongst the side, more then twice as broad, and double the height of those about the Burse of London, the pillars upholding them, beeing of one intire stone: and round about are entrances into many goodly roomes, neatly contrived. Opposite to the Gate toward the further side, stands a faire and sumptuous Tombe, artificially inlaied with mother of Pearle, and inclosed with a grating of stone curiously carved. Over head is rich

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pargetting and paynting. Herein lyeth the body of a great Kalender, at whose cost the whole Meskite was builded. Under the court yard is a goodly Tanke of excellent water; none other being to be had through the citie, but brackish and fretting, by drinking whereof was caused such mortality, that the Acubar before it was quite finished, left it, and remooved his seat to Agra, so that this goodly Citie was short lived, in fifty or sixty yeares space beeing built and ruinate.

*Kalender is an order of Moorish Votaries. Bad water.*

It was at the first called Sykary, which signifieth, seeking or hunting: but after the Acabar was returned from his Asmere Pilgrimage, and was father of this Sha Selim, hee named it Fetipore, that is, a Towne of content, or place of Hearts desire obtained. The North North-west side of the Citie, without the walles, is a goodly Lough for 2. or 3 c. in length, abounding with good fish and wilde fowle; all over which groweth the herbe which beareth the Hermodactyle, and another bearing a fruit like a Goblet, called Camolachachery, both very cooling fruits. The herbe which beareth the Hermodactyle, is a weed abounding in most Tankes neare Agra, spreading over all the water; the leafe I observed not, but the fruit is inclosed with a three cornered shell, of a hard woodie substance, having at each angle a sharpe picked pricking point, and is a little indented on both the flat sides like two posternes. The fruit being greene, is soft and tender, white and of a mealish taste, much eaten in India, being exceeding cold in my judgement: for alwayes after it, I desired Aqua-vitæ. It is called by the people Singarra. The other beareth a fruit in maner of a Goblet, flat on the toppe, and of a soft greenish substance, within which a little eminent, stand sixe or eight small fruits like Akornes, divided from each other, and inclosed with a whitish filme, at the first of a russetish greene, tasting like a Nut or Akorne; in the midst is a small greene sprigge naught to be eaten.

[I. iv. 429.]  
*Fetipore interpreted.*

*Hermodactylus described.*

?

*Singhad a palm*

Cannowa is a small countrey Towne, round about which is made very good Nill, by reason of the fatnesse

*Cannowa.*

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*Candere.*

*The Kings  
Moholls  
described.  
darsan  
court*

*Devoncan is  
a Hall.*

of the soile, and brackishnesse of the water: it maketh yeerely some five hundred M. Ouchen 3 c. distant makes very good; besides which, no Towne but Byana it selfe, compares with this. I remained heere to the two and twentieth and three and twentieth. 6 c. to Candere, a roughish dirtie Aldea. At 2 c. on this way, is one of those Moholls, before mentioned. It is a square stone building: within the first gate is a small court, with a place for the King to keepe his Darsany, and two or three other retiring roomes, but none of note. Within the second court is the Moholl, being a foure-square thing, about twice as bigge, or better, then the Exchange; having at each corner a faire open Devoncan, and in the middest of each side another, which are to bee spread with rich carpets, and to sit in to passe the time: And betwixt each corner and this middle-most, are two faire large chambers for his women (so that each Moholl receiveth sixteene) in severall lodgings, without doores to any of them, all keeping open house to the Kings pleasure. Round by the side goeth a faire paved walke, some eight foot broad: and in the middest of all the court stands the Kings chamber, where he like a Cocke of the game may crow over all. At Candere I remained till the eight and twentieth, and returned to Bachuna, 4 c. backe in the way.

*Byana.*

*Ruines.*

The twentieth of December, I went to Byana 8 c. a backe way thorow the fields. This citie hath beene great and faire, but is now ruinate, save two Sarayes and a long Bazar, with a few stragling houses, many faire ones being fallen, and many others not inhabited (except by rogues or theeves) so that many streets are quite desolate. On the North-west some three or foure cose off, are the ruines of a Kings house, with many other faire buildings: the like ruines are to bee seene on the South-west side, over against a Towne called Scanderbade, in like distance upon the height of the rocky mountaines: the way leading up is a narrow steepe stony cawsey, not to be passed on horse-backe, some quarter of a mile the ascent: the

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entrance is thorow a small wicket, passing the lips of the mountaines in a narrow gutte. On the right hand, upon the very edge, stands a pleasant building, where are divers Tombes: from each side the way may be made good with stones against millions of men. Passing a mile hence on a faire cawsey, you come to the Kings house, sometimes faire, now ruinate, where a few poore Googers remaine in the ruines. Many Tombes and Monuments yet remaine. At the foote of the hill toward Scanderbade, is a pleasant Valley inclosed with a wall, and therein many gardens of pleasure. This City hath been in ancient times the seate of a great Potane King, and hath had the walles extending on the cliffes 8 c. in length, in those places where is any possibilitie of getting up, the rockes otherwhere over-hanging: the fortifications on the other side I saw not. It hath beene a goodly city, inhabited now only with Googers, which are keepers of cattell, and makers of Butter and Cheese. From hence notwithstanding all this strength, did the Acabar force Sha Selim the Tyrant, and then laid it waste, as he hath done Mandow, and most of the strong holds which he tooke. The cuntry which affordeth that rich Nill which takes name of Byana, is not above twenty or thirtie cose long.

g u j a r

*A strong Fort.*

The herbe Nill, groweth in forme not much unlike Cives or Cich-pease, having a small leafe like that of Sena, but shorter and broader, and set on a very short foot-stalke, the branches hard and of a woodie substance like unto broome. It usually groweth not above a yard high, and with a stalke at the biggest (which is at the third yeare) not much exceeding a mans thumbe. The seed is included in a small round codde about an inch long, resembling Foenigræcum, save that it is more blunt at both ends, as if it had been cut off with a knife. It carryeth a small flower like that of Hearts-ease: the seed is ripe in November, and then gathered. The herbe once sowne dureth three yeeres, being cut every yeere in August and September after the raines. That of one

*Description of  
Nill or Indico.*

*The growth  
and varietie of  
the Herbe.*

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yeere is tender, and thereof is made notee, which is a weighty Reddish nill sinking in water, not come to his perfection: that of the second yeere is rich, and called Cyeree, very light and of a perfect Violet colour, swimming on the water: in the third yeere the herbe is declining, and this Nill is called Catteld, being a weightie blackish Nill, the worst of the three. This herbe being

[I. iv. 430.]

*Their making  
of Indico.*

cut the moneth aforesaid, is cast into a long cisterne, where it is pressed downe with many stones, and then filled with water till it be covered, which so remaineth for certaine dayes, till the substance of the herbe be gone into the water. Then they let the water forth into another round cisterne, in the midst of which is another small cisterne or center: this water being thus drawne forth, they labour with great staves, like batter or white starch, and then let it settle, scumming off the cleare water on the toppe: then labouring it afresh, and let it settle againe, drawing forth the cleare water, doing this oft, till nothing but a thicke substance remaine; which they take foorth and spread on cloth, to dry in the Sunne: and beeing a little hardened, they take it in their hands, and making small balls, lay them on the sand to dry (for any other thing would drinke up the colour) this is the cause of the sandy foot. So if raine fall, it looseth his colour and glosse, and is called Aliad. Some deceitfully will take of the herbe of all three crops, and steepe them altogether, hard to be discerned, very knavishly. Fowre things are required in Nill: a pure graine, a violet colour, his glosse in the Sunne, and that it be dry and light, so that swimming in the water, or burning in the fire, is cast forth a pure light violet vapour, leaving a few ashes.

*To know good  
Indico.*

*The Great  
Mogol in  
danger of a  
Lyon.*

About the sixt of January, the King being on hunting, was assailed by a Lyon which hee had wounded with his Peece, with such fiercenesse, that had not a Captaine of his, a Resboot, Tutor of the late baptized Princes interposed himselfe, thrusting his arme into the Lions mouth as hee ramped against his Majestie, he had in all likelihood

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been destroyed. In this struggling, Sultan Corom, Rajaw Ranidas, and others came in, and amongst them slew the Lyon, that Captaine having first received thirty two wounds: whom therfore the King tooke up into his owne Palanke, with his owne hands also wiped and bound up his wounds, and made him a Captaine of five thousand horse, in recompence of that his valourous loyaltie.

*His thankful-  
nesse.*

The Kings manner of hunting is this: about the beginning of November, accompanied with many thousands, he goeth forth of his Castle of Agra, and hunteth some thirty or forty Course round about the Citie; so continuing till the ende of March, when the heat drives him home againe. He causeth, with choise men, a certaine wood or desart place to bee incircled, so contracting themselves to a neerer compasse, till they meet againe; and whatsoever is taken in this inclosure, is called the Kings Sikar or game, whether men or beasts; and who-soever lets ought escape, without the Kings mercy, must loose his life. The beasts taken, if mans meat, are sold, and the money given to the poore: if men, they remaine the Kings slaves, which he yearely sends to Cabull, to barter for horse and dogs; these beeing poore miserable theevish people that live in woods and desarts, little differing from beasts.

*Kings manner  
of hunting.*

This Moneth, the King was providing more forces for Decan, notwithstanding the Decanees required his peace, offering to restore what they had taken. Caun Asom was sent Generall, and with him twentie thousand horse, accompanied with Matrobet Caun another Great Captaine, together with infinite treasure. With these forces went John Frenchman, and Charles Charke, entertained in his service for the warres.

*This Ch.  
Charke I have  
spoken with  
since in Lon-  
don after  
divers yeares  
service.  
Journey to  
Lahor.*

January the ninth, I departed from Agra for Lahor to recover debts, and carried twelve carts laden with Nil in hope of a good price. The places I passed were Rownocta twelve courses, Badeg Sara 10. Acabarpore 12 c. formerly a great city, still famous for the Antiquities of Indian Gobins or Saints. A little short of this place,

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Indians  
idolatry.

?  
*\* Dely. There are said to bee foure Delyes within 5<sup>a</sup> the eldest built by Rase, who by his Ponde or Magicians counsell tried the earth by an iron stake, which he pulled out bloody with the blood of a Snake, which his Ponde said was signe of good fortune. The last of his race was Rase Pethory, who after seven times taking a Potan King, was at last by him taken and slaine. He began the Potan Kingdome. They came from the mountaines between Candahar and Cabull. The second built by Togall Sha, a Potan King. The third little of note. The fourth by Shersheselim, where is that Tombe of Hamaron. \* A stately Obeliske with Greeke or Hebrew inscriptions as some affirme, supposed to be set there by Alexander.*

is a faire Deury inclosed with a stone wall, in which is a Devoncan, and round about a little distance in vaults (or cloisters) are to be seen many Pagoda, which are stone images of monstrous men feareful to behold, but adored by the Indians with flowers and offerings. Houdle 13 c. At the entrance of the Saray is a faire fountaine three stories, and one hundred steps. Pulwooll 12 c. Ferreedabade 12 c. Dely 10 c. On the left hand is seene the carkasse of old Dely,\* called the nine castles, and fiftie two gates, now inhabited onely by Googers. A little short is a stone bridge of eleven arches, over a branch of Gemini: from hence a broad way shaded with great trees, leading to the sepulchre of Hamaron this Kings Grandfather, in a large roome spread with rich carpets, the Tombe it selfe covered with a pure white sheet, a rich Semiane over head, and a front, certaine bookes on small tressels, by which stand his Sword, Tucke, and shooes: at the entrance are other Tombes of his Wives and Daughters. Beyond this, under like shaded way you come to the Kings house and Moholl, now ruinous. The City is 2 c. betweene Gate and Gate, begirt with a strong wall, but much ruinate, as are many goodly houses: within and about this Citie are the Tombes of twenty Potan Kings, all very faire and stately. The Kings of India are here to be crowned, or else they are held Usurpers. It is seated in a goodly plaine, environed with goodly pleasant Gardens and Monuments.

Nalero is hence 14 c. about 2 c. without Dely, is the remainder of an auncient Mole or hunting house, built by Sultan Berusa a great Indian Monarch, with much curiositie of stone-worke: with and above the rest, is to be seen a stone \* Pillar, which passing through three stories, is higher then all twenty foure foot, having at the top a Globe, and a halfe Moone over it. This stone they say, stands as much under the earth, and is placed in

*The second built by Togall Sha, a Potan King. The third little of note. The fourth by Shersheselim, where is that Tombe of Hamaron. \* A stately Obeliske with Greeke or Hebrew inscriptions as some affirme, supposed to be set there by Alexander.*



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the water, being all one entire stone (some say Naserden-  
gady a Potan King would have taken it up, and was  
prohibited by multitude of Scorpions, and that it hath  
inscriptions.) In divers parts of India the like are to be  
scene, and of late was found buried in the ground about  
Fettipore a stone pillar of an hundred cubits length,  
which the King commanded to bring to Agra, but was  
broken in the way, to his great grieve. It is remarkeable,  
that the Quarries of India, specially neere Fettipore  
(whence they are carryed farre) are of such nature, that  
they may be cleft like logges, and sawne like plancks to  
seele chambers, and cover houses of a great length and  
breadth. From this Monument is said to bee a way  
under ground to Dely Castle. Now here remaine onely  
Googers, and there are store of Deere. We saw in the  
way the ruines of divers places, and neere the same, the  
ruines of a wall 20 c. in circuit, being a Parke for game.  
Some part of this way was theevish, and some report being  
given out of the Kings death, many Rogues with that  
false alarme were abroad: we met the Fosder of Dely  
with some 2. thousand horse and foot in their pursuit,  
who burnt their Townes, & tooke them and theirs what-  
soever he could get: and the next day at breakfast we  
were like to be surprized by theeves.

*The stone of  
India.*

Gonowre 14 c. Panneput 14 c. at the entry whereof  
was placed a Manora, with the heads of some hundred  
theeves newly taken; their bodies set on stakes a mile in  
length. Carmall 14 c. the way theevish, where but for  
our peece language we had been assaulted. On the  
North-west extend Mountaines neere to Lahor from  
hence, with snow on the tops. Tanassar 14 c. here is a  
Castle, a goodly Tanke, and by it Pagods, much rever-  
enced by all the Gentiles throughout India. Neere it also  
are the Sal-armoniake pits. Shabad or Goobade 10 c.  
Amballa 12 c. Hollowa Saray 14 c. Syrinam 7 c. it hath  
a faire Tanke with a Summer-house in the midst, to  
which leads a Bridge of fifteene stone arches very pleasant.  
From hence is a small River cut to the Kings Garden a

*Pagods.  
Sal-armoniake  
pits.  
The Kings  
garden. Some  
say it was  
made An.  
Dom. 1580.*

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corse distant, with a cawsey of forty foot broad, planted with trees on both sides to it. The Garden is fowre square, each square a cose in length, or better, inclosed with a Bricke-wall, richly planted with all sorts of fruits and flowers, rented yeerely (as I was told) for fifty thousand Rupias: crossed with two maine walkes forty foot broad, and eight high, with water running alongst stone channells in the middest, and planted on both sides thicke with faire Cypresses: one of these cawseys is also paved with peble curiously inter-wrought. At the crossing stands an eight square Mohol with eight chambers for women, in the midst thereof a faire Tank; over these eight other roomes, with faire Galleries round about: on the top of all a faire Jounter; the whole building curiously wrought in stone, with faire painting, rich carving, and pargetting: and on two sides two faire Tankes in the midst of a faire stone chounter, planted round with Cypressse trees: a little distant is another Mohol, but not so curious.

*The cause of  
the quarrel  
twixt the  
Mogoll and his  
eldest sonne.*

From hence we passed to Dorapy 15 c. Pulloceque Saray 13 c. Nicoder 12 c. Sultanpoore 11 c. Fetipore 7 c. a Saray built (if it were finished) by Sha Selim, in memoriall of the overthrow given Sultan Cusseroom his eldest sonne: the occasion whereof was this. Sha Selim upon some disgust tooke armes in his fathers life time, and fled into Purrop, where he kept the strong Castle of Alobasse (but came in some three moneths before his fathers deceasse) whereupon Acubar gave the Crowne to Sultan Cusseroom his sonne. But after Acabars death, Selim by his friends, seized on the Castle and treasure, and his sonne fled for Lahor, where hee gathered some twelve thousand horse all good souldiours and Mogols, possessing the Suburbs twelve daies, and proclaimed King in the Kasse, and his Father in the Castle. In this place he gave battell to Strek Fereed, and disordered his three hundred horse, and put them to the sword: to the second of him came Melec Ale Cutwall (the King being some 20 c. behind) with some two hundred horse, beating up the

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Kings drummes, and giving a brave assault, shouting God save King Selim, upon which the Princes souldiours fainted and fled, the Prince himselfe fleeing only with five horse, and got 30 c. beyond Lahor for Cabull, which if he had gotten, he would have put his father to further trouble: but beeing to passe a River where hee gave Mohors of Gold, the Boate-man grew in distrust, and in the middest of the Channell leapt over-boord, and swamme to the shoare, where hee gave notice to the Governour of the Towne adjoyning, who presently with fiftie horse came downe to the River, where the Boat was still floting, imbarqued himselfe in another, and saluted him by the name of King, dissemblingly offering his aide, and inviting him to his house: which the Prince accepting, was locked up with his Company and guarded, till hee had sent the King word, who sent Germaunabeg to fetch him fettered on an Elephant. From hence his Father proceeded to Cabul, punishing such as he found tardie in this revolt, carrying his sonne with him prisoner, and returning by this place where the battell was fought (as some say) caused his eyes to be burned out with a glasse; others say, onely blind-folded him with a napkin tying it behind, and sealing it with his owne seale, which yet remaineth, and himselfe prisoner in the Castle of Agra. All alongst on both sides the way from Cabul to Agra, a reasonable distance, the King caused trees to be planted to shade the way, in remembrance of this exploit, and called this place Fetipoore, that is, hearts content, as ye before heard of the Citie, which for his birth was named so by his Father Accubar: these as any decay, must by the peoples toyle be supplied.

From hence to Hoghe Moheede 10 c. Cancanna Saray 12 c. Lahor 7 c. where I arrived February the fourth. On the twentie eighth, arrived here a Persian Embassadour allied to Sha Abash, with a great Caravan accompanying him. I by them learned, that the way to Candahar was now cleere, the warres being ended, which the Turkish Gelole had caused, who the former yeare had

*The prince  
taken.*

*Of his enlargement,  
&c. you  
shall read after  
in Sir T. Roes  
Journall.*

*Two Fetipoores.*

*Gelole a  
Traytor to  
two Kings.*

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[I. iv. 432.] fled to the Persian with some ten thousand Turkes, and had obtained some laggere neere thereto, whereof he purposing to make himselfe King, was overthrowne, and being sent for by the Persian, refused to come, till deluded by promise of a mariage, he was got to the Court, and there lost his head. We heard also of the Persians taking from the Turke, the strong Castle of Curdes, after a yeeres siege, with other Asian and Euro-pæan newes.

### §. VI.

Description of Lahor, and of the Kings house there: how the Mogolls entred India: Of divers strong holds, strange Beasts, and Plants; fond Superstitions: Of the Wayes, Theeves, Outlawes, Cities, Buildings, adjoyned and intermixed: Princes not subject: Agra and Echebars Sepulchre described.

*Part han*

*The houses.*

*The River  
Ravee.*

**L**Ahor is one of the greatest Cities of the East, containing some 24 c. in circuit by the ditch which is now casting up about it, and by the Kings command, now to be inclosed with a strong wall. In the time of the Potans it was but a Village, Multan then flourishing, till Hamawn enlarged this. The Towne and Suburb is some 6 c. thorow. The castle or Towne is inclosed with a strong bricke wall, having thereto twelve faire gates, nine by land, and three openings to the River: the streets faire and well paved, the inhabitants most Baneans and handicrafts men; all white men of note lying in the Suburbs. The buildings are faire and high, with bricke and much curiositie of carved windowes and doores: most of the Gentiles doores of sixe or seven steps ascent, and very troublesome to get up, so built for more securitie, and that passengers should not see into their houses. The castle is seated on Ravee, a goodly River which falleth into Indus, downe which go many

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Boats, of sixtie tunne or upwards, for Tatta in Sind, after the fall of the raine, being a journey of some fortie dayes alongst by Multan, Seetpore, Buchur, Rauree, &c.

This River commeth from the East, and runneth Westerly by the North side of the Citie: upon which within the Castle is the Kings house, passing in at the middle gate to the River-ward. Within the Citie on the left-hand, you enter thorow a strong gate; and a Musket shot further another smaller, into a faire great square court, with Atescanna for the Kings guard to watch in. On the left-hand, thorow another gate you enter into an inner court, where the King keepes his Darbar, and round about which court are Atescanna's also for great men to watch in. In the midst there stands a high pole to hang a light on. From hence you go up to a faire stone Jounter or small court, in the midst whereof stands a faire Devoncan, with two or three other retiring rooms, wherein the King sits out all the first part of the night, commonly from eight to eleven. On the walles is the Kings Picture sitting cross-legged on a chaire of State: on his right-hand Sultan Pervése, Sultan Caroone, and Sultan Timoret, his sonnes: next these, Sha Morat, and Don Sha, two of his brothers (the three baptized before spoken, were sonnes of this later) next them Emersee Sheriff, eldest brother to Caun Asom (of whom it is reported his estate to be such, that of one hundred chiefe women which he kept, he never suffred any of their clothing after their first wearing to be ever touched by any stranger, but caused them to bee buried in the ground there to rot: as also that he alway had in service five hundred Massalgees, in so much that whensoever he went from court to his house in Agra, which was at least a corse, no man removed foote with his torch, but stood all alongst to his house) next this man, Emersee Rostene, late King of Candhar, then Can Canna (which signifieth Prince of the Cannes) then Cuttûp Caun, Rajaw Manisengo, Caun Asom, Asoph Caun, Sheck Fereed, Kelish Caun, and Rajaw Juggonat (who at his death had seven of his

*The Kings  
house  
described.*

*?Atishkhana  
gunpowder*

*Pictures.*

*The Pictures  
on the wall of  
the Princes or  
great men.*

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friends that burned themselves with him, besides one of his sisters, and a brothers childe.) On the left hand of the King stands Rajaw Bowsing, who beats away flies, then Rajaw Ramdas, who holds his sword, Cleriff Caun, Caun John, Jemana Lege or Mawbet Caun, Mocrow Bowcan, Rajaw Bossow, Rajaw Ransing, Majo Kesso, and Lala Bersing. Note also that in this Gallery, as you enter, on the right-hand of the King, over the doore is the Picture of our Saviour; opposite on this left-hand of the Virgin Mary. This Devoncan is very pleasantly seated, over-looking the Ravee.

darshan

*The Moholls.*  
[I. iv. 433.]

*Pictures of  
Angels and  
Banian Dews.*

From hence passing thorow a small entrie to the West, you enter another small Court, where is another open Chounter of stone to sit in, covered with rich Semianes. From hence you enter into a small Gallery, at the end of which, next the River, thorow a small window, the King looks forth at his Dersanee, to behold the fights of wilde beasts on the meadow by the River. On the wall of this Gallery is drawne the Picture of the Acabar sitting in his State, and before him Sha Selim his sonne, standing with a Hawke on his fist, and by him Sultan Cusseroom, Sultan Pervis, Sultan Coroome, his three sonnes: at the end is a small Devoncan, where the King useth to sit; behind which is his lodging chamber, and before it all open into a paved court, amongst the right-hand whereof runneth a small Moholl of two stories, each containing eight faire lodgings for severall women, with Galleries and windowes looking to the River, and to the court. All the doores of these chambers are to bee fastened on the out-side, and none within. In the Gallery where the King useth to sit, are drawne over-head many Pictures of Angels, with Pictures of Banian Dews, or rather Divels, intermixt in most ugly shape, with long hornes, staring eyes, shagge haire, great fangs, ugly pawes, long tailes, with such horrible difformity and deformity, that I wonder the poore women are not frightened therewith. Within this court is a pleasant Devoncan and lodgings, and the way to another Moholl for the King to passe, but none other.

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Now to returne to the former court, where the Adees or Guard keepe their watch, there is also on the left hand the new Derbar, beyond it another small court with Atescanna, and passing thorow another gate, a faire large square Moholl, called the New Moholl, of that largenesse that it may lodge two hundred women in state all severall. Likewise returning to the great court, passing right on you enter another small paved court on the left hand, and into another Moholl, the stateliest of the three, contrived into sixteene severall great lodgings, each having faire lodgings, a Devoncan (or Hall) a small paved court, each her Tanke, and enjoying a little world of pleasure and state to her selfe; all seated very pleasantly upon the River. Before the Moholl of Sultan Casserooms mother, is placed an high pole to hang a light on, as before the King, for that shee brought forth his first sonne and heire. In the midst stands a goodly Gallery for the King to sit in, with such ugly Pictures over-head as before. At the end are drawne many portraitures of the King in state sitting amongst his women, one holding a flaske of wine, another a napkin, a third presenting the Peally, behind one punkawing, another holding his sword, another his bow, and two or three arrowes, &c.

*Large Moholl  
for two hundred  
women.*

*Pictures of his  
women and  
their offices.*

Before this Gallery is a faire paved court, with stone gratings, and windowes amongst the waters side; at the end a faire marble Jounter, convexed over-head, looking over the River, beneath it a Garden of pleasure; behind, the Kings lodgings very sumptuous, the walles and seelings all over-laid with pure gold; and round amongst the sides, about a mans height, some three foote distant are placed faire Venice Looking-glasses, three and three each above other: and below these amongst the walles, are drawne many pictures of this mans Ancestors, as of Acabar his Father, Hamowne his Grand-father, Babur his great Grand-father, who first set foote into India, with thirtie of his Nobles, all clad like Kalandars or Fookeers, which so came to Dely to Secanders Court

*Babur first  
conquerour:  
his stratagem.*

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then rainging, where by his very countenance he was discovered, yet found mercy, and returned upon his oath not to attempt any thing during the said Secanders raigne; which he performed: but after his death he sent his sonne Hamawne upon his Successor Abram, from whom he tooke the whole Kingdome. Yet at length rose up a great Captaine of the Blood-Royall in Bengala, who fought a great battel with Hamawne neare Ganges, put him to flight, and so closely followed him, that he drave him forth of the Kingdome to the Persian Shaw; of whom hee obtained new Forces (with whom came Byram, Caun Canna his father, for Generall) and reconquered all, living after that in security. This King dying, left Acabar very yong, appointed Byrame Caun Protector, whom the Acabar, comming to yeares, cast off, and on a Roomery or Pilgrimage to Mecca, as is said, made away with him. His sonne Can Canna or Caun, of the Caunees, doth also much curbe Sha Selim the King, with his friends and Allyes, being able to make better then an hundred thousand horse. Sha Selim affirmeth himselfe to be the ninth lawfully descended from the loynes of Tamerlane the Great, being the Great-grand-child of Babur, King of Cabull.

*Tamerlane.*

But to returne to the entrance of this Moholl, passing forth of that court thorow a strong gate, you enter into the City againe; this house and appurtenances of Mohols being at the least two English miles in circuit. On the East-side of the Castle hard without the wall, is the Garden of Asoph Caun, small, neat, with walkes (planted with Cypresse-trees) divers Tankes and Jounters: as you enter, a faire Devoncan supported with stone pillars, with a faire Tanke in the midst, and in the midst of that, on foure stone pillars, a Jounter for coolenesse. Beyond are other Galleries and walkes, divers lodgings for his women neatly contrived; and behind, a small Garden, and Garden-house. In the midst of the Garden is a very stately Jounter with faire buildings over-head and a Tanke in the center with large

*Asoph Caun  
his Garden.*

*jantar  
observation*



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and goodly Galleries alongst the foure sides thereof, supported with high stone pillars. Adjoyning to this is a Garden of the Kings, in which are very good Apples, but small, Toot white and red, Almonds, Peaches, Figges, Grapes, Quinces, Orenge, Limmons, Pomgranats, Roses, Stock-gellow-flowers, Marigolds, Wall-flowers, Ireos, Pinkes white and red, with divers sorts of Indian Flowers.

*Apples, with  
fruits and  
flowers.*

On the West-side of the Castle is the Ferry to passe over to Cabul (and so to Tartary or Cascar,) a very great road-way, and the further side of the River is a goodly Countrey. Infinit numbers of Gardens full of rarity exceeds, two or 3 c. in length. Passing the Sugar Gorge is a faire Meskite built by Shecke Fereed ; beyond it (without the Towne, in the way to the Gardens) is a faire monument for Don Sha his mother, one of the Acabar his wives, with whom it is said Sha Selim had to do (her name was Immacque Kelle, or Pomgranate kernell) upon notice of which the King caused her to be inclosed quicke within a wall in his Moholl, where shee dyed : and the King in token of his love, commands a sumptuous Tombe to be built of stone in the midst of a foure-square Garden richly walled, with a gate, and divers roomes over it : the convexity of the Tombe he hath willed to be wrought in workes of gold, with a large faire Jounter with roomes over-head. Note that most of these monuments which I mention, are of such largenesse, that if they were otherwise contrived, [I. iv. 434.] would have roome to entertaine a very good man, with his whole houshold. Without the Dely Droware, where the Nolat or great Drum beats, is a goodly streight street, about three quarters of a mile long, all paved ; at the end of which is the Bazar, by it the great Saray, besides which are divers others, both in the City and Suburbs, wherein divers neate lodgings are to be let, with doores, lockes and keyes to each. Hence to the North-east lyeth Ambere, the place of hospitality : from hence to the South-east the habitation of divers loving, &c.

*Carbas ?*

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Anno 1611.  
*Cabull sacked  
by theeves.*

The seventeenth of May, came news of the sacking of Cabul by the Potan theeves, which kept in the Mountains, being eleven thousand foot, and one thousand horse, the Governour thereof being at Gelalabade about other affaires, & the Garrison so weak, that they were able only to maintaine the Castle. In six houres they spoiled the City and retired with great booty. The King for better awing of these rebels, hath placed twenty three Ombraes betwixt Lahor and Cabul, and yet all will not serve, they often sallying from the mountaines, robbing Caravans and ransacking townes. The eighteenth of August, arrived a great Caravan from Persia, by whom we had newes from an Armenian, which had served M. Boys, of the French Kings death, and of affaires betwixt the Turk and Persian; he having destroyed the country about Tauris, raced the Citie, and filled up the wells to hinder the Turks armie: the Merchants by this means (to our grieve) not daring to adventure beyond Candhar.

*Tauris raced.*

Of divers wayes in the Mogols Kingdome, to and from Lahor and Agra, and places of note in them.

*Relation of the  
way from  
Lahor to  
Cabull, beyond  
Cabull 60<sup>c</sup>  
runne moun-  
taines, at the  
foote of which  
lyeth the way  
to Cascar.*

FROM Lahor to Cabull passing the Ravce at 10 c. stands Googes Seray: beyond which 8 c. Emenbade, a faire City: thence to Chumaguckur 12 c. a great towne: to Guzurat 14 c. a faire Citie of great trade: at 7 c. of this way you passe the River Chantrow, neare a corse over: to Howaspore 12 c. to Loure Rotas 15 c. a Citie with a strong Castle on a Mountaine, the Frontier of the Potan kingdome to Hattea 15 c. to Puckow 4 c. to Raulepende 14 c. to Collapanne 15 c. to Hassanabdall 4 c. a pleasant Towne with a small River, and many faire Tanks, in which are many fishes with gold rings in their noses hung by Acabar, the water so cleare, that you may see a penny in the bottome: to Attock 15 c. a Citie with a strong Castle, by which Indus passeth in great beautie: to Pishore

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36 c. to Alleek Meskite 10 c. the way dangerous for rebels, which are able to make ten or twelve thousand men: to Ducka 12 c. to Beshoule 6 c. to Abareek 6 c. to Aleboga 9 c. by which runneth Cow, a great River, which comes from Cabul: (way still theevish) to Gelalabade 4 c. to Loure-charebage 4 c. to Budde-charbag 6 c. to Nimla 8 c. to Gondoma 4 c. to Surcrood 4 c. a Saray, with a small River which lookes red, and makes to have a good stomack: to Zagdelee 8 c. to Abereek 8 c. to Dowaba 8 c. a great mountain in the way 4 c. ascent: to Butta Cauke 8 c. to Camree 3 c. to Cabul 3 c. It is a great and faire Citie, the first seate of this Kings great Grand-father, with two Castles and many Sarayes. 20 c. beyond is Chare-cullow, a pleasant faire Citie, and 20 c. beyond Gorebond, a great Citie bordering upon Usbeke. 150 c. beyond Cabul is Taul Caun, a Citie in Buddocsha.

*Cabull.*

From Cabull to Cascar, with the Caravan, is some two or three moneths journey. It is a great kingdome, and under the Tartar. A chiefe Citie of trade in his Territorie is Yar Chaun, whence comes much Silke, Purslane, Muske, and Rheubarb, with other Merchandize: all which come from China, the gate or entrance whereof is some two or three moneths journey from hence. When they come to this entrance, they are forced to remaine under their Tents, and by license send some ten or fifteen Merchants at once to doe their businesse, which being returned, they may send as many more. But by no meanes can the whole Caravan enter at once.

*Cascar.*

*Yar Chaun.*

*China.*

From Lahor to Cassimere the way is as in Cabull way to Guzerat: from thence North, or somewhat Easterly withall 16 c. to Bimbar; to Joagek Hately 14 c. to Chingesque Hately 10 c. to Peckly 10 c. to Conowa 12 c. thence 8 c. you ascend a mountaine called Hast Caunk Gate, on the top of which is a goodly plaine, from whence to Cassimer is 12 c. thorew a goodly Country. The City is strong, seated on the River

*Of this see my  
Pilg. l. 4. c.  
12. §. 3.  
Goes his  
travell from  
Lahor to  
Cabul and  
China.  
Cassimere.*

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*Impassible  
Mountaines.*

Bahat, the Countrey is a goodly Plaine, lying on the mountaines, some 150 c. in length, and 50 c. in breadth, abounding with fruits, graine, Saffron, faire and white women. Heere are made the rich Pomberies, which serve all the Indians. This Countrey is cold, subject to frosts, and great snowes, neare to Cascar, but separated with such mountaines, that there is no passage for Caravans: yet there commeth oft-times Musk, with Silke and other merchandize this way by men, and goods are faine to be triced up, and let downe often by engines and devices. Upon these mountaines keepe a small King called Tibbot, who of late sent one of his daughters to Sha Selim to make affinitie.

*Another way  
from Agra to  
Surat.*

Nicholas Uphet made another way from Agra to Surat, by Fetipore, Scanderbade, Hindoine, Cheningom, Mogoll Saray, Nonnigong at the foot of a Mountaine, which with others adjoyning, are held by two Rajaws of no note. Opposite to these on the left hand, beginne the mountaines of Marwa, which extend neare Amadaver. Upon these mountaines stands an impregnable Castle, called Gur Chitto, the cheefe seat of Rana, a very powerfull Rajaw, whom neither Potan, or the Acabar himselfe could ever subdue: which comes to passe by reason that all India hath been Gentiles, and this Prince hath bin, and still is esteemed in like reverence by them, as the Pope of Rome by the Papists. And for this cause the Rajaws, which have been sent against him, frame some excuses that they may not indamage much his Territories, which extend hence alongst Amadaver way an hundred and fifty great corses, and in breadth toward Ougen 200 c. inclosed for the most part with inaccessible mountaines, and fortified well by art in places accessible. He is able to make twelve thousand good horse upon any occasion, and holds many faire Townes and goodly Cities. The way followeth by Gamgra, Charsoot (chiefe seat of Rajaw Manisengo his Prigonies) Ladaney, Mousalde, Banderamde.

*Gur-chitto an  
impregnable  
Castle.  
Rana Pope of  
the Resboates  
or Indian  
Gentiles.*

[I. iv. 435.]

*Prigonies are  
Lordships.  
Description of  
Asmere before  
the Mogoll  
made it his  
Royall  
residence.*

Asmere, seated upon the top of an inaccessible Mountaine of 3 c. ascent, being a Fort invincible: the Citie at

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the foot not great, inclosed with a stone wall, ditched round, the buildings reasonable faire; without the wals are many Antiquities, amongst which some 2 c. toward Agra is a very faire Tanke. This place is only famous for the Sepulchre of Hoghee Mundee, a Saint much respected by the Mogols, to whom (as is said before) the Acabar made a Romery on foot from Agra to obtayne a Sonne. Before you come to this Tombe, you passe three faire Courts, of which the first containeth neere an acre of ground, paved all with blacke and white Marble, wherein are interred many of Mahomets cursed Kindred: on the left hand is a faire Tanke inclosed with stone. The second Court is paved like the former, but richer, twice as bigge as the Exchange in London; in the midst whereof hangs a curious Candlesticke with many lights. Into the third you passe by a Brazen gate curiously wrought; it is the fairest of the three, especially, neere the doore of the Sepulchre, where the pavement is curiously interlaid: the doore is large and inlaid with Mother of Pearle, & the pavement about the Tombe of interlaid Marble; the Sepulchre very curiously wrought in worke of Mother of Pearle, and Gold, with an Epitaph in the Persian Tongue. A little distant stands his seate in a darke obscure place, where he sat to fore-tell of matters, and is much revered. On the East-side stand three other Courts, in each a faire Tanke; on the North and West stand divers faire houses, wherein keepe their Sides or Church-men. Note, that you may not enter any of these places but bare-foot.

*Esteeme of a  
Mahometan S.  
Hoghee  
Munde.*

From hence the way lyeth to Cairo, Mearta (which hath a stone Castle with many faire Turrets, a faire Tanke, and three faire Pagodes richly wrought with inlayd Workes, adorned richly with Jewels, and maintayned with rich Offerings) Pipera, Jouges gong Settrange, Canderupe, Jeloure, (this last is a Castle, seated on the height of a steepe Mountaine, 3 c. in ascent, by a faire stone cawsey, broad enough for two men to passe a-brest. At the first Cose end is a gate and place of Armes: there

*Pagodes.*

*Jeloure a  
strong Castle.*

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the cawsey is inclosed with wals on both sides, and at the 2 c. end is a double gate: at the 3 c. stands the Castle where you must enter three severall gates, the first very strongly plated with Iron, the second not so strong, with places over it to throw downe scalding Lead or Oyle: the third strongly plated with Pikes, sticking forth like harping Irons. Betwixt each of these gates are spacious Courts for Armes, and within the further gate is a faire Portcullis. Being entred on the right hand stands a faire Meskite, with divers Devoncans adjoyning, both to doe Justice, and to take the Aire. On the left hand stands the Governours house on the height of the hils overlooking all.

A flight-shot within the Castle is a faire Pagode built by the Founders of the Castle, Ancestors of Gidney Caun which were Indians. He turned Moore, and bereaved his elder Brother of this hold by this stratageme. He invited him and his women to a Banket, which his brother requiting with like invitation of him and his, instead of women he sends choice Souldiers well appointed and close covered, two and two in a Dowle; who beeing entred after this manner, possesst themselves of the Ports, and held it for the Great Mogoll, to whom it now appertayneth, being one of the strongest seated Forts in the world. Some halfe Cose within the gate is a goodly Tanke foure square, cut directly downe into the Rocke, affirmed to bee fiftie fathome deepe, of cleere and good water. A little further is a faire Plaine shaded with many goodly trees, beyond which on the top of a little piqued Mountayne, is the Sepulchre of King Hassward, while he lived a great Souldier, since his death a great Saint, honoured in these parts. Here lye also interred two sonnes of Gil-lould a Potan King of Dely: neere to which is a wall which divides the Castle neere a Cose in circuit, (the whole Castle beeing about 8 c. in compasse) nigh whereto is said to keepe a huge Snake of five and twentie foot long, and as bigge as a man in the waste, which the people will by no meanes hurt, holding it a good fortune; for it

*Cunning  
treacherie.*

*A Dowly or  
Dowle is a  
Chaire or  
Cage wherein  
they carry  
their Women  
on mens  
sholders.*

?

*A huge Snake.*

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hurts no man, but keeps amongst the bushes and bryars of this piqued Mountaine. This Castle is called the Gate or Frontire of Guzurate. From hence you come to Mudre, Billmall (the foundations of whose ancient wall, are yet seene) they have beene 24 c. in circuit, many goodly Tankes also going to ruine, by one of which is the Founders Sepulchre, whither the Indians resort to worship: From hence to Amadabade, is a deepe sandy Desart Country. Rodeapore in this way hath many Sepulchres, (I let passe it and the rest.)

*Billmall a  
great Citie.*

Amadabade or Amadavar is a goodly City, and scituate on a faire River, inclosed with strong wals and faire gates, with many beautifull Turrets. The Castle is large and strong, where resideth Caun Asom his Sonne, the Vice-Roy in these parts. The buildings comparable to any Citie in Asia or Africa, the streets large and well paved, the Trade great (for almost every ten dayes goe from hence two hundred Coaches richly laden with Merchandise for Cambaya) the Merchants rich, the Artificers excellent for Carvings, Paintings, Inlayd Workes, imbroydery with Gold and Silver: at an houres warning it hath in readinesse sixe thousand Horse; the gates perpetually strong guarded, none suffered without license to enter, nor to depart without Certificate. The cause of this is Badurs Neighbour-hood in his strong hold, within 50 c. of this Citie to the East, where Nature with some helpe of Art and Industry hath fortified him against all the Mogolls power; and whence some foure yeeres since (proclaiming Liberty and Lawes of good fellowship) hee sacked Cambaya with a sudden power, combined by hope of spoile, of one hundred thousand men, which for fourteene dayes continued possessors there and sharkers. There is also betwixt this and Trage a certaine Rajaw on the Mountaines able to make seventeene thousand Horse and Foot, the people called Collees or Quullees, keeping in a Desart Wildernesse which secures him from Conquest: and on the right hand is another able to make tenne thousand Horse, holding in a Desart Plaine a Castle

*Amadavar  
described.*

*Badur, whose  
Progenitors  
were Kings of  
Guzurat.  
[I. iv. 436.]*

*Two other  
Rajawes  
which stand  
out. e o o i e*

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*An excellent  
race of horses.*

impregnable; whose Land is subject to Gidney Cauns government, but these seven yeeres hee hath denied him Tribute, and stands on his defence. This Rajaw is said to have a Race of Horses not equalled in all the East, each valued at fiftene thousand R. reported to bee much swifter then the Arabian, and able to continue with reasonable speed a whole day without once drawing bitte; of which he is said to have one hundred Mares. From Geloure to this Citie is all a sandy, woody Countrey, full of theevish beastly men, and of Mankind, Savage Beasts, Lions, Tygres, &c. 30 c. about this City is made Nill called Cickell, of a Towne 4 c. from Amadavar, not so good as that of Biana.

*Cambaya.*

Cambaya is hence 38 c. sandy, wooddie, theevish way: it stands by the Sea, encompassed with a strong bricke wall, the houses high, and faire, the streets paved in a direct Line with strong gates at the end of each, the Bazar large: about the Citie are such infinite numbers of Munkeyes, leaping from house to house, that they doe much mischiefe, and untyling the houses, are readie to braine men as they passe in the streets with the stones that fall. On the South is a goodly Garden with a Watch-tower of an exceeding height; on the North are many faire Tankes. It is the Mart of Guzurat, and so haunted by the Portugals, that you shall often finde two hundred Frigats at once riding there. It aboundeth with all sorts of cloth and rich Drugges. The Bay is 8 c. over, dangerous to passe by reason of the great Bore which drownes many, and therefore requires Guides skilfull of the tydes:

*Munkeyes.*

*Port. Frigats.*

*Violent tyde  
called the  
Bore.*

in the neape tydes is least perill. Theeves also, when you are over the Channell, are not a little dangerous, forcing you (if not the better provided) to quit your goods, or in long bickerings, betraying you to the tydes fury, which comes so swift that ten to one you escape not. Foure Coses beyond this Bay is Joubeser, now much ruined, and from thence eightene to Boroche, a woodie, dangerous passage, in which are many wilde Peacockes. Within 4 c. of Boroche is a great Mine of Agats. It is a faire

*Boroche.*

*A Mine of  
Agats.*



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Castle seated on a River twice as broad as the Thames, to the mouth of which is hence 12 c. Here are made the rich Baffatas, in finenesse surpassing Holland Cloth, for fiftie Rupias a Booke, which contayneth fourteene English yards, and are not three quarters broad.

Hence to Varjaw 20 c. a goodly Countrey and fertile, full of Villages, abounding with wild Date Trees, which generally are plentiful by the Sea-side in most places, whence they draw a liquor called Tarrie or Sure, as also from another wild Coco-tree called Tarrie, 2 c. hence is Surat.

*Tarrie or  
Taddie, a  
strong Wine.*

In a Towne betweene Boroche and Amadavar, lyeth a Great Saint of the Moores called Polle-Medomy much resorted to out of all places of India, for wealth, children, or what else they desire. Divers in the way goe with great chaines on their legges, and with their hands chained together, and their mouthes locked up, (only opening them for food) and when they come before him in this manner of their humble devotion, they affirme that presently their chaines and lockes flye open, not one returning in vaine, if themselves bee not vaine in their hopes, and in these and other like affections, which wayting on lying Vanities, forsake their owne Judge.

*Polle Medomy  
a Moore  
Devilor Saint.  
Pilgrimage to  
him.*

*Miracles as  
true as—*

From Agra to Cannowes is 130 c. East, the Citie great and unwalld, seated on an ascent, and the Castle on the height well fortified: at the foot whereof anciently Ganges tooke his course, but hath now broken a passage thorow the Valley some 4 c. distant, notwithstanding as yet a small branch remayneth there. Ganges is within his bounds three quarters of a mile broad, but with great raines swels over his bankes, covering the whole Vale neere 10 c. It hath thirtie Rivers of note which fall into it, as doth he himselfe into the Gulfe of Bengala. In it are innumerable Alagaters or Crocodiles, there called Murgurmach. It hath eighteene faire branches. Thence to Lacanowes is 30 c. a Towne of great traffique for Linnen and other Merchandize. To Oude from thence are 50 c. a Citie of ancient note, and seate of a Potan

*Certaine  
places of note  
in the Coun-  
treys of Purrop.  
Cannowes.*

*Ganges his  
beginning, and  
greatness.*

*Lacanowes.  
Oude.*

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*Holy, holy  
place and  
Indian Fables.  
what's going on*

King, now much ruined: the Castle built foure hundred yeeres agoe. Heere are also the ruines of Ranichand Castle and Houses which the Indians acknowledge for the great God, saying, that he tooke flesh upon him to see the Tamasha of the World. In these ruines remayne certaine Bramenes, who record the names of all such Indians as wash themselves in the River running thereby; which custome they say, hath continued foure lackes of yeeres (which is three hundred ninetie foure thousand, and five hundred yeeres before the Worlds Creation.) Some two miles on the further side of the River is a Cave of his, with a narrow entrance, but so spacious and full of turnings within, that a man may well loose himselfe there, if he take not better heed; where it is thought his ashes were buried. Hither resort many from all parts of India, which carry from hence in remembrance certaine graines of Rice as blacke as Gun-powder, which they say have beene reserved ever since. Out of the ruines of this Castle is yet much Gold tryed: here is great Trade, and such abundance of Indian Asse-horne, that they make hereof Bucklers, and divers sorts of Drinking Cups. There are of these Hornes, all the Indians affirme, some rare of great price, no Jewell comparable, some esteeming them the right Unicornes Horne.

*Indian-Asse-horne.*

[I. iv. 437.] From Oudee to Acabarpore 30 c. some 30 c. from whence lyeth Bonarce the principall Mart of Bengala goods. From Acab, to Jounpore 30 c. seated on a small River, over which is a bridge with Houses like London Bridge, but nothing so good. The Castle hath beene a seat of the Potan Kings, there yet remaying two faire Meskites, with many other ancient Monuments: the houses are like those of Amadavar, the circuit some 8. or 10 c. Hence come excellent sweete Oyles, Carpets, Hangings embrodered with Silke, all sorts of fine Linnen, &c.

*The returne  
from Jounpore  
another way to  
Alabasse to  
Agra.*

Thus much from Agra to Jounpore this way: from thence (returning that way to Agra) to Alabasse is 110 c. 30 c. all which are thorow a continuall Forrest. The

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Towne and Castle stand on the further side of Ganges pleasantly seated, called anciently Praye, and is held one of the Wonders of the East. Divers Potan Kings have sought to build here a Castle, but none could doe it, till Acabar layd the foundation and proceeded with the Worke. It stands on a Point or Angle having the River Gemini on the South-side falling into Ganges. It hath beene fortie yeeres a building, and is not yet finished, neither is like to bee in a long time. The Acabar for many yeeres had attending this worke by report twentie thousand persons, and as yet there continue working thereon some five thousand of all sorts. It will be one of the most famous buildings of the World. In this Castle Sha Selim kept when he rebelled against his Father. The outward wals are of an admirable height, of a red square stone, like Agra Castle, within which are two other wals nothing so high. You enter thorow two faire gates into a faire Court, in which stands a Pillar of stone fiftie Cubits above ground (so deeply placed within ground that no end can be found) which by circumstances of the Indians, seemeth to have beene placed by Alexander or some other great Conquerour, who could not passe further for Ganges. Passing this Court you enter a lesse, beyond that a larger, where the King sits on high at his Dersane to behold Elephants and other Beasts to fight. Right under him within a Vault are many Pagodes, being Monuments of Baba Adam, and Mama Havah, (as they call them) and of their Progenie, with Pictures of Noah and his Descent.

*Alabasse  
Castle.  
A mighty  
Castle.*

*Alexanders  
Pillar.*

The Indians suppose that Man was heere created, or kept here at least for many yeeres, affirming themselves to be of that Religion, whereof these Fathers were. To this place resort many thousands from all parts to worship: but before they approch these Reliques, they wash their bodies in Ganges, shaving their heads and beards, thereby deeming themselves clensed from all their former sins. Out of this Court is another richly paved where the King keeps his Derbar; beyond it another

*Mon. of Adam  
and Eve, and  
of the Crea-  
tion.  
Pilgrimage &  
Holy-water.*

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whence you enter into the Moholl, large, divided into sixteene severall Lodgings for sixteene great Women with their Slaves and Attendants: in the midst of all, the Kings Lodgings of three Stories each contayning sixteene roomes, in all eight and fortie Lodgings, all wrought over-head with rich Pargetting and curious Painting in all kind of Colours. In the midst of the lowest storie is a curious Tanke.

*Strange Tree.* In this Moholl is a Tree which the Indians call the Tree of Life (beeing a wilde Indian figge Tree) for that it could never bee destroyed by the Potan Kings and this mans Ancestors, which have sought to doe it by all meanes, stocking it up and sifting the very earth under it to gather forth the sprigs, it still springing againe, insomuch that this King lets it alone seeking to cherish it. This Tree is of no small esteeme with the Indians. In the waters side within the Moholl are divers large Devoncans, where the King with his Women often passe their times in beholding Gemini, paying his tribute to Ganges. Betweene them and the waters side at the foote of the wall is a pleasant Garden shaded with Cypresse Trees, and abounding with excellent fruits and flowres, having in the midst a faire Banquetting House, with privie staires to take Boate. From hence in October or November when the great Frost is past you may passe by Boats for Bengala; but the passage is dangerous: 4 c. downe are two Castles opposite on the Bankes, Harrayle and Gussee, seated on two hils rayzed by industry, built by the Potans.

*Menepore.* From Alabasse to Menepore is 20 c. alongst the River Ganges. At 2 c. on this way is a sumptuous Tombe for this Kings first Wife, Mother to Sultan Casseroon, and Sister to Raja Manisengo, who upon the newes of her Sonnes revolt poysoned her selfe. From hence passing Ganges is a more direct way to Jounpore.

*Chappergat.* To Chappergat is 12 c. here is one of the fairest  
*A faire Saray.* Saraies in India, liker a goodly Castle then a Inne to lodge strangers, the lodgings very faire of stone with

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Lockes and Keyes able to lodge a thousand men : a man can scarce shoote from side to side with an Arrow ; neere to it is a faire bridge both built by one man : the way perillous for Theeves. Itay is thence 12 c. anciently the seate of a Potan King but now ruined. On the height of the hill cut steep downe, is seated a strong Castle double walled, having at the entrance the figure of a mans face which the Indians much worship powring abundance of Oyle upon it. To Amedipore is 43 c. a plentifull Countrey full of good Saraies for Caravans. Much Indico called Cole of a grosse sort is made in this way, which is spent in India, or transported for Samercand, Cascat, and those parts, none passing into Christendome, except mixed with that of Biana. Hence to Agra is 7 c. passing Gemini close to the Citie.

*Itay. Face worshipped.*

Lands lying Easterly from Lahor with their  
Lords.

**A** Longst the Ravee Easterly, lyeth the Land of Rajaw Bossow, whose chiefe seate is Tem-mery, 50 c. from Lahor. He is a mighty Prince now subject to the Mogol, a great Minion of Sha Selim. Out of this, and the adjoyning Regions, come most of the Indian Drugges, growing on the Mountaines, Spikenard, Turbith, Miras, Kebals, Gunlack, Turpentine, Costus, &c. This Raja confines the Kings Land Easterly. Bordering to him is another great Rajaw, called Tulluck-Chand, whose chiefe City is Negercoat, 80 c. from Lahor, and as much from Syrinan, in which City is a famous Pagod, called Je or Durga, unto which worlds of people resort out of all parts of India. It is a small short Idoll of stone, cut in forme of a man ; much is consumed in offerings to him, in which some also are reported to cut off a piece of their tongue, and throwing it at the Idols feet, have found it whole the next day (able to lye I am afraid ; to serve the father of lyes and lyers, how ever) yea some out of impious piety heere sacrifice themselves,

*Tem-mery.*

[I. iv. 438.]

*Negercoat  
Negercoat. ket.  
feetress*

*Idolatrous pil-  
grimage, and  
cruell devo-  
tions.*

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cutting their throats, and presently recovering: the holier the man, the sooner forsooth he is healed, some (more grievous sinners) remaining halfe a day in paine, before the Divell will attend their cure. Hither they resort to crave children, to enquire of money hidden by their parents, or lost by themselves, which having made their offerings, by dreames in the night receive answere, not one departing discontented. They report this Pagan Deity to have beene a woman (if a holy Virgin may have that name) yea that shee still lives (the Divell shee doth) but will not shew her selfe. Divers Moores also resort to this Peer. This Raja is powerfull, by his Mountaines situation secure, not once vouchsafing to visite Sha Selim.

*Calsery.*  
*Kalseria*

On this Rajaw Easterly confineth another, called Decanspergas, a mightie Prince, his chiefe seat Calsery about an 150 c. from Agra, his Country held 500 c. long, North and South 300 c. broad, populous, able to raise upon occasion five hundred thousand foot, but few or no horse; the Land plentifull in it selfe, but sends forth little.

*Serenegar.*  
*Dow Lager.*

To the Eastward of this Rajaw, betwixt Jemini and Ganges lyeth the Land of Rajaw Mansa, a mighty Prince and very rich, reported to be served, all in vessels of massie gold: his Countrey 300 c. long, and one hundred and fifty broad, his chiefe seat Serenegar: the Mountaines called Dow Lager, upon which in time of Winter falls such extreame Snowes, that the Inhabitants are forced to remoove into the Valleys. Yet doe I not thinke that any of these Lands extend Northerly above forty degrees, but the height of the Mountaines causeth this extremity of cold. This Rajas Land extendeth within some 200 c. of Agra, part within 50 c. of Syrinan, very plentifull.

*Extremities*  
*of cold.*

*Camow.*

On the further side of Ganges lyeth a very mighty Prince, called Rajaw Rodorow, holding a mountainous Countrey, his chiefe seat Camow; his territories extend 400 c. long, and not much lesse in breadth, abounding with graine,

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have many goodly Cities: thence cometh much Muske, and heere is the great breed of a small kind of Horse, called Gunts, a true travelling scalecliffe beast. This Prince is puissant in foot, but hath few Horse or Elephants, the mountaines not requiring the one, and the cold excluding the other: his Lands thought to reach neare China.

*Gunts, a race of horse to climb hilles.*

To the South of this Raja, thwart the streames of Ganges, is seated another, Raja Mugg, very powerfull in horse, foote, and Elephants. In his Land is the old rocke of naturall Diamonds, which yeelds him no small benefit. His Lands extend East, somewhat South 700 c. from Agra. Beneath him amongst the streames of Ganges, keepeth a Potan Prince of the Dely-Kings race, whom the King cannot subdue, by reason of the streames and Ilands of Ganges. He confineth upon Purrop, and makes often inroades upon the Kings lands, enforcing Sha Selim to maintaine a frontire army. Hence to the mouth of Ganges, all is the Kings land: only in the mouth, the Portugall Out-lawes hold a small Fort, and doe much mischief, living in no forme of subjection to God or man.

*Rocke of Diamonds.*

*Port. outlawes.*

On the further side of Ganges, is the mightie King of Arracan, enjoying a large territory, and infinite numbers of small Barkes. Eastward from him is the Kingdome of Siam; behind it Ova and Jangoma. Betweene Tanassar and Arracan is the Kingdome of Pegu; the Land now lyeth waste. To the South is the Kingdome of Queda, Malacca, &c. On the Sea-coast of Bengala, this King hath two chiefe ports, Ougolee (tyrannized by the Portugals) and Pipilee, passing which, and the Land of Orixia, you enter into the Lands of Goloconda, on whom Sha Selim maketh warres, and hath forcibly taken much of his Land. His chiefe Port is Masulipatan, and his Royall seat Braganadar and Goloconda, that late builded. Alongst the sea side toward the Cape, is the mightie King of Bezeneger, under whom the Portugals hold Saint Thome and

*See of Pegu Floris his Relation before.*

*Pipilee*

*Sijanagar  
Bijanagar*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Negapatan, but are not suffered to build a Castle. But I let passe these neighbouring Indies, and return to Agra, the Mogols royall residence.

*Description of  
Agra, and the  
Castle.*

Agra hath not been in fame above fiftie yeeres, being before Acabars time a Village, who removed (as you have heard) from Fetipore for want of good water. It is spacious, large, populous beyond measure, that you can hardly passe in the streets, which are for the most part dirty and narrow, save only the great Bazar and some few others, which are large and faire. The Citie lyeth in manner of a halfe-moone, belying to the land-ward some 5 c. in length, and as much by the Rivers side, upon the bankes whereof are many goodly houses of the Nobility, pleasantly over-looking Gemini, which runneth with a swift current from the North to the South, somewhat Easterly into Ganges. Upon the banke

*The Castle.*

[I. iv. 439.]

of this River stands the Castle, one of the fairest and admirablest buildings of the East, some three or foure miles in compasse, inclosed with a faire and strong wall of squared stone; about which is cast a faire ditch, over it draw-bridges. The walles are built with bulwarkes somewhat defensible, regalled with a counter-scarfe or front without, some fiteene yards broad. Within this are two other strong walls and gates. To the Castle are foure gates, one to the North, by which you passe to a Rampire with great peeces, another West to the Bazar, called the Cichery gate, within which, over against the great gate, is the Casi his seat of Chiefe-Justice in matters of law, and by it two or three murtherers very great (one three foot in the bore, and fiteene long) of cast brasse. Over-against this seat is the Cichery or Court of Rolls, where the Kings Viseer sits every morning some three houres, by whose hands passe all matters of Rents, Grants, Lands, Firmans, Debts, &c.

*Seats of  
Justice.*

*\*It is said that  
they were two  
Brothers Res-  
boots, Tutors  
to a Prince  
their Nephew,  
whom the King  
demaunded of  
them. They  
refused, and  
were committed,  
but drew on the  
Officers, slew twelve,  
and at last by  
multitudes oppressing  
were slain, and here  
have Elephants of  
stone, and themselves  
figured.*

Beyond these two gates you passe a second gate, over which are two Rajaws in stone,\* who were slaine in the



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Kings Derbar before the Kings eyes, for being over-bold in speech, they selling their lives bravely, in remembrance of which they are heere placed. Passing this gate, you enter into a faire streete, with houses and munition all alongst on both sides. At the end of this street being a quarter of a mile, you come to the third gate, which leads to the Kings Derbar, alwayes chained, all men, but the King and his children, there alighting. This gate is to the South called Acabar Drowage, close within which is the Whores child, many hundreds of which attend there day and night, according as their severall turnes come every seventh day, that they may bee ready when the King or his women shall please to call any of them to sing or dance in his Moholl, he giving to every one of them stipends according to their unworthy worth.

*Singers or whoores attending. Some say they are there as a Court of guard of women, of which are here two or three hundred daily by succession.*

The fourth Gate is to the River called the Dersane, leading into a faire Court extending alongst the River, in which the King lookes forth every morning at Sun-rising, which hee salutes, and then his Nobles resort to their Tessillam. Right under the place where he looks out, is a kind of scaffold whereon his Nobles stand, but the Addees with others awayt below in the Court. Here also every noone he looketh forth to behold Tamashan, or fighting of Elephants, Lyons, Buffles, killing of Deare with Leopards; which is a custom on every day of the weeke, Sunday excepted, on which is no fighting; but Tuesday on the contrary is a day of blood, both of fighting beasts, and justified men, the King judging and seeing execution. To returne to the third Gate, within it you enter into a spacious court with Atescanna's round about like shops or open stalls, wherein his Captaines according to their degrees, keep their seventh day Chockees. A little further you enter within a rayle into a more inward Court, within which none but the Kings Addees, and men of sort are admitted, under paine of swacking by the Porters cudgells, which lay on load without respect of persons.

*Tessillam is a gesture of humiliation.*

*guard post*

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*The Kings  
Derbar.*

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Being entred, you approach the Kings Derbar or Seat, before which is also a small Court inclosed with railes, covered over head with rich Semianes to keepe away the Sunne; where aloft in a Gallery, the King sits in his chaire of State, accompanied with his Children and chiefe Vizier (who goeth up by a short ladder forth of the Court) no other without calling daring to goe up to him, save onely two Punkaw's to gather wind. And right before him below on a scaffold is a third, who with a horse taile makes havocke of poore flies. On the right hand of the King, on the wall behind him, is the picture of our Saviour; on the left, of the Virgin. Within these railes none under the degree of foure hundred horse are permitted to enter. On the further side of this Court of presence, are hanged golden bells, that if any be oppressed and can get no justice by the Kings Officers, by ringing these bells when the King sits, he is called, and the matter discussed before the King. But let them be sure their cause be good, least he be punished for presumption to trouble the King. Here every day betweene three and foure a clocke, the King comes forth (and many thousands resort to doe their duties, each taking place according to his degree) where hee remaines hearing of matters, receiving of newes by letters read by his Vizier, graunting of suites, &c. till shutting in of the Evening, the drumme meane while beating, and Instruments playing from a high Gallery on the next building opposite: his Elephants and Horses passing by in brave fashion, doing their Tessillam, and being perused by Officers to see if they prosper. In the Castle are two high turrets, over-laid with pure massie gold, which may be seen from farre, one over his Mohol, the other over his Treasury. After his going in from the Derbar in the Evening, some two houres after he comes out againe, sitting forth in a small more inward Court, behind the other, close to his Moholl, into which none but the Grandes, and they also with tickets to be renewed with every Moone, are permitted to enter,

sa'lute

*Of his Ele-  
phants yearly  
presenting, of  
his Treasures  
in this Castle,  
&c. see Capt.  
Hawkins for-  
mer relations.  
Of other  
things, see that  
which followes  
in Sir T. Roes  
Journal.*

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where he drinckes by number and measure, sometimes one and thirtie, and running over, mixing also among, severe judicatures. From this Court is his privy passage into a curious Garden, and to his Barge, by which he often passeth the River to an other Garden opposite. It is remarkeable, that both in Court, and here in these Gardens, no Courtiers or Gardeners are tied to attendance, but by their seventh dayes turne.

Some adde,\* that the Citie hath no walls, but a ditch round about, not broad, and dry also: adjoyning to the ditch without the Citie are very large suburbs. The City and suburbs are one way seven mile in length, three in breadth. The Noble mens houses and Merchants built with bricke and stone, flat roofed, the common sort of mudde walls, covered with thatch, which cause often and terrible fires. The Citie hath sixe Gates, the adjoyning River Gemini being broader then the Thames at London, on which are many Boats, some of one hundred Tunnes, but these cannot returne against the streame. Most of the Noble mens houses are by the Rivers side. From Agra to Lahor sixe hundred miles, the way is set on both sides with Mulbery-trees.

*\*A written booke entituled, A discourse of Agra, and the foure principall waies to it. I know not by what Author, except it be Nic. Uphet.*

[I. iv. 440.]

King Acabars Sepulchre is 3 c. distant from Agra in the way to Lahor, nothing neere finished as yet, after tenne yeares worke. It is placed in the midst of a faire and large Garden, inclosed with bricke walls, neere two miles in circuit; is to have foure Gates (but one of which is yet in hand) each, if answerable to this foundation, able to receive a great Prince with a reasonable traine) alongst the way side is a spacious Moholl for his fathers women (as is said) to remayne and end their dayes in deploring their deceased Lord, each enjoying the lands they before had in the Kings time, by the pay or rents of five thousand horse the principall, so that this should be to them a perpetuall Nunnery, never to marry againe.

*Description of Acabars Tomb.*

In the Center of this Garden stands the Tombe foure square, about three quarters of a mile in compasse. The

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first inclosure is with a curious rayle, to which you ascend some six steps into a small square Garden quartered in curious Tankes, planted with variety of sweets: adjoyning to which is the Tombe, rounded with this gardenet, being also foure square, all of hewne stone, with faire spacious Galleries on each side, having at each corner a small beautifull Turret, arched over head, and covered with various Marble. Betwixt corner and corner are foure other Turrets at like distance. Here within a faire round coffin of Gold, lieth the body of this Monarch, who sometimes thought the World too little for him. This Tombe is much worshipped both by the Moores and Gentiles, holding him for a great Saint. Some tenne or twelve foot higher, you ascend by staires to another Gallery, (like, but narrower, to the former, as are also the rest that follow) containing onely three of those Turrets between corner and corner. Here in the midst is his Wardrobe for a memoriall. The third story hath but two of those middle Turrets on a side: the fourth one: the fifth hath only the corner Turret, and a small square Gallery. The Tombe was not finished at my departure, but lay in manner of a coffin, covered with a white sheet, interwrought with Gold flowers. By his head stands his Sword and Target, and on a small pillow his Turbant, and thereby two or three faire gilded bookes. At his feet stand his shooes, and a rich Bason and Ewre. Every one approaching neere makes his reverence, and puts off his shooes, bringing in his hand some sweete smelling flowers to bestrew the Carpets, or to adorne the Tombe.

At my last sight thereof, there was onely over head a rich Tent, with a Semaine over the Tombe. But it is to be inarched over with the most curious white and speckled Marble, and to be seeled all within, with pure sheet-Gold richly inwrought. These foure last Turrets also inclosing the Sepulchre, are of most rich curious Marble, & the ground underfoot paved with the like. There are in continuall worke about this and other build-

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ings about it, the Moholl and Gate, not so few as three thousand. The stone is brought from a rich Quarrey neere Fetipore, which (wee have said) may be cut in length and forme, as Timber with sawes, and Plankes and seelings are made thereof.

### Chap. V.

The ninth Voyage of the Indian Companie to the East Indies, in the James, whereof was Captaine Edmund Marlowe of Bristoll, and the Master John Davy, which wrote this Journall.



He tenth of February, 1611. we departed from the Downes upon our Voyage. The thirteenth at night we anchored within the Ile of Wight, where we stayed till the one and twentieth of the same Moneth, and then set saile and turned out at S. Helens point. The same day

*February  
1611.*

at noone we had Dunnose North from us three leagues off, the Dragon before us, and the Hosiander and the Salomon put in the Needles.

The eleventh day of Aprill, 1612. by observation wee were under the Equinoctiall line: and in longitude from the Meridian of the Lizard, sixe degrees twenty minutes West. This night the variation was five degrees thirty seven minutes from North to the East. The twenty seventh, the variation of the Needle was fourteene degrees seven minutes. This day at noone we were in latitude by observation, nineteene degrees fortie minutes: the longitude from the meridian of the Lizard, eleven degrees twenty foure minutes West. These twenty foure houres we sailed two leagues South by East. Here we saw an Iland South-east from us fourteene leagues. This Iland I saw when I was with Sir Edward Michelborne. This Iland is like Corvo. The latitude is twenty

*Aprill 11.  
1612.  
They crosse the  
Equinoctiall.*

*This seemeth  
to be the Ile de  
Martin Vaz.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

degrees thirty minutes: the longitude eleven degrees thirty minutes West from the Lizard. The variation of the Needle fourteene degrees thirty minutes. This Iland riseth ragged; upon the Easter end standeth a little pike, but the Iland is round like Corvo. East North-east from this Iland is another Iland or two in sight, seven or eight leagues off.

[I. iv. 441.] The seven and twentieth of June, at nine of the clocke at night, wee saw the Land of Saint Laurence, in latitude by judgement foure and twentie degrees eight minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, five and twentie degrees no minutes. The variation was fifteene degrees, and ten minutes.

The eight and twentieth, in the morning the variation of the needle was fifteene degrees, no minutes, in foure leagues off the shoare, betweene the headland of the Bay, and the Ilands before the Bay, is no ground in seventie or eightie fathomes.

*They anchor  
in the Bay of  
Saint Augustine.*

This night wee anchored in the Bay of Saint Augustine, in five fathomes by the South-land. This day wee weighed and came in by the River with the shippe. The one of our anchors lay in five and thirtie fathomes, and the other in ten fathomes. You may ride in shoalder water off each side, if you will: for this channell of deepe water is but narrow. Here no Sea can come to hurt you, because the Shoalds and Land breake it off. It may well be called an harbour, for the goodnesse of the place. Wee spent twentie dayes in this Bay.

*Julie 18.  
They depart  
from the River  
of Saint  
Augustine.*

The eighteenth of Julie, in the morning we set saile for Bantam, and wee steered off West by north from the river to go to the northward of the Ilands. And in this course you have no ground with the lead; for it is all steepe home to the shoare of the other side; for when you have twentie fathomes within the Ilands, you are hard by the stones: but by the Ilands and shoalds is faire shoalading from seven to thirtie fathoms, and no ground, the gut betweene the hills being East

## JOHN DAVIS OF LIMEHOUSE

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by South from you, you goe right into the rode, or East.

The eighteenth, at noone wee were in latitude three and twentie degrees, five and fortie minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, two and twentie degrees, eight and fiftie minutes East, and two leagues off the next land. Heere the land is all white by the waters side.

The nineteenth, in the morning the variation was fiftene degrees no minutes and then the ship was from the neerest land twelve leagues: and the latitude by judgement three and twentie deg. five and fiftie minutes. At noone, the latitude by observation foure and twentie degrees, one and thirtie minutes: and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope two and twentie degrees, two and twentie minutes East. These foure and twentie houres we sailed upon a right line South-west by South twentie leagues. This night the variation was fourteene degrees thirtie minutes.

*They saile  
toward Ban-  
tam by the  
outside of the  
Ile of Saint  
Laurence.*

The foure and twentieth of September, in the morning wee saw the Iles of Nintam, which are in latitude, one degree, thirtie minutes. The Sound betweene the two great Ilands is eightene leagues from Priaman, and eleven leagues from the Shoalds before Tecou. Beware you come not neere these Shoalds by night, but rather lie short three or foure leagues till day-light. And then when you see three hommockes, that will rise up like three Ilands; have a speciall care, that you have one at your bolt-spreet end, to give warning of any spots in your way: for there are Corralbods that you may easily perceive. Your course from this Sound of the two great Ilands of Nintam to goe for Tecou or Priaman, is East North-east to the Shoalds aforesaid. But when you come thorow the Sound, keepe your lead going: and come no neerer the South great Iland then sixteene fathome: for towards the Eastside are Shoalds: and a breach off the Norther-Iland also, as you shall see upon your Larboord-side going in.

*September 24.  
Iles of Nintam.*

A.D.  
1612.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*They arrive in  
the Rode of  
Priaman in  
Sumatra.*

For your better knowing when you draw neere the Shoalds of Tecou, set the three hommocks which are like three Ilands, but are upon the Maine, for it is low land by them: and when you have them North-east and by East, you shall begin to meet with them: and when the said land is North North-east you are past them. But bee very carefull every where: for it is all bad ground hereabout before you passe the high land of Manancabo, which is in latitude foure degrees, thirtie minutes, or thereabout.

The sixe and twentieth, wee anchored in the rode of Priaman; where wee found the Thomas: and wee stayed there to recover sicke men fourteene dayes. And then the Hector and wee did set saile for Bantam. The latitude of Priaman is in fiftie minutes Southerly. The variation foure degrees ten minutes. The Rode is behind the second Iland in sixe fathomes: upon which Iland you have fresh water and wood. The Barre of Priaman is fast by.

*October 8.*

The eight of October, the ship came downe by the Hector, where wee stayed for her to goe for Bantam, and in the morning set saile.

*They arrive at  
Bantam.*

The three and twentieth, wee came into the rode of Bantam with the James and the Hector.

*November.*

The fourth of November 1612. wee weighed from the rode of Bantam, to goe for Coromandel, by the straight of Sunda: but the wind and streames were so much against us, that we were forced into the Straight of Sunda againe, to fit our ship being much weather-beaten.

*December 11.*

The eleventh of December, wee anchored againe by Pulo Panian, and went to worke to romage our ship to take in ballast.

*Januarie 10.  
The Straight  
of Malacca.*

The tenth of Januarie, being ballasted, watered, and fitted, wee set saile for the Straight of Malacca: but being late in the monson, streames and winds both against us, with much toyle to ship and men wee plied seventie leagues from Bantam, and could get no farther



## JOHN DAVIS OF LIMEHOUSE

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1613.

from the tenth of this moneth to the first of March: *March.*  
 whereupon our hope was then past for that. And  
 taking advise amongst ourselves, wee concluded to *They are put*  
 water and wood, and so to returne for Bantam, and to *backe to*  
 proceed without Sumatra. *Bantam.*

The eleventh, being fitted with wood and water, we [I. iv. 442.]  
 bare up for Bantam the second time.

The fifth of June 1613. at noone, in latitude 12. *June 5. 1613.*  
 degr. no minutes, and longitude from the salt hills, 23.  
 degrees, no minutes West. Heere you shall see plainly,  
 that we have been carried with the streame foure  
 degrees, thirty minutes, which is ninty leagues. For  
 whosoever he be, that shall saile downe from Bantam, *A special note.*  
 or up, he shall find such uncertaine sailing, if he looke  
 not well to the variation of the needle, that he may  
 well misse his expectation for the arrivall at his Port.  
 For there is neither English nor Hollander, that can  
 find any way how to deale with those streames, but  
 only by the variation: for that will helpe much in  
 ten or fifteene leagues, if it be carefully observed. Heere  
 we saw the land, it is so low, that you cannot see it *They discerie*  
 before you see the Pagods or Pagan Churches: and *the Land.*  
 we were when we saw the land foure leagues off. You  
 may be bold with your lead in fifteene fathomes by  
 night upon the Coast, and by day in ten fathomes:  
 but take heed you have a sure man at the lead, for  
 it will shoald suddenly; for after you come to have thirty  
 fathoms, you will come presently to shoald water, for  
 it is like a well, and the ground Ozie. Your course  
 along the shoare is North and by East to Paleacate,  
 and so up to Masulipatan. This land was about Nega- *Negapatan.*  
 patan. Heere we steered North North-east all night,  
 in three and twenty and seventeene fathoms, three or  
 foure leagues: the variation thirteene degrees, ten  
 minutes, you shall in twelve degrees of latitude surely  
 see the land.

The sixth at noone, we anchored in the Road of *They arrive at*  
 Paleacate in eight fathoms sand. There is a middle *Paleacate.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

ground, where you have but five fathoms, and sixe, seven, eight, within that againe. The markes for the Roade are the round Hill by the other hill West Northerly, and the Hollanders Fort South-west and by West, as wee road. The variation is thirteene degrees, ten minutes. The latitude thirteene degrees, thirty minutes.

The eight at noone, we were in latitude fourteene degrees, forty minutes: we sailed since we weighed the last night twenty three leagues, the depths five and twenty and three and twenty fathoms: the course North and by East; but the lead is our guide under God.

The ninth at noone, in latitude fifteene degrees, thirty minutes. Heere you have the land in sight, but not the high land of Petepoli. These foure and twenty houres wee sailed seventeene leagues North in fifteene and sixteene fathoms. And this high land is a Pagodie or Pagan Church. You may, if you will, hale in with it into five fathoms, when the hill is North North-west, but you must goe off East for it, for we did so. But beware in going off for a lownesse of sand, and come no nearer it then twelve or thirteene fathoms, till you be surely past it. This high land is from the high land of Petepoli sixe leagues.

*A good note.*

*They Anchor  
in the Road of  
Petepoli.*

The tenth, we anchored in the Road of Petepoli, in five fathoms sand. This new high Iland North North-west from us, and the platforme of Palm-trees upon the Island East North-east, Easterly, and the Barre North-west and by North from us. All the Sea-cost is low land. The latitude fifteene degrees, two and fiftie minutes. The variation thirteene degrees, fifty minutes, perfect and full.

*A Factory  
with nine men  
erected at  
Petepoli.*

The nineteenth, in the after-noone we set saile, when the Factory was fitted. The Merchants which wee left there, were Master George Chansey, and our Purser, with seven men more to keep our house and goods.

The twentieth calme, you goe East South-east nine

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leagues, in seven or eight fathomes, and then North North-west: feare not in five fathoms or lesse, after you are about the point, for it is low land. There is but one great tree bigger then any of the rest to know the Road by, that must you bring West and by North from you, and you shal have three fathoms and a quarter soft Ozie, and ride three miles off the land.

*A great tree, a chiefe marke for to know the Roade.*

The one and twentieth, we anchored in the Roade of Masulipatan, where we found a ship of Holland: heere we were well entertained. Heere we did stay about sixe moneths, to wit, untill the sixteenth of January: and then we weighed and went for Petipoli, where wee arrived the nineteenth of the same, and stayed there to take in the goods and Merchants, till the seventh of February. And then wee set saile for Bantam, and kept the same courses which wee did before downe, all the way up. We arrived at Bantam the twentieth of Aprill 1614. where we stayed till the tenth of June 1614. and then set saile for Patane.

*They arrive at Masulipatan.*

The tenth of June 1614. at noone, we had sight of the Islands nine leagues from Bantam, our going is from five, sixe, seven, eight, twelve, fourteene, and so to foure and twentie fathomes: at this time our course was North North-east, after you are cleare off the Road, the wind from the East South-east: the latitude Southerly five degrees, foure and forty minutes.

*They returne from Petepoli for Bantam. They arrive at Bantam. They set out for Patane. June 10. 1614.*

The eleventh, at sixe of the clocke in the morning, we were by the two Ilands that lye North from Bantam, in five degrees of latitude by Sumatra, in twentie fathomes, which is the surest course out and home. Heere you must be carefull to looke well out for two sands, that lye even with the water. From six in the morning we sailed seven leagues North North-east, in sixteen, fifteene, fourteene and thirteene fathoms, and are now from Bantam seven and twentie leagues North and by East nearest, the wind from the East to the South-east. From twelve in the night we sailed eleven leagues North, in ten and eleven fathoms Ozie: but

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[I. iv. 443.] when you passe the Riffe, you have hard sand: the latitude foure degrees, twelve minutes Southerly. Beware by night, goe not without ten fathomes, nor within to the Maine to lesse then sixe or seven. And so be bold with a sure man at the Lead: for that must be the best Pilot.

The twelfth, in the morning from eight degrees Easterly, wee sailed seven leagues North North-east in eight, seven, sixe and five fathomes, and are with the second Riffe.

*The Ile Lucapara.* From the second in the morning to eleven in the morning; wee sailed seven leagues North North-east by judgement: but the streame did set so fast in, that wee were forced to anchor in foure fathome and a quarter lesse: the riffe land in sight, but not Lucapara. Heere must especiall care bee had, when you come with the land off the Riffe, that is, twelve leagues short of Lucapara, and fortie eight leagues from Bantam, that you come not within sixe fathomes till you see Lucapara, for it is very uncertaine ground, full of pits. And for a warning to avoid it, beware you bring not the Riffe land last mentioned South-west and by South, but keepe off in seven fathomes, till you see Lucapara, and then you need not feare; for the Iland is bold two leagues off, but remember you must leave it to the Eastward of you, and when you see it, feare not five or foure fathomes, for that is the depth you may be bold in with the Maine of Sumatra, but in the best toward the Iland is five and an halfe, and sixe fathomes. The streame setteth North North-west, and South South-east, it hath sixe foot water. The floud commeth from the South-ward, and the ebbe from the North-ward. The thirteenth, we rid still with very uncertaine weather.

The fourteenth, we came with the Iland and Maine, and put through betweene them in five fathomes and an halfe. And at noone we had the Iland East North-east a league from us, for so neere is the deepest water: then steere North till the point bee North-west and by West in five

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or sixe fathomes. The distance is foure leagues, keepe the Iland South South-east from you, for about it is very uncertaine ground.

Then the next reach lyeth North North-west neerest: but keepe Sumatra side, and not Banca, although you have deeper water: for Banca side is Rockes, and sounding depths, Sumatra is Ozie. And you may bee bold in this first reach: and you shall have nine, ten, eleven, twelve, eighteene or twentie fathomes, till you come with the high land of Banca, which at Lucapara wil shew like Ilands, then shal you see Ilands, besides the great Iland of Banca three leagues before you, and Sumatra side fall in with a bite, and all flat ground: wherefore come no neerer then seven, and no farther off then nine fathomes, but rather for advantage hale neere unto the flats of Sumatra in sixe or five fathomes. Here is the Channell and narrowest: here goes tydes strongly one way, aswell as the other. The fifteenth, the next reach lyeth North-west by North eight leagues, and wee were with it sixe degrees East.

*Banca is a  
great Iland.*

The sixteenth, the next reach lyeth North-west and by West, and West North-west downe to Palimbam point: but keepe neere Sumatra in sixe or seven fathomes: for Banca side is not good; although it bee deeper water, yet there are many Rockes toward the end of the great Iland of Banca. This reach is seventeene leagues long to the Towne of Palimbam, and the hill Monpin is North from you, which standeth upon the Norther end of Banca. Then is the Road of Palimbam South South-west from you: your depth ten fathomes off Sumatra side. The distance betweene the Iland and Sumatra at this ende is sixe leagues in my judgement.

*Palimbam  
point.*

*The hill Mon-  
pin, upon the  
Northerne  
end of Banca.*

Keepe Sumatra side by night or day in seven fathomes, till you have the Norther end of Banca East South-east for a Riffe that lyeth off the Norther end two leagues: and then will your latitude bee one degree, one and twentie minutes Southerly, and foure leagues off Banca. But you must alter courses to bring it thus. For when

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Banca is North-east and by East, Then you must steere North North-east, and North, as Lead and discretion shall guide: but goe not with lesse then ten fathomes by night.

*The Ile of  
Pulo Tuio.*

The seventeenth, at noone one degree ten minutes Southerly: Here you saile North in eight or nine fathomes Ozie: and here you see that Ile of Pulo Tuio without you. Here by reason we had it calme, we anchored in nine fathomes. Heere the streame did set West South-west and East North-east.

The eighteenth, heere your course is North North-east, seven, eight, nine and ten fathomes. And when you have the two Northermost Ilands in the Offing South-east from you, then is Pulo Sio North-west and by North. And being thus it hath two hils with a Valley in the midst, and two little Ilands by it. And when it is South-west, it sheweth round like the Mew-stone.

The nineteenth, this Iland hath water and wood, but none Inhabitants. The latitude of this Iland is fortie minutes South.

*Linga.*

The twentieth, now your depths must bee from fiteene to twentie in and off, and your course North to Linga, the land is faire in sight, goe not off by any meanes, rather anchor. Heere is hard ground.

*Bintam.*

Now your course to Bintam is North & by West neerest, but go not without foure and twentie, nor within twentie. And that will bring you in sight of the round hill of Bintam, which hath in latitude one deg. ten min. and is the fairest way. The hill standeth in the middle of the Iland.

*Pulo Timon.*

The one and twentieth, now your course for Pulo Timon is North North-west, and North by West having alwayes sight of land, I meane Ilands; and your depths are twentie, nineteene, and eighteene fathomes, Ozie. The latitude of Pulo Timon is two degrees fortie seven minutes Northerly, or much thereupon.

[I. iv. 444.]  
*Pulo Capas.*

The two and twentieth, from Pulo Timon to Pulo Capas is thirtie sixe leagues North by West neerest in eighteene, nineteene, twentie, and twentie two fathomes.

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And when you have the Ilands West off you, then have you thirtie sixe fathomes close by the Iland. If occasion serve you may goe betweene the Ilands and the Maine in a faire Channell. These Ilands are in the latitude of foure degrees fiftie two minutes Northerly.

The foure and twentieth, from Pulo Capus to the other Ilands, which are so many that you cannot tell them, the course is North-west by North fourteene leagues: and then the Norther end of the Iles is distant from the Souther end nine leagues. The depths are twentie two and twentie foure fathomes.

The five and twentieth, now your course to Patane is West North-west fortie eight leagues: goe no further off the land then twentie leagues, nor no neerer, then twelve or thirteene leagues, unlesse you have occasion to anchor. The Land is bold and high. After you passe sixteene leagues West North-west, there are no more Ilands till you come to Patane, but only one Rocke: and you may if you will, goe betweene the Maine and it. This Rocke is fourteene leagues short of Patane.

The thirtieth, we anchored in the Roade of Patane in three fathomes and an halfe, where we did ride til the first of August: and then set saile for Sangora to trimme our ship. This Sangora is a very good place under two Ilands, fast by the Maine, and from Patane fourteene or fifteene leagues.

*They arrive  
at Patane.*

*Sangora.*

The third of August 1614. we came to an Anchor in the Road of Sangora under the Eastermost Iland of the two, and there we trimmed our ship well, and came away the ninth of September, arrived at Patane the next day following, where we stayed till the sixt of October, to take in the goods of the Globe, to carrie them for Bantam.

*August, 3,  
1614.*

The ninth of October we set saile from Patane, being bound for Bantam; holding the same course backe, that we came forth; and the ninth of November we arrived safe at Bantam. Wee rid there till the seven and twentieth of January, to lade our ships, and to fit all things for our Voyage home for England.

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*They returne  
for England.  
The death of  
Capt. Edmund  
Marlow.*

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The nine and twentieth, wee set saile from thence: And within some hundred leagues from Bantam homeward bound dyed our Captaine Master Edmund Marlow, an excellent man in the Art of Navigation, and all the Mathematicks. The first place at which we anchored was the Bay of Saldanha, where we stayed for our Consort the Globe: which arrived there the next day following.

The nine and twentieth of Aprill 1615. wee came to an anchor in the Roade, where wee stayed till the seventeenth of May. And then being well fitted in both our ships, wee did set saile for Santa Helena, where wee safely arrived the third of June, and rode there till the seventh in the morning. Then wee set saile together for England, where, God bee prayesd, we safely arrived the third of August 1615.

### Chap. VI.

A Ruter, or briefe direction for readie sayling into the East-India, digested into a plaine method by Master John Davis of Lime-house, upon experience of his five Voyages thither, and home againe.

#### §. I.

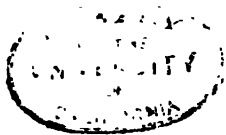
Nauticall Observation of places betwixt the Lizard and Saint Augustine in the Ile of Saint Laurence.



First, the Lizard hath in latitude fiftie degrees ten minutes. The Cape Finisterre in Galicia hath in latitude forty three degrees twentie minutes, and longitude from the Meridian of the Lizard, two degrees thirtie six minutes West. The Iland of Lancerota hath in latitude twentie eight degrees, forty minutes, and longitude from the Lizard five degrees twentie foure minutes West.

*Lancerota.*





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The variation of the Compasse sixe degrees sixe minutes from North to East. And when you are in the latitude of thirtie three degrees thirtie minutes, and chance to have five degrees twentie minutes of variation, you may assure your selfe to be North North-east from the said Iland, and your course is South South-west to goe with it.

The Grand Canaria hath in latitude twenty seven degrees fortie minutes, and longitude from the Lizard sixe degrees thirtie minutes West. The variation is sixe degrees from North to East. Likewise in the latitude thirtie degrees thirtie minutes: when you have five degrees and fiftie minutes variation, you have the said Iland South and by West from you. *Grand Canaria.* [I. iv. 445.]

The Iland of Saint Marie, being the Eastermost of the Azores, hath in latitude thirtie seven degrees; and longitude from the Lizard fourteene degrees West. The variation of the Compasse one degree fortie minutes from North to East. But when you are in the latitude of thirtie degrees thirtie minutes comming home-ward, and finde five degrees variation, and would see the Ilands in your course, goe North-east for Saint Marie: but it is better to goe more Northerly, and so you shall bee sure to see some of them: for the variation is much upon that rate in the North-east course, till you come in with the Ilands.

The latitude of Sal, which is one of the Ilands of Cape Verde, is ten degrees thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Lizard twelve degrees twelve minutes. The variation three degrees, thirtie minutes from North to East. *Sal.*

Bonavista is from Sal sixe leagues. The mid-way betweene the Meridian of Cape Verde and these Ilands in the latitude of nine degrees, you have two degrees fiftene minutes of variation to the East-ward: and the neerer you are to the Maine land, the lesse variation. But when you come in five degrees of latitude, if the Ternados doe not meete with you before, there you shall beginne to have them, which are winds blowing everywhere. *Bonavista.*

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*The best  
course to passe  
the Equinoctiall Line.*

But if you will passe the Equinoctiall, use what diligence you may, in plying to get from these unhealthfull and troublesome windes: but keepe your selfe so, that you may bee but South and by East, or South South-east from Maio, because it may bee in your minde, that your much going to the East-ward will bee a helpe when you stand over with the generall wind. But you may there spend much time, and get little advantage. Now assoone as you have the wind at South South-east, and are in two or three degrees off the line, stand away with it. For if you may passe the Line in ten degrees of longitude from the Lizard, your variation will be sixe degrees ten minutes from North to East, and you shall feele neither the East South-east streame to hurt you, nor the North-west and by West streame, that setteth over to the West-Indies.

But if the wind doe hinder you much, feare not to passe the Line in fourteene degrees of longitude from the Lizard, your variation will bee in that place sixe degrees fortie five minutes. And beeing past, make your way to the South-ward as speedily as you may: but if the wind be at East North-east or East, as many times it will bee, doe not goe to the East-ward of the South-east and by East, although in your minde it were the best course: for if you doe, you shall find the wind at South-east and South South-east, and it will bring you downe to your South course againe, although you have spent so much time as in your South course would have carried you without the Tropicke into the variable winds way, which is in twentie sixe or twentie eight degrees.

*Increase of  
variation in  
running  
Southward of  
the Line.*

For it is great oddes, when a man may saile thirtie sixe leagues in foure and twentie houres, and will sayle but foure and twentie close upon a wind. For when you have brought your selfe into the variable winds way, it cannot be long before you have a slent to get up to the Cape of Good Hope, where you shall note, that your variation will increase in running South from the Line. For when you come in twentie degrees to the South-

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ward, you shall have fifteene degrees of variation, and more to the West-ward fourteene. Whereby if you note it well, you shall perceive, that in these parts, betweene the Tropickes I meane, it keepeth no method in Easting or Westing, as it doth without them: as you may see at the Ile De Fernando de Loronha, the latitude whereof is foure degrees South, and longitude from the Lizard nineteene degrees twentie minutes West. The variation is there eight degrees ten minutes, from North to East: if you come there to ride, the Roade is upon the North-east side, but it is ill ground in some place. The depth, nine, eight and seven fathomes water, sandie grounds, with a stone or Rocke heere and there.

*The Ile of  
Fernando de  
Loronha.*

This land riseth like Paules steeple, and that land like the steeple will bee when you are in the Roade South South-west from you. There is much broken ground and Ilands by the Ile it selfe. Heere is good refreshing and good water, but dangerous landing for the Sea to sinke your Boats and drowne your men.

The Portugals of Fernamburo have some few Slaves heere that make Cotton and keepe their Cattell. They have Guiney Wheate there growing.

The Iland of Santa Helena hath in South latitude sixteen degrees, & longitude from the Lizard foure degrees thirtie minutes East: and from the Cape of Good Hope twentie three degrees thirtie minutes West. The variation is seven degrees thirtie minutes from North to East. This Iland is one of the best for the bignesse thereof for the refreshing of men, that I know in the Sea: it standeth so healthy, and hath so good a Roade for Shippes, as a man can desire. The Roade is open to the North-west side: right before the Chappell you may ride in twelve, tenne, nine, eight, or seven fathomes water, good ground and no danger, but what you see a long the shoare.

*The Ile of  
Santa Helena.*

The Iland is little, but very high land, a man may see it eightene leagues off. Upon it are all things fitting for a mans comfort, comming with it in distresse. If you

[I. iv. 446.]

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will see this Iland, you have the wind alway at South-east or thereabouts. Therefore keepe your selfe in the latitude of sixteene degrees tenne minutes, or fifteene degrees, and runne West upon that height, and you cannot misse it: whether it bee day or night you need not feare, but this you may assure your selfe, that in your course from the Cape of Good Hope, there is nothing that will wrong you. I meane no streame nor Current. For I have seene that my selfe three times comming from the Cape the South-east wind will take you in thirtie degrees, and sometimes before, and will carrie you to the North-ward of the Equinoctiall Line.

*The Bay of  
Saldanha.*

Saldanha, which is the Bay where we doe commonly anchor out-ward bound, hath in latitude thirtie foure degrees twentie five minutes, and longitude from the Lizard twentie eight degrees East. The variation thirtie minutes from North to East. For the knowing of the land hereabout Saldanha, it is all high land. But commonly when you come from the West-ward it is foggie and darke upon it, so that you shall see the breach of the shoare, before you can come to make it, or know it. If you see the land when you are in the Offing rise like a Table, and other round hils by it, one like a Sugar-loafe; bring this Table East by South, and then stirre so see, till you come close under the land, for this course will bring you in with the point of the Souther land going into the Roade. Now when you see the point it selfe, which is low land, you shall see the Ile of Penguin: but keepe your selfe neerer the point then to Penguin Iland, because there are sunken Rockes all toward the Iland: keepe your Lead going, for toward the point you shall have ground at fifteene fathomes, and then you may bee bold to goe by it in ten fathomes water. Then the Roade is South-east by East from this point in sixe fathomes, or five if you list. The Table will bee South South-west the middle of it, and the Sugar-loafe South-west halfe Westerly. The worst winds for that Roade are from the North-west to the North-east. Heere is

## JOHN DAVIS'S RUTTIER

good watering and fresh victuals, when the people come downe with it.

There is fresh-fish in the River to bee had at sometime of the tyde with a seine: it doth high sometimes five foote water, and sometimes sixe, sometimes more, and sometimes lesse.

Betweene the Coast of Brasil and this Roade the Compasse hath twentie degrees variation, and more or lesse as you are to the North-ward or South. For the more you are to the South-ward, the more you have, and to the North-ward the lesse. But in thirtie three degrees thirty minutes, you have the highest variation twenty one degrees from North to East, & longitude from the Lizard seven deg. thirtie minutes, or from the Cape of Good Hope, thirtie five deg. thirtie minutes West: Now when you come in eleven degrees no minutes of variation, you may assure your selfe, if your variation bee good, you are three hundred and thirtie leagues short: and it will keepe a good method in decreasing after the rate of thirtie or eight and twentie leagues to a degree: for when you are in two degrees of variation, you shall bee eight and fortie or fiftie leagues short: and when you have fortie minutes, and cannot see the land, you are but ten leagues off.

*The highest  
variation  
betweene  
Brasil and  
the Cape of  
Good Hope.*

Now if you can see the Land close by the waters side, before you can see the other high land, the fogge hanging upon the shoare, and are in thirtie foure degrees of latitude, you may see white sandie wayes close by the waters side, your course is to the point, if they beare East South-east from you, and beeing neere the shoare is North-east. For these white sandie wayes are almost three leagues short of that point going into the Roade, and fast by the point to the South-west from the said point going for the Roade, the two points doe lye North-east and South-west. And then the land toward the Cape lyeth South-east and by East, and South South-east. So likewise the land lyeth to the North-ward off the Bay North North-west, and South South-west.

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Penguin Iland and this Point lye North and by West, and South and by East.

*Connie Iland.* To the Northward of this Iland is an Iland called Connie Iland, and it lyeth in latitude thirtie three degrees twentie seven minutes, and North North-west from Penguin Ile. This Connie Ile hath bad ground about it: but you may goe betweene the Maine and that Iland. If you will anchor, this Ile upon the Wester-side hath a dangerous ledge of Rockes lying off it to the Seaward. The Maine all along the shoare is bold, but what you may see.

*Chapmans Chance.* Chapmans Chance hath in latitude thirtie foure degrees tenne minutues, and is an Harbour, which lyeth within the South-west point under a little Hill like Charing Crosse, close hanging by the Sea-side of the South South-west side of the land like a Table, standing in the very bottome of the Bay.

This is a very good Harbour for the ships: for the maine land of the Cape will be shut in upon the Wester-side of the land: and there is good ground, and a good depth to ride in, as ten, nine, eight, seven, sixe, or five fathomes.

[I. iv. 447.] This Harbor is not past ten miles over land to Soldanha from it: and a man may come away with that wind that you cannot come forth withall from Soldanha. Wherefore when any shall have beene there with a ship, they shall better know it. Wee went not in with our ship, because we were all fit to goe about, before wee did know it to bee a Harbor. For wee did suspect it by chance standing in with a scant wind, and being toward night our Captaine Master Edmund Marlow sent one of the Masters Mates in the Pinnasse to see whether it were a Harbor or not, having little wind, and by that time hee came in with it, the Sunne was downe, so that he could not see and take that notice he would for quick returning to the ship.

*Cape Falso.* Cape Falso hath in latitude thirty foure degrees thirty minutes, and is distant from the Cape of Good Hope, nine leagues East South-east.

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Betweene these two Capes there is a deepe Bay, and before it there is a Rocke even with the water; but it lyeth neere the Cape of Good Hope. In this Bay is the great River called Rio Dolce, that runneth farre up in the Land. There is good refreshing, as the Hollanders report, for they have beene there with their ships. *Rio Dolce.*

Heere at Cape Falso is no variation that I can find by observing South from it. The Land lyeth to the Cape das Aguilhas East South-east from the Cape of Good Hope, and is distant sixe and twentie leagues: no danger is to be seene, but a bould shoare along the coast. And so it is bould sixtie leagues to the Eastward: for so farre I have sailed to the East-ward of Cape Das Aguilhas the land lyeth East Northerly for one hundred leagues. *No variation.*  
*Cape das Aguilhas.*

The very Cape Das Aguilhas hath in latitude thirtie foure degrees, fiftie minutes South, and is very low land. But there is high land to the East-ward of the last named Cape. You may have ground with your Lead in seven or eight leagues off the land, for one hundred leagues East, at seventie, sixtie, sixtie five, fiftie five, fiftie, fortie fathomes, sandie blacke ground upon your Leade, which will helpe you much in comming home if you cannot observe the variation nor latitude. The variation of Cape Das Aguilhas is no degrees thirtie minutes from North to West. And at the Cape of Good Hope the Compasse is varied from North to East five and twentie minutes. Assoone as you are to the West-ward of Cape Das Aguilhas, you shall have Ozie and deepe water; whereby you may see that this will helpe you well in darke weather to know how the lands are from you, and how to hale in with the Cape of Good Hope.

When you saile into the East-India from the Cape of Good Hope, you must bee very carefull in your course: for till you come up to have seven or eight degrees of variation, you shall find it sometimes very uncertaine, shouts of streames that will set a man sometimes one

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*The great  
benefit of the  
Variation.*

way, sometimes another as I have often found it to bee so, and have had none other meanes to helpe my selfe, but by the variation which is very sure, if you bee carefull in observing. But after you passe eight degrees of variation, you shall not need to feare the streames, if you bee bound to the East-ward, for the streames or tydes doe set betweene the variation aforesaid, and the Cape Das Aguilhas.

Now if you find betweene the Cape and this variation of seven or eight degrees that you doe not alter it to your ship running East; for this is your fittest course, if you bee bound for Bantam, or within for any place of the Ile of Saint Laurence, till you come up to the variation aforesaid, as you may chance at five or sixe degrees, assure your selfe you are wrong with it. For the variation will increase by the rate of nine and twentie or thirtie leagues, to the Ile of Saint Laurence. I meane these leagues in Easting from the Meridians, and not the course you saile by, for if you saile North-east and by East, and you shall have thirtie sixe leagues for one degree and halfe Easting, or longitude, which will alter one degree of variation.

*Note.*

And the more North-ward your course is, the lesse variation you have, as you shall plainly understand: for in five and twentie of latitude in sight of Saint Laurence, you have sixteene degrees no minutes. And running North by the land to the River of Saint Augustine, you shall have but fifteene degrees in the latitude of twentie three degrees and thirtie minutes, which is plaine that it is lesse to the North-ward, then to the South-ward. So likewise up to the East-ward in the latitude of eleven degrees no minutes, the highest variation is twentie three degrees forty minutes. And in the latitude of thirtie three degrees no minutes, the highest variation is twentie seven degrees ten minutes, as I have seene and observed my self, and in my judgement in ten leagues Easting and Westing of the same Meridian, as hereafter shall more plainly appear in their due places.



## JOHN DAVIS'S RUTTIER

### §. II.

[I. iv. 448.]

A note for finding out of the River of Saint Augustine in Saint Laurence, of divers small Iles in the way thence to Achen, and of many Ports and passages in and about Sumatra.

**T**His River of S. Augustine hath in latitude, twenty three degrees thirtie five minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, twenty three degrees twenty minutes East. The variation is fourteene degrees fifty minutes from North to West. But when you goe for it, seeke the land in the latitude of twenty foure degrees twenty minutes, because in the latitude of twenty five degrees tenne minutes, there is dangerous falling for Rockes and shoalds, which I have seene. And in this latitude twenty foure degrees twenty minutes, you have the variation fifteene degrees forty minutes. The shoare bold, but what you see before you. And the coast lieth South and North by a meridian Compasse, without counting the variation, or medling in this place with it, but steere North and North and by East, as discretion will guide you by the land: then comming along the shoare in twenty foure degrees tenne minutes, you shall see a head-land, which hath upon it a round hill of white sand, and is like a Castle, with some few trees by it. This head-land is short of the Bay thirteene leagues, and your course is North and by East and North still, no danger till you see the Iles and shoalds before the Bay: and in the Countrey you shall see a land rise like unto Westminster Hall, and a gut betweene two high lands, like Dartmouth. The River is between these two hills: when you come with the Iles and shoalds, and will goe into the North-ward of them, you may be bold of the shoalds in seven fathomes, if you will loofe in by them, but anchor not by them: for it is bad ground, with Corall that will cut your Cable in sunder, if you ride but little time there; but rather hale East, up for the Chan-

*The River of  
S. Augustine  
in the Ile of  
S. Laurence.*

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

nell comming from the River, where you have Ozie by the Maine, in twelve, foureteen, or twenty fathomes water: and you shall find deepe water in along to the River, till you come fast by the two hills, and Westminster Hall within the point on the West North-west side. There you may choose your roade from twenty fathomes to twelve, eleven, tenne, nine, eight, seven, sixe, or five fathomes. But it is Ozie ground without the two headlands, and sand within. This River lieth from the Iles without shoalds East, and is distant five leagues. Here is good filling of water, and wooding, very good victuals; but you pay silver: for that they desire most. The people are of a reasonable disposition; but you need not to trust them, nor none else where you come, but stand alwayes upon your Guard, while your Boat goe into the River to fill water. You shall have a very good Oxe for four shillings, and a Goat for one shilling English, and as good as you have in England. The men of this place are tall and well made.

*The Cape of  
S. Sebastian.*

The Cape of S. Sebastian hath in latitude twentie five degrees fortie five minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, twentie five degrees no minutes. The variation of the Compasse sixteene degrees fortie minutes, from North to West. Here upon the South-east side is a very good place for refreshing, as the Hollanders report, much upon the latitude of twenty foure degrees no minutes.

*Santa Lucia,  
a good place of  
refreshing.*

It is named Santa Lucia; for as they have reported to mee, there is a race of the Portugalls left there. They say the ships ride verie secure, and have above nine or eight fathomes water, sandie ground, and an Iland or two before it. And this must bee much better for shipping bound up or downe, then the River of S. Augustine, because it is upon the head of the Iland.

*The Ile of S.  
Mary.*

The Ile of S. Marie, upon the East side of S. Laurence, hath in latitude sixteene degrees thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope thirty one degrees no minutes. The variation nineteene degrees fiftie minutes from North to West. This Iland is in-

## JOHN DAVIS'S RUTTIER

habited; and there we had Hennes, Limons, and other refreshing, good water; but never a Harbour, all Roads: you may ride off the West side, before a Towne of twelve or sixteene houses. The depth of water is twenty fathomes, more or lesse. The distance from this Island, over to the Maine is tenne leagues. To the North North-west, from this Iland is a great Bay, that lieth sixteene leagues deepe West North West in from the Souther-side of the Bay, there is good riding under a little Iland, and in from that upon the Maine, there is a river of fresh water. And there is likewise water and wood upon the Ile by the Roade, you may ride in twelve, tenne, nine, or eight fathomes: but you had need to shue your anchors: for it is so soft Ozie, that your anchors will come home. Here you have Rice in abundance, hens, and some cattell. The people have warre, one side of the Bay with the other. Trust these people not too farre for treachery. It is a place of very uncertaine and contagious weather, for raine, thunder and lightning, as ever I came in, and very unholosome; for we lost many men here. But if distresse urge a man to it, you may unlade a ship, or doe any businesse by the Iland, with standing upon your guard, and using the people friendly, as the Hollanders have been driven unto. The latitude of this Bay is, fifteene degrees fortie minutes. But if you go with S. Marie first, you cannot misse it: for it is the next Bay upon the Maine unto the Iland. The name of this Bay is Antongill. We did ride here in the first East Indian Voyage for the Merchants of London, in the yeere 1601, from December to March, and then we went for the East Indies.

[I. iv. 449.]  
*The bay of  
Antongil.*

The latitude of the Ile de Roque Piz is eleven degrees no minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, forty one degrees no minutes of the great Circle East. Here in the sight of these two Ilands, we had the highest variation of the Compasse, which was twenty three degrees thirty minutes. Now South from this place, as neere as I can judge by sundry times going

*The Ile de  
Roque Piz.*

*The highest  
variation.*

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

up and downe, we have likewise the most variation, that is : if you be in the latitude of twentie seven or twenty eight degrees, then you have twenty six degrees no minutes : if you bee in thirty three degrees no minutes of latitude, you have twenty seven degrees twenty minutes of variation. And this you may see in my Voyage in the James, begun in February, 1611. and ended the third of August, 1615.

*Baixos das  
Chagas.*

The Shoalds, called Baixos das Chagas, have in latitude sixe degree no minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, fiftie three degrees thirty six minutes East. The variation is nineteen degr. fiftie min. from North to West. These shoalds are very dangerous. There are three or foure Ilands and other dry sands : we were twenty foure houres upon and among these Shoalds. There is in some places corall, in other some sand ; sometimes tenne fathomes, and by and by sixe fathomes : the best water the ships had, was foure fathomes : but God be thanked, we had no hurt to any one of the ships. We were cleere by keeping the Iles South South-west from us : for upon the North North-east side it is, that we found the way out. If they had been well laid in our Charts, we had missed them.

In the Channel of Maldina, the Compasse varieth 17. degrees. And at the Cape de Comori sixteene degrees. *The Ilands of  
Nicubar.* The Ilands of Nicubar, lying off the North end of Sumatra, have in North latitude seven degrees tenne minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, seventie three degrees no minutes East. The variation is seven degrees five minutes from North to West. If you goe with these Iles of Nicubar, as you come from the West-ward, when you come within fiftie or fortie leagues, you shall meete with overfals, or the running of some tydes, which will make you mistrust shoald water : but we found none with our Lead when we sounded. Many such you shall passe. I thinke they be the streames comming from the Bay of Bengala. Among these Ilands there is no danger, but what you see : you

## JOHN DAVIS'S RUTTIER

may bee bold to water and fit your selves here. The people will not come aboard your ship, but will buy and sell in their Canoes. Farther into the North-ward are more Ilands; as in eight degrees lieth an Iland called *Ilha de Sombrero*, because upon the Souther-side the land is like a hat. Under this Iland is good riding; and the people will come to your shippe from the other Ilands to the East-ward, for there are many Ilands.

Achen, which is a Citie upon the West North-west side of Sumatra, hath in latitude five degrees forty minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope seventie foure degrees fortie minutes East. And the variation is sixe degrees twentie five minutes from North to West. You may ride in seven or eight fathomes, or at low water in five or sixe: it hyeth five foot upon the Barre. Your roade is to the Eastward of the Castle, and a round hil in the Countrey South-east from you. The ground is Ozie where you ride. There is high land upon the Wester-side of the Towne. The hill, which is South-east of you, is called the hil of Pedir, because there is a Towne of that name under it, twenty five leagues from Achen. Before the Road in the Offing are five or sixe Ilands. The Pepper of this place is better then the Pepper of Bantam. At Pedir Pepper is to be had, but little else. The land lieth from the Road of Achen forty or fifty leagues East and West.

And if you will goe for the straight of Malacca, there is no danger till you come to the Eastward of the *Iles das Jarras*, but a faire depth, at twenty five or thirtie fathomes water. The tydes set as much one way as the other. At these *Iles das Jarras*, you may see the high land of Malacca: but here about Sumatra, is all low land. And your variation here about the Equinoctial is all one, as I said before, when I spake of the highest, that there is within lesse variation then without, in the latitude of fourteene or fifteene degrees. For when you have seven degrees fiftie minutes in the Offing, you are much upon seven degrees thirtie minutes longitude from

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Bantam. And that distance you are in for longitude from Bantam, when you are under the Equinoctiall line, and have sixe degrees thirty five minutes of variation. So that much upon that rate of thirty one leagues in the Offing of Easting or Westing, will alter one degree of variation, or one degree and an halfe of longitude ; and within you runne fortie leagues, or two degrees. This I have found by experience both within and without going home from Bantam.

*The Iles of  
Nimtam.*

[I. iv. 450.]

If you were at Achen, and would saile for Priaman, which is a Towne upon the West side of Sumatra, and hath in latitude no degrees fiftie minutes South, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope seventie seven degrees forty minutes East : The variation foure degrees forty minutes from North to West : The surest way is this. To the East-ward of Priaman there are Ilands, in the South latitude of one degree and thirty minutes, which are called the Iles of Nimtam. Your course is to goe with these Ilands, and come not betweene the maine, but keepe the Sea, till you see those Ilands : keepe in one degree twenty minutes of South latitude, and you shall surely fall with the North end of the biggest. Now this great Iland being the biggest of the two, is twenty leagues long very neere : and there are many little Ilands neere it. And when you are with this Iland, go up by it, for it is the bolder of the two, but have your Lead going now and then to prevent dangers, yet I have found the least to be tenne fathomes water. When you are shut within these Ilands, your course is East by North eightene leagues : but saile not by night, but hull rather, and saile by day. Now although Priaman and this Iland doe lie East by North, and West by South, yet your best way is, to direct your course East North-east, and North-east by East, among ; and then you shall see three hummocks in the maine, before you can see the low land ; and then having sight of them, you may goe in till you see the low land of the Maine : but looke well about you : for when these hills come to

## JOHN DAVIS'S RUTTIER

the North-east from you, there is shoald water, and bankes of stone: but you may borrow of them with your Lead in seven fathomes: then are you six leagues from the roade of Priaman, and your course East South-east, or South-east by East with your Lead going now and then. For the knowing of the road of Priaman, when you have the hils North and West from you, you shall see many Ilands to the South-ward; but the first will shew white, and none of the rest. So that Iland lieth West South-west from the roade three leagues. And the land in the Countrey above Priaman is high, and like a Saddle in the middest. This high land beareth from the road North-east and by East. I set it downe with this notice, because there are foure Ilands before the roade within which you ride, and may mistrust to goe within these Ilands, when you come from the West North-west, because they will not be open, but shew like a paire of breeches till you have brought them East North-east from you; then will they beginne to open, for there is good going in betweene them, leaving two on the one side, and two on the other. But come not neere that little uttermost Ile by the maine: for there is all flat ground. But keepe in nine or eight fathomes, till you come with the other three Iles that lie in a row, and then goe into the South-ward of the Norther of these three Ilands, and under that Iland is the road. Wherefore be bold of it in five or sixe fathomes, because it is but narrow between that Ile, and the River running from the Towne, to wit, much upon the breadth of the Thames at Blackewall. Upon this Ile, under which you ride, is a Well made artificially by those that have used to water there. It is a good road when you are in, but moore your ship sure. The people here are covetous, and still begging for one thing or other; yet they used us very well, and brought us hens and such victualls as the place affoordeth. Here is good trade from Java with Junkes, for their Pepper they bring them salt, which is verie scant upon this side of the Iland. And about

*Shoald water  
and bankes of  
stone.*

*The road of  
Priaman.*

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Store of Gold  
in Sumatra.* September and October there commeth every yeare a Guserate with Cotton cloth to serve this side of the Iland, and ladeth away Pepper, and carrieth away some Gold : for Gold is more plentie there, then Silver, as we might plainly see by the Countrie-people : for they are very desirous of Rials of eight. Here is some Benjamin to be had, and verie good Storax, with other Commodities.

*Storax.  
Tecou.*

Tecou is seven leagues from this road, but it is shoaldie water, and ill for ships, because they must ride farre off. But Prawes and such small vessels as the Countrey people use, are fittest, and will bring all their Commodities unto you into Priaman road, after they know a shippe to bee there, tenne leagues.

*Many Ilands  
are to the  
South of  
Priaman.*

To the Northward of Priaman there are no Ilands three or foure leagues off : but to the Southward the coast is full of Ilands along till you come into two degrees and an halfe of latitude. The coast lieth from Priaman two degrees twenty minutes of latitude South. Your course is South, when you set saile from Priaman, you may goe within those Ilands by the road : because by the Souther Iland lieth a shoald close by the off side : your depth is five and sixe fathomes. In going downe to the Southward, keepe the maine still, and goe not without among those Ilands : for it is ill ground and shoalds. But saile not by night, till you come into the latitude of two degrees thirtie minutes. For as you passe by the high land, that is distant from the road of Priaman thirteene leagues, it is very dangerous : keep your selfe in twenty or thirty fathomes water off the maine, and looke well about you when this high land commeth toward the East. Between that gut of high land as you passe like Dartmouth, is the Towne of Celledai. I have had by going neere those Ilands here, about thirteene leagues from the aforesaid road, but foure fathomes water, and have seen the stones under the ship, and have gone but little in againe toward the maine, and have had sixteene fathomes, and twelve fathomes water : wherefore there is no feare by the maine land,



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keeping your Lead going : then being cleare off these Ilands, your course is South and by East by the maine, till you come to two degrees thirty minutes : and then the land lieth to three degrees tenne minutes South-east, and then South-east and by South to foure degrees, and so to five degrees no minutes by the same course.

The land is very high and bold heere in five degrees, no minutes. In five degrees and thirtie minutes lyeth the Isle of Engano, but there is no anchoring by it ; for I have sought to anchor, but it is rockes and deepe water. But if you have any occasion, you shall find in

*The Ile of  
Engano.*

the latitude of foure degrees, ten minutes, a very good roade under an Island fast by the maine, where you may ride in seven fathoms, and no danger but what you see, but may boldly turne into the Roade, if the wind be at South-east, Ozie ground. Heere you may have wood and water, if you have need : But beware, two leagues West South-west from this Island, it is very dangerous shoald in the sea, the water breaketh much upon it ; wherefore keepe in by the Island, and give the point a birth : but you cannot go betweene the maine and this Isle with a ship, because it is narrow and shoaldy water.

*A very good  
roade.*

[I. iv. 451.]

This Road or Harbour is named by the Countrie people, Celebar : we did ride heere with Sir Edward Michelborne thirteene daies, to doe some businesse. You shall

*Celebar.*

never with a South-east wind misse some Junckes of Java, or of some other place riding there. The land to the Northward in the countrie is high, but by the sea-side reasonable, not very low neither. This high land in five degrees, twentie minutes, is called Monancabo, and is extraordinary high. The course amongst the shoare is South South-east Easterly, till you come to see a little Iland fast by the maine, that lieth in sixe degrees, no minutes, or much thereupon. Heere you shall see a round hill in the countrie East from you, which will be North, when you come with the three Isles by the point of Sumatra, that lye East one from the other. Then shall you have the Salt-hills East

*Manancabo.*

*The salt hills.*

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*The Roade of  
Marrough.*

and by South from you, when this hill is North, and the distance from the three Islands lying East and West, to the three salt hills, which are three Islands, that lye South and North one from another, to be ten leagues. The Land of Sumatra, from the little Island to the other three Islands, lyeth East South-east, and is distant foure leagues. This land is not very high, but in the countrie it is high land. The depth by this land is foure and fiftie fathomes; and by the three East and West Islands, there is sixteene fathoms water; and further up, you have thirtie fathomes, when the round hill is North from you. Now you must understand, that heere as you goe upon the Coast of Sumatra, are more Islands then a man can number. But if you will go into the Road of Marrough, you may boldly beare in among those Islands that lye North-east and by East, till you come to the maine land of Sumatra, where you shall have twentie or thirtie fathomes, and no danger, but what you see. Now when you come in with the maine foure leagues West South-west from this Head-land, which is called Marrough, you shall have all to the Northward off you low land, and many Islands; but you must go East South-east unto the Head-land of Sumatra: for this Roade of Marrough is along the shoare from the three little Islands fast by the maine, till you come almost to the point that maketh the Straight of Sunda, you may anchor in twentie or twelve fathomes water, Ozie ground, a faire birth off: There is good refreshing, and Rivers all along the shoare. The land is very high heere in from the Roade. But if you come with the three Salt hills or Islands, that lye South and North one from the other, which are distant, as I said before, from the three East and West Islands by Sumatra ten leagues, and would go for this place of Marrough, steere in with the high land North, when you are to the Eastward of the South Salt hill, and you go right with it; for the land above it is like a barne, and none there-about like it: you may be bold every way here-

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about, for there is no danger, but what you see with your eyes, no where without the Straights mouth. In the very straight or narrow betweene Sumatra and Java side, which you will, if you go to the Westward of the three South and North Islands, you need not feare, although you see three rockes stand three miles West from the Salt hill; for you may come fast by them, or put betweene any of those Islands, the depth will bee much about twentie or thirtie fathoms. The course from the Head-land of Sumatra, where the three East and West Islands are, is East North-east with the Point or Head-land of Sumatra, that maketh the Straights entrie. The Coast of Java lyeth from the Point of Palimbam downe to seven degrees almost of Southerly latitude; where are many Islands on this side, South-west and North-east; and you have ground with the lead at thirtie or fortie fathomes, in some place: But a little without the Point of Palimbam you may anchor in twelve fathomes, Ozie ground. The latitude of the South-east salt hill, is sixe degrees, ten minutes: The longitude from the Cape of Good Hope eightie one East, the variation three degrees, twentie minutes. These salt hills stand nearer Java then Sumatra by two leagues, you may see both Maines at one time, if it be cleare, and you be in the mid-way. The land of Java is high within the countrie, and low by the water-side. The streame in the Straight setteth twelve houres one way, and twelve houres the other, but most strongly; for you cannot beare a head with a hard gale at some times: wherefore go off on one side, and anchor, it maketh no matter on which. But if you chance to go in by Sumatra side, keep nearer Sumatra by a good deale, then to the Islands, till the Islands bee East and by South from you, for there is a rock under water, which breaketh at low water, that lyeth West and by North from the Island. Sumatra is bold, so you can keepe off the land; and so is Java side also. The way to Bantam, when you are about the Point of Palimbam, is

*Three Rockes  
three miles  
West from the  
salt hills.*

*The lying of  
some part of  
the Coast  
of Java.*

*The Souther  
salt hill is in  
eightie one  
degrees of  
longitude from  
the Cape of  
Good Hope.*

*A rocke under  
water.*

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*Pulo Panjan.*

by the land East South-east, and South-east and by East, with your lead going till you see a flat Island called Pulo Panjan, which is distant from the Point of Palimbam nine or ten leagues. When you come to this Island, you may go without it, or within it at your pleasure: but keepe your lead going, and come not nearer then five or sixe fathomes off that Island. Then if you looke in upon the maine, you shall see a round hill in the countrie bearing South, or betweene that and South South-west. This hill standeth right over the Towne of Bantam: if you have it South South-west from you, goe in with that course, till you come to see five Islands together, right from Pulo Panjan. Your Road is by these five Islands called Pulo Lima, where you may ride in what depth you will under foure fathoms, Ozie ground. It higheth five foote water in the Roade. Wherefore when you chuse to ride, remember the Tide, for otherwise you may bee on ground at low water. The variation in the Road is three degrees from North to West. Heere are many Islands in this Road round about you.

*Pulo Lima.*

*The variation  
is three degr.  
in Bantam  
Roade.*

[I. iv. 452.]

### §. III.

The way from Bantam to the Straight of Palimbon, upon the East-side of Sumatra, of Banca, Bintam, Straights of Sincapura, and Sunda, with other places.

**W**hen you weigh from Bantam Roade, you goe North-east by East in foure or five fathoms, till you come with the point of the maine, where it commeth to beare South-east by South, you have very shoald water upon that spit of hard ground. Wherefore keepe off betime: before you come neare in foure or five fathoms, there is a good bigge Island on your North North-west, as you go from Bantam, which you may leave on your larbord side in going from the aforesaid Towne, and your depths are five or sixe

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fathoms. Heere will the land toward the Straight make like an Island, because you have lost sight of the low land. Heere in your North North-east course, you have a long bed of small Islands in your way, and low withall, but bold: for there is eightene or twentie fathomes water among them, Bantam bearing South-west by South Westerly from these Islands. Their latitude is from five degrees, to five degrees, thirtie minutes.

*A long bed of small Islands.*

When you are at the Norther end of these Islands, go North North-east and North over for the Coast of Sumatra: and in your course your depthes will be thirteene, twelve, ten, nine, eight, seven, sixe, five, foure and a halfe fathomes; and then you shall see the low land of Sumatra, the trees I meane, and your ground under your lead will be Ozie. The latitude about three degrees, thirtie minutes South. Now when you come in with a riffe of hard sand here-about, and have in your North and by West course foure fathoms and an halfe: Note it well, and hale off againe East North-east into your old depthes, which are from ten to seven fathoms or five off Sumatra, your course North by West, and North North-west, to hold the coast from five to ten fathoms. But go not without ten fathoms neither by night nor day; for the Coast is bold in sixe fathoms. But if you go from Bantam North, you must looke very carefully about for a shoald, that lyeth in that course from the aforesaid Towne off the Roade, till you have sight of the two Islands upon the Coast of Sumatra, that lye three leagues from that maine land; and then you have no more Islands by Sumatra, till you come in three degrees of South latitude; and there shall you fall with Lusapara-falsa, which is the first of those foure Ilands, at the South South-west end of Banca. And looke out very well for them, in going your North by West course, as the depths wil guide you from five or sixe, to nine or ten fathoms, Ozie ground. When you have sight of these foure Islands, you shall see much broken ground by them, and among them very shoald water. Heere

*Sumatra.*

*Note.*

*A shoald.*

*Lusapara-falsa.*

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*The Isle of  
Banca.*

likewise you shall see two round homockes of a good height: and though they seeme to you to stand upon the maine of Sumatra, yet they doe not so, but upon the Island of Banca. The aforesaid foure Islands have three degrees, no minutes South latitude. When you come to have these Islands East from you, your shoalding will be five and foure fathomes, and your course North, and North by West, till you have the Southermost Isle South-east by East from you. Then you goe North North-east by Banca, in eight and seven fathomes, for the Island of Banca is steepe. When you come with these Islands, keepe Sumatra side for the bolder side: the channell is in breadth three miles. Now in edging to the other side, you shall go from eight fathoms into three fathoms. Then have you hard ground on that side, and Ozie ground on Sumatra side. This course of North North-east, is but one reach or three miles, before you go North againe. Heere at the narrow the Tide setteth North and South, and runneth twelve houres one way, and twelve houres the other. When you are past the bankes or shoalds by these Islands, your depthes are ten and nine fathoms: then you saile three leagues North by the land. The next reach lieth North by West, and the depth in the best is fifteene fathoms. And when you draw neare to the high land upon the North side of the Island of Banca, your course is North North-west, and the best depthes twentie fathomes. It is very flat and shoald heere upon Sumatra side. This course of North North-west, and North-west by North, continueth nine leagues. Then you saile twentie leagues North-west by West, the depth will be foure and twentie fathoms. The latitude in this course, is one degree, eight and thirtie minutes South. When you have the North-end of these Islands South-east by South from you, it will shew like broken Islands. But as you go, keepe off the maine, because it is shoald still. Your next course is North ten leagues, in ten, nine, eight and seven fathoms. Heere you have sight of three or foure Islands,

## JOHN DAVIS'S RUTTIER

to the Northwards of the great Island, but no sight of the maine land. The latitude heere is one degree, five minutes South. Then your course is North-east by North, with a round Island, and other little Islands by it. This round Island is like the Monston of Dartmouth, the depthes ten, nine, eight, and seven fathoms, and latitude about fortie minutes South. This Isle is called by the Countrie people Pulo Sio, but Linscot calleth it Pulo Powe. Heere you may have water and wood, if you need. Then your course is to go without Linga from hence North North-west, and the depth is fiftene or sixteene fathoms: and the distance from Pulo Sio to Linga, is thirteene leagues. At the Souther end of Linga are many Islands; and there are at the Norther end also many. This Island of Linga lyeth under the Equinoctiall line, as wee found by observation, where the Charts made it to lye almost a degree in South latitude. It is full of Islands and suncken grounds hereabout. Heere we found the tide to runne South South-east, and North North-west. The depth in the offing is twentie fathomes, Ozie ground: your course is North by West fiftene or sixteen leagues, where you shall see eight other Islands. But in your going beware of the tide, and keepe in fiftene or sixteene fathoms water, and Ozie ground: the latitude of these eight Islands is fiftie minutes North. Heere you may likewise have wood and water among these Islands. These Islands and suncken grounds continue to one degree, ten minutes of North latitude: the Tide runneth twelve houres, the flood from the Northward, and ebbe from the Southward, the depth twentie fathomes. Heere along by these Islands is fourteene fathomes, till you come up to the Isle of Bintam, which hath in latitude one degree, ten minutes North, upon the South-east side of this Island is bold shoal ding from fourteene to nine fathomes, yet hath a round hill in the middest of it, and it is a greater Island then any that is neare it: upon the Easter point I came over in seven fathomes: the Tide of

*Pulo Sio.*

*Pulo Linga.*

[I. iv. 453.]

*Linga lyeth  
under the  
Equinoctiall  
Line.*

*Eight Islands.*

*The Isle of  
Bintam.*

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

- The Straight of Sincapura.* the Norther side setteth West by North. And when you are past this Easter point, you are open of the Straight of Sincapura. Heere the Tide setteth East from the Straight of Sincapura. Thence you go North-east and by North seven leagues, with a strong streame against you, for an Island called Pulo Tinge, upon the Coast of Jor, in latitude two degrees, twentie minutes North, you may see the round hill of Bintam even with the water, for their distance twentie leagues, and the course is North by West. Heere wee saw an Island called Pulo Timon: and the other Islands by it are called Pulo Lore, leaving two round hilles upon it. And Pulo Tinge, where we roade, hath a piked hill upon it. Their latitudes are two degrees, thirtie minutes, and two degrees fortie minutes.
- Jor.* The Coast of Jor is bold from Pulo Tinge. When you have made the Straight of Sincapura, and would goe for Jor, your course is North-west by West. But beware of the Current, you may bee bold in sixteene, eighteene, twentie, or five and twentie fathomes, and good ground to anchor.
- Pulo Paccadoure.* From Pulo Sio steere South-east for an Iland called Pulo Paccadoure, distant from Pulo Sio eleven leagues, in latitude one degree no minutes South. It is a ragged Iland, and hath by it two little Ilands. The depth is fifteene fathomes. Be sure to keep in that depth, and you shall goe without danger. From this ragged Iland your course is South-east by East nine leagues, to an other Iland called Pulo Pagadure, and your depths are fifteene or sixteene fathomes. In that course be very carefull: for Banca upon this side is all Rockes and breaches, in some places eight or nine leagues off, and so it is without you againe all bad ground. Then from this Iland your course is South-east by East, to an Iland
- Pulo Pagadure.* called Pulo Calasai, or the Mariners Iland: and their distance is fortie leagues: when you see this Iland of Mariners, lie short off it, because you cannot anchor by it for fowle ground. Your depth from this Iland to the
- Pulo Calasai.*



## JOHN DAVIS'S RUTTIER

other is fifteene fathomes. From this Mariners Iland, you may see the high land upon Banca beare West by *Banca*. North from it, and is distant fifteene leagues.

The head of Banca lieth from this Ile South-west by West nine leagues. Saile not by night by any meanes when you see this Iland: for if you goe never so well by your Compasse, the streames will deceive you, and put you to the East-ward of an Iland called Chinabata. *Chinabata*. Your course is to goe betweene Banca and these Ilands; because it is all Rockes to the East-ward like steeples. This Ile of Chinabata and Pulo Calasai, lie South and North one from the other, and are distant thirteene leagues. Your course betweene Banca and Chinabata is South South-west: looke to the streame, and borrow of Banca in this place in twentie or twentie five fathomes. The distance betweene them is tenne leagues. The Rockes in the Offing are called Pulo Pelican. From which straight to the coast of Sumatra, the course is South-west by South, till you have shoalding off the maine. And goe as you did outward from Bantam, keeping the shoalding of Sumatra in seven or eight fathomes, till you draw neere the straight of Sunda.

I have hereunto added like Nautical observations, I suppose, written by Thomas Clayborne, leaving the censure and use to the more skilfull. He intituleth them,

Certaine principall Notes, gathered by mine owne experience, in my three Voyages into these parts: wherein the true course, and distances, with shoalds and rockes is shewed: and on which side you may leave them: as hereafter followeth.

**T**HE Souther-most Salt hill lyeth in sixe degrees no *Note*. minutes of South latitude; and if you bee bound for Bantam, you may goe betwixt the Salt hils, or on either side of them, if neede be: but most men goe to the

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

[I. iv. 454.] South of them. If you bee South from the Southermost Salt hill, about two leagues, or lesse, your best course to Palimbam point, is betweene the North-East by East, and the East North-east. The distance betwixt the Salt hills and that point twenty leagues. In that course you shall leave the Iland that maketh the straights of Sunda on the Lar-boord side, and that Iland is five leagues short of Palimbam point. From Palimbam point your course is East South-east about three or foure leagues with Pulo Pangam: then leaving that Iland on your Lar-boord side, and being cleare of it, you must steere East South-east, about two leagues more: then South South-west, and South by West about one league, and that will bring you into Bantam roade, where you may come to an anchor in three fathomes, soft Oze.

Certaine Notes from Bantam Roade to the Ilands of the Maluccaes, with the course and distances: as hereafter followeth.

**F**ROM Bantam roade North-east by North two leagues, then East by North, and East North-east two leagues, and that will bring the low point to the Eastward of Bantam Bay, South from you about one league: but come no neerer that point then three fathome; then East, and East by North foure leagues, and then you shall have foureteene fathome, and shall be neere five Ilands, with white sand without them, and a Ledge of Rockes East from them about halfe a mile; these you must leave to the North-wards of you. From these Ilands your course is East South-East, with the Eastermost Iland of Jacatra. From the Eastermost Iland of Jacatra, which is the Norther-most from this Iland, your course is North-east by East foure or five leagues, then East thirtie leagues; then looke out for a sand that lieth about three leagues from the Maine, and if it be cleare weather, you shall see a low Iland to the North of you, but you may goe either betweene the Iland and the sand, or betweene the sand and

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the Maine: but the best way is to goe three leagues to the Southward of the Iland. Then East by South and East seventy leagues, and that wil bring you in sight of Madura. Note, if you be foure or five leagues from the West end of Madura, you shall have thirtie three fathome; and being five leagues off the Easter end, you shall have fortie one or fortie two fathomes. All alongst this coast, you shall have Ozie ground. From the West end of Madura, your best course is to steere East by North, while you have brought your selfe in the latitude of sixe degrees: and then keepe your selfe in that latitude if it be possible, and so (by Gods helpe) you shall goe cleare betweene the shoales of Celebes, and another shoale that lieth South South-west from the shoales of Celebes. The Southermost point of the shoales of Celebes lieth in six degrees. From the South point of the shoales of Celebes, your course is East North-East with the straights of Celebes: the distance betweene them is thirty leagues. From the straights of Celebes to Ternata, the principall Iland of the Maluccas, upon a straight line, the course is North-east, distant about two hundred leagues.

If you be minded to goe for the Moluccas, then from the straights of Celebes, your course is North-east by East, and North-east thirty leagues, and that will bring you into a straight between two lands, namely, Celebes and Cambyna: the distance betweene these two lands is five leagues: in the middle between them, you shall have thirtie eight fathomes, sandy ground. But this is to be noted, when you come betweene these two Ilands, you cannot saile by night: for it is dangerous, while you be cleare of the straights of S. Thomas, distant from this place aforenamed twenty leagues; so that you must goe upon severall courses, as hereafter followeth.

*Note.*

*The straights  
of S. Thomas.*

First, North-east by North sixe leagues, then North North-east eight leagues, then East and East by North tenne leagues, and this will bring you into the straights of S. Thomas, which straights you shall hardly perceive, untill you come very neere them: for they are narrowe,

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and one land shooteth in an other. The going through is East about one league, and the least water you shall have in running of that league, is eleven or twelve fathomes. In running of those twentie leagues afore-named, you shall be land-locked, and shall see sixe or seven sands dry with the rimme of the water, most of them will be on your Lar-boord side: but this course aforenamed (by Gods helpe) will carry you cleare of them all. From the straights of S. Thomas, your course is North-east by East, and East North-east foureteene leagues, and that will carry you into the Sea, but not out of the sight of land: then North North-east thirty eight leagues; and then looke out for a small Iland, and a shoale that lieth North North-west from that small Iland. You must bring that small Iland East from you about two leagues, or seven miles: then steere North by East, and North North-east five leagues, then West North-west, and North-west by North two or three leagues, then North-east by North foure or five leagues, and that North-east by North course will carry you betweene two shoales, that lie in two degrees no minutes South latitude. The distance between them is not one mile, and they are dry at low water: you shall have foureteene fathome betweene them. When you are cleare of these shoales, and are within one league of that land, which that North-east by North course doth carry you unto, then you must steere East South-east about two leagues, then North-east by East with the straights of Bengaja, which lie in one degree twenty minutes to the South of the Equinoctial: this straight lyeth North-east by North, and so you must goe through.

*The straights  
of Bengaja.*

*Machian.*

[I. iv. 455.]

*Bachian.*

From the straights of Bangaja to Machian, the course is North-east by East distant seventie two leagues. Bachian lieth in no degrees thirty minutes to the North of the Equinoctiall, and being neere this Iland, if it bee cleare weather, you shall see all the Clove Ilands, which shew like high piked hills in the midst of them. You may steere with any of them at your pleasure, if

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wind and weather serve: for there is no danger lying neere them

### Notes of Botun.

**B**Otun is a great Iland, and an high land, the longest part of it lieth North North-east, and South South-west. Upon the North North-West part or ende of the Iland, there is a River of fresh water. If a man be at the Norther ende of Botun, and bee minded to saile to the Kings Towne, his course is betweene the South by West, and South South-West, and so shall sayle along the land twenty leagues, as it were up a River, betwixt two lands, Botun to the Eastward, and Cambyna to the West, distance betweene them foure leagues, in some places but three, in some places but two leagues, and in some very narrow.

In this course afore-named, nine leagues short of the Kings Towne, there is a shoale, not very bigge, yet dangerous, and dry at a low water. Now to know when you are neere it, you shall see a round hill upon Buttoone, neere the water side: that hill and the shoale lie East by North, and West by South one from the other; you must leave that shoale on your Lar-boord side. From this shoale, your course is still betweene the South by West, and South South-West, to goe with the narrow straights, foure miles short of the Kings Towne: this Straight is one league through, and about halfe a mile broad, the course is South South-West through, and it is no great matter for the course in that place, so you keepe the shippe in the middle, which is best: for there is no riding in the narrow, by reason of the swift Tydes that runne there. Hee that goeth through, must take his Tyde with him to drive him through, for (lightly) there is never any wind there, the land is so high over the Masts on both sides. But you may anchor two leagues short of this narrowe, and ride well (by Gods helpe) in thirty fathome sand. So, when you be through this straight, you must steere South South-west one league,

*A dangerous shoald.*

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

to goe cleare of a point of land that you must leave on your Lar-boord side; and beeing cleare of that point, you must hale up South South-East about foure miles, if the wind will give you leave, and then you may come to an anchor in eight and twentie fathome, hard sand, neere a flat Iland.

*The road of  
Botun is in five  
degrees fifteen  
minutes of  
South latitude.*

Then you shall see the Towne of Botun, upon the side of an hill, from you about one league. The Roade of Botun lieth in five degrees fifteene minutes of South latitude. From Botun road West South-West foure leagues, then South-West, and South-West by South five leagues, then West by South and West thirtie leagues, and that will bring you to the Straights of Celebes.

*Buro.*

*Amboyne.  
Banda.*

From the Straights of Celebes to the Iland of Banda upon severall courses, as followeth: First, East seven and thirtie leagues, then East by South fifteene leagues, then North-east halfe a point to the North-ward, about seven-teene leagues, and that will bring you into the latitude of five degrees tenne minutes, and then your best course is East North-east, with Buro, distance betweene that and Buro sixtie three leagues. From the South part of Buro to the South part of Amboyne, are eight and twenty leagues. From the South part of Amboyne to Banda, the course is East South East distance about thirty leagues. Banda lieth in foure degrees fortie minutes. Your going in is betweene the high Mountaine called Gunappi, and the great Iland of Banda, the hill beeing on your Lar-boord side, and the great Iland on your Star-boord side.

Chap. VII.

[I. iv. 456.]

A Journall of the tenth Voyage to the East-India, with two shippes, the Dragon, and the Hosiander (accompanied with the James and Salomon, but those for other Voyages) and in them three hundred and eightie persons, or there-about: Written by Master Thomas Best, chiefe Commander thereof.

§. I.

Observations in their way to Surat.



He first of February, 1611. we set saile from Gravesend, and anchored in Tilbury Hope. *February 1.  
1611.*

The two and twentieth of March, at noone latitude observed fifteene degrees, twentie minutes. At two of the clocke in the after-noone faire aboard Maio. *March 22.  
Maio.*

Bonavista and Maio lye South-west by South, distant some twelve leagues. Note that the North North-west, and the North part of Maio is all foule ground; and due North from the high homockes, there lyeth a great ledge of rockes from the land, some five or sixe miles off: and a mile without the rockes you shall have twentie fathomes water. On the West-side of the Iland you may borrow in twelve or fifteene fathomes, till you come into the Roade, where we anchored in foure and twentie fathomes. *A great ledge  
of Rockes.*

The eight and twentieth in the morning, we came close by an Iland, the latitude of it is twentie degrees, thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Meridian of Maio, one degree, fiftie minutes East. We did not land upon it, but came within two or three miles of it. I take it there is hardly anchoring to be found: there may be some refreshing in it; wood there is, and there may bee water: for on the Souther part of it there is a faire plaine plot,

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1612.

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*Another  
Iland.  
Two or three  
high white  
rockes.  
June 28.  
They depart  
from Saldanha.*

and it was very greene: wee could not finde ground comming within two or three miles of it. From this Iland East North-east, some seven or eight leagues lyeth another Iland: and from the first Iland East by South, or East South-east, lye two or three high white rockes, some foure or five leagues off.

The eight and twentieth of June, we all set to sea: we stayed in Saldanha Road one and twentie dayes, and bought for the three shippes nine and thirtie Beeves, and an hundred and fifteene sheepe, with a little brasse, which we cut out of two or three old kettles: The sheepe we bought for small pieces of thinne brasse, worth some peny or three halfe pence a piece: the Beeves with the brasse cut off kettles, to the value of twelve pence for a Beefe. It is a place of great refreshing: for besides the Beefe and Mutton, there is great plentie of good fish, and fowles of many sorts, great store of fat Deere, but wee could kill none, very excellent Rivers of fresh water, and an healthfull and good ayre. I landed eightie or ninetie sicke men, and lodged them in Tents eighteene dayes, and they all recovered their healthes, save one that dyed. From the seventh of June, till the day of our departure from Saldanha, being the eight and twentieth of June, we had nothing but faire weather; the Sunne very warme, and the ayre very sweet and healthfull. Wee were an hundred leagues East from Cabo das Aguilhas, before wee found any current, and then found it strong.

*Note.*

*July 31.*

*The Isle de  
Juan da Nova.*

The one and thirtieth of July, Latitude observed seventeene degrees, eight minutes, and longitude twentie degrees, seven and fortie minutes, the wind at South, faire weather. At foure in the after-noone, we saw the Iland de Juan da Nova from us East South-east, distant foure leagues, in bignesse, so much as we saw, (and I thinke wee saw all of it) for length some three or foure miles, very low, and riseth like rockes; off the West-end, a mile or two from it, we saw a breach, but we could not get ground with an hundred and thirtie fathomes, sounding with our Pinnasse or skiffe: the latitude of it is



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seventeene degrees, no minutes, very certainly observed, and in our judgements well laid in our plats, both for latitude and longitude: it is a most sure signe of being neare this Iland de Juan da Nova, if you find or see great store of fowle; from having the Iland North-east to South-east, we saw much fowle, some white, their wings topped or painted only with blacke, and some blacke fowle.

*Signes of the  
Isle da Juan da  
Nova.*

The first of August, North North-east thirtie leagues, latitude fifteene degrees, one and fortie minutes, longitude one and twentie degrees, two and twentie minutes. August 1.

The second, North-east by North one quarter North, sixe and twentie leagues, latitude fourteene degrees, five and thirtie minutes, longitude one and twentie degrees, eight and fiftie minutes.

The third, North-east by North, one quarter North two and twenty leagues latitude observed thirteene degrees, five and thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Cape twenty two degr. thirty minutes, the wind at South South-east, partly calme. [I. iv. 457.]

Note that comming this course from the Isle Juan da Nova, we have not met with any Currents: whereby it is evident that the Current which runneth to the South-west, very strongly aboard the Maine, from the latitude of fourteen degr. South, doth not runne in the offing twenty leagues from land. At foure in the after-noone we saw land East North-east, and North-east by East from us, some twelve leagues off, having on the Easter-part of it a very faire Sugar-loafe hill. This Ile is called Mal-Ilha, and is one of the Iles of Comoro. Also at the same time we saw the Iland Comoro bearing off us North North-west and North by West high-land.

*Note.*

*Mal-Ilha one  
of the Iles of  
Comoro.*

The fourth, at six in the morning, we were faire aboard the South South-east end of Mal-Ilha, and haling in with the land to have found some place to anchor in, when we were some eight or nine miles from the shoare, we saw the ground under the ship; but not lesse then eight or ten fathoms water: the Hosiander being two miles

*Shoald-water.*

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*A great Ledge  
of Rockes.*

*Six or eight  
ships of Hol-  
land at Mal-  
Ilha.*

within us, shee finding not lesse then foure or five fathoms, but her Boat was in three fathoms. Then we sent off both our Pinnasses, which kept shoalding on a Banke of eight, ten, and twelve fathomes, being from the Banke halfe a Cables length, no ground in an hundred fathomes. At the North-end of this Mal-Ilha there is a faire big Iland high land, and may be some five or sixe miles about; and from this little Iland to the maine land of Mal-Ilha, may be some eight or nine miles, full of rockes, two of them of good height. Now the Banke or ledge of Rockes, for so it is, lyeth all along the West-side of Mal-Ilha: and continueth untill the little high Iland (before mentioned) beare South-east of you, and then it endeth. Heere I had sixteene fathom, faire white sand, fishing ground. And thus being at the North-end of this Ledge, and the little Iland bearing South-east, you may steere in with land, keeping the Iland faire aboard: and within the rockes or broken ground and Mal-Ilha, you shall see a Bay, wherein there is good anchoring. The Dutch shipping hath been there sixe or eight saile of them together: That yeare they were heere, when they assaulted Mozambique, two of my men now in my ship, were then in the shippes. Now to the Eastward of you, as you come in from the Banke or Ledge of Rockes, you have likewise a great shoald, and the offermost end of it lyeth from the little Iland North-east, or North-east by East, but from the Iland at least five or sixe miles, and no ground betweene, that we could find, in forty or fifty fathomes. In fine, all the North-side of Mal-Ilha is very dangerous: but the channell mentioned, without danger: for we stood in as farre as the little Iland: but the wind being faire Southerly, we could not lead it in. For I would have anchored in the Bay, if I could have got in; for a mile to the Westward of the Bay is a Towne, the people good, and great refreshing; as Beeves, Goats, Hennes, Limons, Coco Nuts, of each great store; and good water. The afore-said Fleet of Hollanders, in this place, recovered the

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healthes of foure or five hundred men in five weekes. In those parts there is no place of greater refreshing then this. Now the best way to come to this place, is to come by the South-east side of the Iland. Mal-Ilha hath latitude twelve degrees, thirty minutes, and longitude three and twenty degrees, two minutes; Variation fifteene degrees, twenty minutes. This Iland is well named Mal-Ilha, for it is the most dangerous of any place that ever I saw: it is the next to Comoro, on the South-east side of Comoro, and is distant some twelve or fourteene leagues.

*Mal-Ilha next  
to Comoro.*

The first of September, at the breaking of the dawning, we saw the land East from us, some three or foure leagues off. When we saw the land, I was short of my reckoning eightie or ninetie leagues: which I judge to proceed of some Current from the Coast of Melinde, setting to the East: neither from the latitude of Socatora to Daman could we see the Sunne, to know that variation.

*September 1.  
Sight of land.*

The third, at seven in the morning, we commanded two Boats of the countrey, by shooting foure peeces to them, to come aboard of us: and they told us that the Church, and Castle, and Towne which we saw, and now did beare off us South-east by South, was the Towne of Daman. Out of these two Boats I tooke two men, which undertooke to carry the Dragon to the Barre of Surat, with promise that they would not bring me into lesse than seven fathoms water.

The fifth, a Boat of Surat came aboard of us with Jaddow the Broker, which had served Captaine William Hawkins three yeeres, and Sir Henry Middleton the time of his being heere; and the Customers brother, and three or foure others. All which continued with us till the seventh day. And then at foure in the after-noon we came to an anchor at the Barre of Surat: the Barre hath latitude one and twenty degrees, ten minutes. Variation sixteene degrees, twenty minutes, or sixteene degr. seven and twenty min. Heere I came to an anchor

*They arrive  
at the Barre  
of Surat.*

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1612.

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in eight fathomes and a quarter at high water, and at low water sixe fathoms and an halfe nepe tides : but in the spring tides it would rise heere in the offing, for so have I found, three fathoms, and three fathoms and a halfe.

The eleventh, Thomas Kerridge came aboard, and signified their kind intreaty, and much welcome to the people, and brought with him from the Justice and Governour of Surat, a Certificate under their Seale for our quiet and peaceable trade and entercourse with them, and also a Letter of relation written by Sir Henry Middleton, which hee left with the Mocadan of Swally. The same day we returned him againe with Hugh Gittins.

[I. iv. 458.]

### §. II.

Their Acts with the Mogols Subjects, and fights against the Portugals : setting a Factorie, and departure to Achen.

**T**He thirteenth of September, sixteene Sailes of Portugall Frigats put into the River.

The two and twentieth it was determined by counsell, that wee should send a Post to Agra to the King, to signifie our arrival, and to require his answere certaine, Whether hee would permit us trade, and to settle a Factorie. Otherwise to depart his Countrey.

The thirtieth, this morning I heard of the taking of Master Canning the Purser, and William Chambers : whereupon I caused the Guzurat ship to anchor fast by me, thereby to stay her, till I might see and heare how all stood on land. Also wee stayed a Barke of Rice, being informed that it belonged to the Portugals of Bassare : and from Bassare she came. In fine, I tooke out of her twelve or fourteene Quintals of Rice, and gave them thirteene pence a Quintall for it. After I had the ship, I wrote to the chiefe on land, that they should send me all my men, with the value of all the goods which I

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had landed ; which being performed, I would then deliver their ship with all their people, and gave time till the fift of October to returne mee answe: by which time if they did not, then I would dispose of ship and goods at my pleasure. Some tenne of the chiefe men of the ship I tooke into my ship: in the ship there being some foure hundred men, or foure hundred and fiftie.

The sixth, Medi Joffer came aboard accompanied with foure chiefe men, and many others. Hee brought me a great Present. He came to intreate of Trade, and release of the ship which I held.

The tenth, I left the Barre of Surat, and came to the Roade of Swally, and anchored in eight fathomes at high-water. It is from the Barre of Surat some ten or twelve miles North. The seventeenth; the Governour of Amadavar came to the water-side. The nineteenth, I landed, having aboard of my ship foure men for pledges. The one and twentieth, I concluded with the Governours and Merchants for trading with them, and setling a Factorie in any part of their Countrey.

*The Governor  
of Amadavar  
came to Swally.*

The Articles agreed upon, and sealed by the Governour of Amadavar, and the Governour of Surat, and foure principall Merchants, and to be confirmed by the Seale and Firme of the Great Mogoll within fortie dayes after the former sealing, or else to be void; for the setling of Trade and Factories in the Cities of Surat, Cambaya, Amadavar, Goga, or in any other part or parts of this Countrey within the Great Mogols Dominions. Witnessed under our hands and Seales, the one and twentieth of October, 1612.

1. **I**Nprimis, that all which concerneth Sir Henrie Middleton be remitted, acquitted and cleered to us: that they shall never make seisure, stoppage, nor

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stay of our Goods, Wares and Merchandizes to satisfie for the same.

2 That they shall procure from their King the great Mogoll at their proper cost his grant and confirmation of all the Articles of agreement under the great Seale of his Land, and shall deliver the same unto us for our securitie and certaintie of perpetuall amitie, commerce and dealing with them within fortie dayes after the sealing hereof.

3 That it shall bee lawfull for the King of England to keepe and continue his Embassadour at the Court of the Great Mogoll during the time of the said peace and commerce, there to compound and end all such great and weightie Questions, as may any way tend to the breach of the said peace.

4 That at all times upon the arrivall of our ships in the Roade of Swally there shall bee Proclamation in the Citie of Surat three severall dayes together, that it shall bee free for the Countrey people of all sorts to come downe to the water side, there to have free trade, dealing and commerce with us.

5 That all English Commodities shall pay custome, according to the value or price that it beareth at the time that it is put into the Custome-house, after the rate of three and an halfe the hundred.

6 That all pettie and Pedlerly ware be free of Custome, provided that it exceed not in value tenne Rials of eight.

7 That we shall have ten Manu for our Manuda carryed from the waters side to Surat: and after the same rate backe againe: and for Carts we are to repaire to the Moccadam of Swally to send for Surat, and at Surat to repaire to the Broker for Carts downe againe.

[I. iv. 459.]

8 That if any of our men dye in those parts, that then neither the King, nor Governour, nor under Officer shall make title or challenge to any thing that to the dead belonged, nor demand fees, nor any kind of Taxes, nor Customes.

9 That if all our men dye heere in these parts, be-

tween the times of the comming of our shippes, that then by some Office thereto appointed just and true Inventorie, notice, and knowledge be taken, of all such Monies, Goods, Jewels, Provisions, Apparell, and what else to our Nation belongeth: and the same shall safely preserve and keepe, and deliver to the Generall, Captaine, or Merchants of the first ships that shall after heere arrive: and to receive a discharge from the Generall, Captaine, or Merchants, to whom such Goods and Monies shall be delivered.

10 That they secure our men and goods upon the Land, redeeming all such both goods and men as shall happen to be taken upon the Land by the Portugals: and shall deliver both men and goods againe to us free of all charges, or the value of our goods and men instantly.

11 That as in all Kingdomes there are some Rebels and disobedient Subjects; so in our Nation there may be some Pirats, and Sea-Rovers, which may happen to come into these parts, and heere may rob and steale: if any such shall happen, then will not we by our Trade and Factorie heere bee lyable or answerable for such goods so taken, but will ayde them with our best meanes that are so grieved, by Justice to our King, for redresse and restitution unto them.

12 That all such provisions of victuals as shall bee spent during the time that our ships shall remayne heere in the Roades of Surat and Swally, shalbe free of Custome: provided it doe not amount unto above a thousand Dollers in Money.

13 That in all Questions of wrongs and injuries that shall be offered unto us, and to our Nation, that we doe receive from the Judges and those that be in authoritie, present and speedie Justice according to the qualitie of our complaints and wrongs be done us, and that by delays we be not put off, and wearied either by time or charges.

The fourteenth, I landed the Present for the Great Mogol, and brought it to the Tent of the Governour of

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Amadavar, who tooke notice of the particulars: also of our Kings Letter to their King to advertise their King thereof. Which done, I returned the Present to my shippe againe, according to agreement with the said Governour. For I had told him, that unlesse their King would confirme the Articles concluded on, and likewise write our King a Letter, I would not deliver the Present, nor our Kings Letter: for if he refused so to do, then was he not a friend, but an enemie, and to the enemie of my King, I neither had Letter nor Present. Also the same day, the former finished, I delivered our Present to the Governour of Amadavar, and another to his sonne.

The fourteenth of November, 1612. the Cafila of Frigats came in sight of us, some two hundred and fortie saile. I had thought they had come to fight with us: but they were the Fleet of the Merchant men bound for Cambaya. And every yeare there commeth the like Fleet, all Portugals from the South Coast, to wit, from Goa, Chaul, &c. to goe to Cambaya: and from thence they bring the greatest part of the lading, which the Caracks and Gallions carrie for Portugall. By which may appeare the great Trade that the Portugals have in these parts.

*Notice of foure Gallions.*

*The fight between foure Portugal Gallions and us.*

*Of these fights see a larger Relation in my Pilgrimage,*

*lib. 5. cap. 7.*

*§ 4. The Portugals had foure great Gallions and some twentie sixe Frigats. They lost in these fights*

The seven and twentieth, I received Letters from Master Canning and Edward Christian: both signified of the comming of foure Gallions to fight with us, and that they were readie, riding at the Barre of Goa, the fourteenth of November.

The nine and twentieth, Master Canning came aboard: and the Portugall Fleet comming in sight of us yesterday, drew neere up with the floud: and at two in the after-noone I did set saile, and at foure I was about two Cables lengths from the Vice-Admirall, fearing to goe neerer for want of depth, and then I began to play upon him both with great and small shot, that by an houre we had well peppered him with some fiftie sixe great shot.

*their quondam credit and one hundred and sixtie, or as others fve hundred men. And English Trade settled mangre their force. Nathaniel Salmon of Leigh, was Master of the Hoslander.*



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From him wee received one small shot, Saker or Minion into our Maine Mast, and with another he sunke our long Boate: now being night we anchored, and saved our Boate, but lost many things out of it.

The thirtieth, assoone as the day gave light, I set saile and steered betweene them, bestirring our selves with our best endeavours, putting three of their foure shippes on ground on the sands thwart of the Barre of Surat.

At nine I anchored. This morning the Hosiander did good service, and came through also betweene the ships, and anchored by me, upon the floud the three ships on ground came off: we set saile, they at anchor, and came to them, and spent upon three of them, one hundred and fiftie great shot: and in the morning some fiftie shot: and at night we giving the Admirall our foure Peeeces out of the sterne for a fare-well, he gave us one of his Prow Peeeces, either a whole or Demi-culvering, which came even with the top of our Fore-castle, shot thorow our Davie, killed one man, to wit, William Burrell, and shot the arme of another.

This day the Hosiander spent wholly upon one of the ships, which was on ground, and from the enemy received many shot, one of which killed the Boat-swayne Richard Barker. Night being come wee birthed our selves some sixe miles from them, and anchored: and at nine of the clocke they sent a Frigat to us, which being come neere, came driving right on the halfe of the Hosiander: and being discovered by their good watch, they made to shoote at it; the first, caused it to set saile; the second went thorow their sailes, and so they tooke their leave. Their purpose, doubtlesse, was to have fired us, if they had found us without good watch.

The first of December, 1612. we rode, they not coming to us, nor we to them: they might without danger of the sands have come to us, not we to them. This day I called a Counsell, and concluded to go downe to have a broader channell, hoping also that the Gallions would follow us. The second, we went downe some sixe or

[I. iv. 460.]  
*This Frigat was sunke with the shot, as Mr. Salmon the actor was authour unto me, and eightie of her men were taken up drowned.*  
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*The Portugalls  
give over the  
fight.*

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seven leagues, but they followed us not. The third, at flood we plyed up againe, and anchored faire in sight of them.

The fourth in the morning, we weighed, and stood away before them. In the after-noone they gave us over, and stood in with the land againe: and at night we directed our course for Diu.

The fifth at night, we anchored some foure or five leagues to the Eastward of Diu in fourteene fathoms, faire aboard the shoare.

*Madafelde-  
bar.*

The ninth, we came to Madafeldebar, and anchored in eight fathomes. It is from Diu some ten or eleven leagues, and lyeth nearest East and by North, a faire Coast, no danger but that you see: your depth, if neare Diu, fiteene, sixteene, when halfe-way, twelve fathoms, then ten and nine, not lesse: it is a faire sandy Bay; and on the West-side of the Bay is a River that goeth farre into the Countrey: and this place is some five or sixe miles short to the Westward of the Isles of Mortie. The fiftenth in the morning, we departed from Madafeldebar, to go to Moha, only to discover the Bay: because some that were there in the Ascension, reported it to be a good place to winter in. At foure of the clocke in the after-noone, we anchored in the Bay of Moha; which is from Madafeldebar nine or ten leagues, East North-east. Having found the Coast and channell very good, depth ten fathomes; no danger, but what you see. I sent our Pinnasse on land, where presently we had twenty good sheepe, at three shillings a sheepe, the best we had this Voyage.

*Moha, or  
Mova, or Mea.*

The sixteenth in the morning, I sent our Pinnasse on land, where we found few people, but the ruines of a great Towne.

The seventeenth in the morning, the Generall of the Campe sent to me foure men, to intreat me to send unto him one of my men, that he might talke with mee.

The one and twentieth I landed, and had much conference with the Generall of the Campe: he much desired

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that I would land two peeces of Ordnance, making many and great promises of favour to our Nation; but I refused him. He presented me with a horse and furniture, and two Agra Girdles: And I presented him a Vest of Stammell, two Peeces, two Bottles of Aquavitæ, and a Knife. The two and twentieth, we saw the foure Gallions comming toward us, and at nine at night they anchored within shot of us.

The three and twentieth in the morning, by Sunne, we weighed, and began with them, and continued fight till ten or eleven. Then they all foure weighed, and stood away before the wind, and so went from us: for they sailed large, much better then wee: wee followed them two or three houres, and then anchored. This day I spent upon them an hundred thirtie three great shot, and some seven hundred small shot. In this fight John Hackwel was killed with a great shot. The foure Gallions anchored from me some two leagues.

The foure and twentieth, by Sunne rising, I weighed and went to the foure Gallions, and by eight began our fight, and continued it till twelve. And this day shot two hundred and fiftie great shot, and one thousand small shot. By this time both sides were weary, and we all stood into the sea, and steered away South by East. The foure ships following of us, at two or three of clocke they laid it about and anchored. Now I began take knowledge of our powder and shot, and found more then halfe of our shot spent, and of the Hosianders, having now spent on the foure shippes sixe hundred, five and twenty great shot, and three thousand small shot. Being from the land some foure or five leagues, we met with a sand, whereon there was some two or two fathoms and an halfe, and it lyeth from Moso South-South-east, or thereabout, the end of the said sand. I went over it in nine fathoms: and then were the two high hills, which are over Goga nearest North of us. Upon this sand was the Ascension cast away. The shoalding is something fast. Betweene the land and this sand is nine and ten fathoms. Wee

*Sixe hundred  
and five and  
twentie great  
shot spent on  
the foure Gal-  
lions, and three  
thousand small  
shot.*

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continued steering South, with an ebbe. At low water we anchored in eight fathoms, the tide setting at East North-east, and West South-west, by the Compasse. At twelve at mid-night I weighed, wind at North North-west, and steered South South-east, depths twelve and fourteene fathoms. At foure steered East South-east. At sixe steered East still twelve fathoms, halfe a fathome more or lesse. At nine we met with a banke, seven fathomes, five or sixe casts, then presently ten, twelve, fourteene. Then the wind shortned on us: we lay South-east. And about twelve saw the land of Daman East South-east. The high land to the Southward of Daman South-east by East. And being over this sand, we had presently fourteene, fifteene, seventeene, twenty fathoms. At two, being high water, we anchored in seventeene fathoms, faire in sight of land, Daman East South-east. The highest land to the Southward, South-east by South. At eight at night, wee set saile halfe tide, calme, still fifteene and sixteene fathoms, anchored all the ebbe.

The sixe and twentieth, at nine of the clocke in the morning, we set saile, in the afternoone anchored off the Barre of Surat.

[I. iv. 461.] The seven and twentieth in the morning, we were three or foure miles short of Swally, and about twelve of the clocke we anchored in the Road of Swally. In the afternoon Thomas Kerridge and Edward Christian came aboard.

February 6. The sixt of February, the Firma came to Swally, as a private Letter: therefore I refused to receive it, being jealous it was a counterfeit; requiring the chiefe men of Surat to come downe and deliver it to me, with those rights that to it belonged.

*I received the  
great Mogol  
his Firma for  
confirming of  
peace, and  
settling a  
Factory in  
Surat, &c.*

The eleventh, the Sabandar, his father in law Medigoffer, and divers others came to Swally, and delivered it to me, with profession of their Kings love to our Nation.

The fourteenth, we landed all our cloath, three hun-

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dred and ten Elephants teeth, and all our Quick-silver. The Gallions came within some three or foure miles of us.

The sixteenth, I landed Anthony Starkey, to traverse home over-land for England, with Letters and advertisement of our good successe.

The seventeenth, I received all my goods from Surat : at night I set saile, taking my leave of these coasts : it fell calme, and I anchored. Note that in the Land of Cambaya it floweth South-west and North-east.

The eighteenth, I set saile againe, came faire by the Gallions. They all weighed and followed me some two or three houres, and then we departed without shooting a shot on either side.

The nineteenth, thwart of Basaim we tooke three Malabars, which had nothing in them : we tooke a Boat from one of them.

The twentieth, still we were faire aboard some five leagues off, and came along the shoare in fourteene, eighteene, twentie fathomes water. At night we were faire over-against Chaul, seeing both Towne and Castle.

The one and twentieth in the after-noone, wee were faire aboard Dabul, and heere were aboard three Junckes, all of Calicut, laden with Cokers.

The two and twentieth, the Hosiander in the morning sent her Boat unto two Junckes. At twelve of the clocke we were at the rockes, which lye at the Northward of Goa, ten or eleven leagues, and lye from the Maine sixe or eight miles. Two or three of these rocks are higher then the hull of any ship. At sixe we were thwart of Goa, which is easily knowne by the Iland, which lyeth at the mouth of the River, and upon the Iland a Castle. From Daman till you come to Goa, the shoare is very faire, no danger, and faire shoal ding, not without sixteene or seventeene, nor within ten fathoms : good anchoring all the Coast. And all this Coast from Daman to Goa, lyeth nearest South and North, we steered along the Land.

*Anthony  
Starkie sent  
over-land for  
England, he  
was poisoned  
and his Indian  
by two Friars  
in the way.*

*He leaveth  
these Coasts,  
shaping his  
course for  
Sumatra and  
Java.  
Basaim.*

*Chaul.*

*Dabul.*

*Goa.*

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*A Fleet of  
Frigats.*

The foure and twentieth, we saw a Fleete of Frigats, some sixtie or eightie saile, bound to the Southward: heere Norther latitude thirteene degrees, halfe a minute. The high land by the waters side left us; and the land began to be very low, and faire shoalding sixteene or seventeene fathomes, some three or foure leagues off. In the after-noone we came into a Bay, where all the Frigats, and three or foure Gallyes were, and fetched out a ship laden with Rice: all the Portugalls fled in their two Boates; and also there were two Frigats aboard of her, so that all good things they carried away with them.

*A prize taken.*

The five and twentieth, we romaged our prize, finding nothing but Rice and course Sugar, of which we stored our selves, and tooke out both high masts, and what firing we could, and at night suncke her, taking out of her all the people, twentie or five and twentie, all Moores.

*Cananor.*

The sixe and twentieth, wee met with a little Boate of Maldina, laden with Cokers, bound for Cananor, into which I put all the people of the prize; onely eight I kept for labour, one of them a Pilot for this Coast. At twelve we were thwart of Cananor, latitude eleven degrees.

*Calicut.*

The seven and twentieth, we were shot a little past Calicut, and were thwart of Pannaire, at noone latitude ten degrees, thirtie minutes.

*Cochin.*

The eight and twentieth in the morning, we saw Cochin, which maketh it selfe by the Towers and Castle: and in latitude nine degrees, fortie minutes, or thereabout. Note that from Goa to Cochin, we never had above twentie fathomes, being sometime foure or five leagues from land: and being three, foure and sixe miles off ten or twelve fathomes, from latitude eleven degrees, thirtie minutes to Cochin, very low land by the waters side; but up in the Countrie all along high land. Note that short of Cochin foure or five leagues, you shall see a high land in the Countrie, somewhat like a table, but rounding aloft. And to the Northward of this round

*Shoaldings.*

*Marks of  
land.*

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hill, high long hills or mountaines. All this day we ran within six or eight miles of the land, in nine, ten, twelve fathomes.

The nine and twentieth, calme, latitude eight degrees, some sixe leagues off, no ground in fortie or fiftie fathomes.

The thirtieth, we anchored in fiteene fathomes, some sixe and twentie leagues short of Cape Comori, against a little Village: and presently sixe or eight Canoes came aboard, and brought us all provisions, water, Hennes, Cocos, &c. The name of this place is \* Beringar: the Kings name Travancar.

*They anchored before Beringar, a place of great refreshing.*

*\*Our Mariners usually call it Bring John.* ✓

The one and thirtieth, all the day the people came to us with Hennes, and other victuals.

The first of February, the people came with provisions, and the King sent a messenger to me, to know whether I would trade with him: which if I would, he offered to lade my shippe with Pepper and Cinamom.

*February 1.  
[I. iv. 462.]*

The fourth, the people still came to us with provisions. At two of the clocke in the after-noone, we set saile from Beringar: all the night I anchored.

The fifth in the morning we set saile, being faire aboard Cape Comorin: and heere met with a fresh gale of wind at East by North, which split our fore-top-saile and maine bonnet, yet a Canoa with eight men came aboard me, three or foure leagues from land: in the after-noone came another Canoa. Heere we were troubled with calmes and great heate, many of our men taken sicke, my selfe one of them. The eight, we came againe into the Roade of Beringar.

The Thirteenth, we set saile from Beringar. Note that this place giveth good refreshing, with plentie of water, and the people harmelesse, and not friends with the Portugals. From this place to the Cape, all the people that dwell by the waters side are Christians, and have a Portugall Frier or Priest that dwelleth among them. All the night we anchored some foure or five miles from the two rockes, which lye off the Cape in eigh-

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teene fathomes. The two rockes lye five or sixe miles from land.

*Variation at  
Cape Comorin,  
fourteen degr.  
latitude seven  
degrees, thirtie  
minutes. And  
longitude from  
the Cape of  
Good Hope  
fiftie sixe  
degrees, thirtie  
min.*

The fourteenth in the morning, I set saile, wind at East, and plyed to windward: wee have a little current to the Southward. Note that the Coast of Malabar, even from Daman to Cape Comorin is free of danger, and faire shoalding on all the Coast from Cochin to the Cape: more neale sixteene, eighteene, twentie fathoms faire by the land: and five or six leagues off no ground after you come within five and twentie or thirtie leagues of the Cape. The variation at Daman is sixteene degrees, thirtie minutes. And halfe way to the Cape, it is fiftene or thereabout: and heere at the Cape it is fourteene. And the Cape hath latitude North seven degrees, thirtie minutes. In the after-noone, we ran off open of the Cape, and found much wind at East South-east, which gave no small hope of going to the Eastward, till the end of the Monson, which will bee the fifth of Aprill, or thereabout, as the Indians report. So I bore up and anchored foure or five leagues within the Cape, in twentie fathomes, faire by the two rockes. Right off from these two rockes, lyeth a suncken rocke, which is very dangerous, and is some two miles without the foresaid two Rockes. If you come within twentie fathomes, you shall be in danger of them: but safe and free of danger, is not to come within foure and twentie or five and twentie fathomes. Heere we stayed nine dayes.

*A very dan-  
gerous suncken  
rocke.*

*The Isle of  
Ceylon.*

The eight and twentieth in the morning, at sixe of the clocke, we saw the Isle of Ceylon, East South-east, off some eight or nine leagues: little wind at South, latitude observed seven degrees North. At foure of the clocke, we were faire aboard the land, depths thirteene, fiftene, sixteene fathomes. At eight stood off till day: little wind at South, being from the land five or six leagues, no ground in sixtie or seventie fathomes.

*March 1.*

The first of March, all the morning becalmed: in the after-noone a Sea-turne at North-west and West. At sixe



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of the clocke, we were faire aboard Columbo, the latitude whereof is six degrees, thirtie minutes, or neare thereabout, depths foure and twenty, five and twenty fathoms, three leagues off.

*Columbo in  
sixe degrees,  
thirtie  
minutes.*

The twelfth, we stood in with the land, and anchored in foure and twentie fathomes, wind at South-east and South. I sent my Boat on land, foure leagues to the North of Punta de Galle: and after some stay, a woman came to talke with an Indian, that went out of our Boat: shee told him that we should have there no provisions: but said shee would go and tell the men; which we desired. Afterward two men came to my Indian, and told him, that we should not have any thing there, for that our Nation had sometimes taken a Boat of theirs: but it was the Hollanders, and not our Nation.

The fourteenth in the morning, at sixe of the clocke, the Southermost point of Ceylon, called Tenadare, whose latitude is five degrees, thirtie minutes, and lyeth from Punta de Galle, East South-east, some ten or twelve leagues, bare East North-east some five leagues off.

The seventeenth, we were neare to one of the sands that Linscot writeth of: it lieth from the land two leagues. We had five and twenty fathomes when we staid: upon the land right against this sand is a high Rocke like a great Tower. The land lieth here East North-east.

*A sand lying  
some two  
leagues off the  
shore.*

Captaine Best his entertainment at Achen.

THE twelfth of Aprill at noone, we came to an anchor in the Road of Achen, in twelve fathomes; but you may ride in tenne or eight fathomes. Your best road is, to the East-ward of the Castle, and Rivers mouth. The thirteenth, I landed the Merchants, the King not beeing in Towne. The fifteenth, the King came, and sent his Chap to me for my landing, brought by an Eunuch, and sixe or eight more, and also the Xabandar. To whom we gave an hundred and twenty Mam. With them the same day I landed: and two houres after my landing, the

*Aprill 12.  
They anchor  
in the Road of  
Achen in  
twelve  
fathoms.*

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*The Kings  
Present.*

King sent me a Present in victuals: I having presently upon my landing sent the King two peeces: for the custome is, at landing to present the King with some small thing, and he requiteth it by severall dishes of meate.

[I. iv. 463.]

*Our Kings  
letter read to  
the King of  
Achen.*

The seventeenth, the King having sent an Elephant with a bason of Gold for our Kings letters, I rode to the Court accompanied with fortie of our men, all admitted into the Kings presence; and after many complements, the King returned the Letter unto me, for to read it: and so the substance of it was delivered unto him in his owne language. The contents pleased him very well. The day wel spent, the King told me, he would now shew me some of his pleasures; and caused his Elephants to fight before us: and after sixe of them had fought, then he caused foure Buffles to fight before him, which made a very excellent and fierce fight. Their fiercenesse was such, that hardly sixtie or eightie men could part them, fastening ropes to their hinder legges, to draw them asunder. And after them some tenne or twelve Rams, which likewise made a very great fight, and so continued till it was so darke that we could not see any longer. The King presented me with a banket of at least foure hundred dishes, with such plentie of hot drinkes, as might have sufficed a drunken army. Betweene nine and tenne at night, he gave me leave to depart, sending me two Elephants to carry me home; but I rode not on them, they having no coverings on them.

The eighteenth, I went to the Court againe, the King so appointing; where we beganne to treat of the Articles formerly made by his Grand-father, and M. James Lancaster. And comming to the matter of having all goods both brought in, and carried out free of custome, wee ended, without concluding any thing.

*The Embassa-  
dour of Siam  
came to visit  
me.  
Of this you  
may read in  
M. Floris his  
Journall.*

The nineteenth, the Embassadour of Siam came to visit me, telling me of the three Englishmen that came to the King of Siam, and of their great entertainment, and joy of their King to receive a Letter from the King of England: and that it was some thirty Moneths since.

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They also told me how joyfull their King would be, if our shipping came to his coasts; telling me what great quantities of cloath of Portugall, which is English cloth, would sell in their Countreys. The colours most in request, stammel and reds, with some others, as yellowes, and other pleasing light colours, as at Surat. They also told me, that their King had made a Conquest over the whole Countrey of Pegu, and so is now the greatest King of this Oriental part, except the King of China, and hath under him twentie sixe petty Kings; and in the warres is able to make sixe thousand Elephants. Their coyne is all Silver. Their Gold is lesse esteemed then the valem thereof. In their Countrey is great store of Pepper, and rawe Silke. He saith, that the Hollanders have their Factories, whom they call English, at Patane, which is an excellent Port: the entrance twelve and foureteene fathomes. Likewise Siam is a good Port, and is neerer unto the Kings Court then Patane. Those that doe goe to the Citie of the King, alwaies come to this Port of Siam. And from this Port of Siam to the Kings Court, is some twenty dayes journey by land. I mooved the Embassadour for his Letter to the King, which he promised me, and also for his Letter to the Governours of Ports, in favour of our Nation, when we should come upon those coasts. And lastly, changed coynes with him, giving of our English coyne, and receiving the Kings coine of Siam. I had after this, often entercourse with these Embassadours.

*English broad  
clothes well  
sold in Siam.*

*Gold of lesse  
esteeme then  
the value  
thereof in  
Siam.  
Hollanders  
called or call-  
ing themselves  
English.*

The twentieth, I went to the Court, but spake not with the King: whereupon I sent to the Kings Deputie, and complained of my dishonour, and of some abuse by the Xabandar offered unto me. He promised that I should have present redresse, and that he would enforme the King thereof: which accordingly he performed the same day. The twentie one, the King sent two Officers unto me, to signifie that at all times I might repaire unto his Court, with free accesse, and passe all the Gates without stoppe, or attending for his Crest, and likewise remooved the

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Xabandar, and appointed me the Gentleman, whom the King sent Vice-Embassadour into Holland, to attend, and accompany me at all times to the Court, and elsewhere at my pleasure.

*A signe of  
most honour-  
able esteeme.*

The foure and twentieth, I wrote unto the Court, and had accesse unto the King, who gave me all content, and promised the ratifying of all the Articles, formerly agreed upon by his Predecessour, and M. James Lancaster. So after divers complements, he tooke leave, and sent me home presently after my returne an Elephant to attend me, and to carrie me whither soever it pleased me to travell. And this is a signe of the honourablest esteeme that they hold of the parties to whom they sent their Elephants: for none may have an Elephant, nor ride on them, but those whom the King doth honour.

May 2. 1613.

The second of May, the King invited me to his fountaine to swimme, and I was with him; it being some five or sixe miles from the Citie, and he sent me two Elephants to carrie me and my provision; and having washed and bathed our selves in the water, the King presented me with an exceeding great banquet, with too much Racke, all to be eaten and drunken as we sate in the water; all his Nobles and great Captaines being present. Our banquet continued from one of the clocke till towards five: at which time the King released me; and halfe an houre after all strangers, and presently after followed himselfe.

*Edward  
Christian  
Captaine of  
the Hosiander.  
[I. iv. 464.]*

The foureteenth, certaine Portugalls came into Achen, which came from Malacca with an Embassage from the Governour to this King. The wind short, they landed three leagues to the Eastward of the Road of Achen. This day I sent the Hosiander to seeke the Barke which came from Malacca, making Edward Christian Captaine in her. The seventeenth in the morning, the Portugall Barke was brought unto me aboard the Dragon. But before she came aboard, the King sent two Messengers to me, to desire me to release both her, and that which might bee in her: which I refused to doe: answering,

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that I would not release her, untill I had seen both the Barke and that which was in her: but willed them to tell the King, that in honour of him, whatsoever he required, I would doe for him. Afterward the Barke came, and by Edward Christian I was informed, that there were some foure or five fardels in her, and that nothing was medled withall, that was in her. Wherein being certified, I came on land, and found my Merchants to be at the Court, who by and by after came in, informing me of the Kings great displeasure, for taking the Portugall Barke in his Port, protesting by his god, That he would make them all prisoners, if the Barke were not released. The King having intelligence of my comming on land, presently sent for me. And on the way to the Court, as I was going, I met a Gentleman that came from the King, to desire me to release the Barke. But I told him, I would first speake with the King. In fine, I came to the Court, and presently was brought before the King: where after much discourse, at the Kings request, I gave him the Barke, and all that was in her, with which hee was much pleased, and gave me an honourable title, to wit, Arancaja Puto: which signifieth, The honourable White man, requiring his Nobles to call me by the same name. And further, to acknowledge his thankfulnessse to me, he sold me his Benjamin at mine owne price; namely, at twenty Tayls the Bahar, it being worth thirty foure and thirty five, professing by generall tearmes his love, and much esteeme of mee, willing me to aske whatsoever I would of him. I required onely his Letters of favour unto Priaman, which he most willingly promised. Of his Mangoes, whereof himselfe did eate, he gave me to eate, and likewise to carry to my lodging, and so I tooke leave and departed.

*Captaine Best  
honoured with  
a Noble title  
by the King.*

The seven and twentieth, Malim Gavy came to Achen, by whom I received Letters from our Merchants at Surat, and also a Copie of the Kings Firma, sent them from Agra, bearing date the twenty fifth of January, and the seventh yeare of the Great Mogols raigne, confirming all

*Letters from  
Surat, with the  
Copie of the  
Great Mogols  
Firma.*

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that was passed betweene the Governour of Amadavar and me.

*June, 1613.*

The seventeenth of June, 1613. came there a Merchant of the Hollanders into Achen from Masulipatan, and had been eight moneths on his journey. He told us of the death of Captaine Anthonie Hippon, who died in Patane, and of M. Browne Master of the Globe, who died in Masulipatan, and that they had been evill dealt with at Masulipatan.

The foure and twentieth, I received of the King his Present for the King of England; namely, his Letter, a Cryse or Dagger, an Hasega, foure pieces of fine Callicut lawne, and eight Camphire dishes.

See this Letter transcribed as a raritie for the Reader, out of M. Copelands Journall, which was Minister in that Voyage, and followeth in the next Chapter.

*July. 1613.*

The third of July, the Kings Armada arrived, and had been but twenty dayes from the coast of Jor to Achen.

*The Factorie  
of the Hollan-  
ders destroyed  
in Jor.*

In Jor they tooke the Factorie of the Hollanders, and made a prey of all their goods, and brought hither prisoners of the Hollanders some twenty or twenty foure.

*He departeth  
from Achen.*

The seventh, I received the Kings Letter for Priaman, and the Chap for my departure. The twelfth, I tooke my leave in Achen, and came aboard.

The thirteenth in the morning, I set saile, and coming neere the great Westernmost Iland, open of the Northermost gut; in the same Ile we found faire shoalding twenty fathomes, cleane ground, sand, a good birth from the land. This depth with cleare ground continued almost to the end of the Iland: so that on the East side of this Iland, there is very good anchoring, and on the Iland great store of wood. But beeing neere the great Iland, to the East-ward of this, wee could get no ground: betweene these two great Ilands is the best and safest course, going on or out to the road of Achen. Likewise, to the Eastward of the Eastermost Iland, but that is out of the way. Note, that from the twelfth of Aprill to the middest of June, we had much raine, seldome two dayes

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without raine, with gusts and much wind. From the fifteenth of June, to the twelfth of July, very much wind, very sore stresses, alwayes at South-West, and West South-West, and West.

### § III.

Trade at Tecoo and Passaman: their going to Bantam, and thence home.

**T**He third of August, we were in sight of Priaman, nine or tenne leagues off, it bearing from us North-east by East, it shewing with two great high hils, making a faire swamp or saddle betweene them both. We sawe also Tecoo the high land on it: it is not more then halfe so high as Priaman land, and riseth something flat. Then we saw also the high land of Passaman, which lieth some seven or eight leagues to the North-ward of Tecoo, even mid way betweene Passaman and Priaman, which Mountaine is very high, and riseth like Monte Gibello in Sicilie. *Priaman.*

The seventh in the afternoone we came to Tecoo, and anchored on the East side of the three Ilands in seven fathomes. The Souther-most Ile bore West South-west. The middlemost West North-West. The Northermost North, and halfe East a mile from the Ilands. *Tecoo.*

The ninth, I landed my Merchants; and in the afternoone I landed with the King of Achens Letter. The eleventh, I called a Counsell for sending the Hosiander for Priaman with the Kings Letter, which departed the next day, and returned the eighteenth, and was sent to Bantam. *Passaman.*

The five and twentieth, there came in a Juncke of Bantam, the Owners Chineses. They confirmed unto me the death of Sir Henrie Middleton, with the losse of most of the men of the Trades Increase, and Maine Mast which brake with forcing her downe to carine her, and that now she was gone from Pulo Panian to Bantam: that three hundred Chineses dyed in working on her. *They arrive at Tecoo.*

*[I. iv. 465.]*  
*Death of Sir  
H. Middleton.  
The Trade  
perisheth.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

The eight and twentieth, my Boat and men returned from Passaman, having beene well intreated, and brought with them the Scrivane of the place to deale with me: with whom I dealt and went through.

The fourteenth, the Governour called me on Land, being set with all the chiefe: I came to him, and after much talke agreed for the price of Pepper: Money, eightene Dollers the Barre. Lastage, eight pence the Barre. Canikins, thirtie the Barre. Seilars, thirtie five the Barre. They indented for Presents to sixteene great men.

The thirtieth, Henrie Long came from Passaman, and gave mee knowledge of the sicknesse of Master Oliver and divers others dead, whereupon I sent my Shalop to fetch both him and all other of my men away, and to surcease my Factorie there.

The one & twentieth of October, the Hosiander returned. The Merchants from Bantam wrote to me that they had readie seventeen thousand bags of Pepper: all which, if it pleased me to come thither, I should have, or as much thereof, as should seeme good unto me at thirteene Dollers the Timbane. Out of these and many other considerations, I presently called a Counsell: wherein we concluded that the Dragon should goe for Bantam; and the Hosiander should stay in the Road of Teco, upon the sale of Surat goods: all which being put aboard of her, I departed from the Roade of Teco the thirtieth of October.

In this Roade I had stayed eleven weekes, and bought one hundred and fiftene or one hundred and twentie tunnes of Pepper, and buried of our men five and twentie. All which either dyed, or contracted their deaths at Passaman, and not at Teco. And certainly, had wee not attempted trading at Passaman, they had beene either all, or the greatest part of them now living. Therefore I doe wish all our Nation never to attempt the sending of our men to Passaman. For the Ayre is so contagious there, and the water so evill, that it is impossible for our people to live there.

*Passaman is a  
very contagi-  
ous place.*



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The thirtieth, in the after-noone I set saile from Teco: at sixe at night wee were thwart of the offermost of the three Ilands; all night we steered South South-west.

*He departeth  
from Teco.*

The eleventh of November, we arrived in the Roade of Bantam in foure fathomes one quarter lesse. The twelfth, I called the Merchants aboard, and concluded on the price of Pepper at thirteene Dollers the Bahar: which is sixe hundred pound of our weight.

*They arrived  
in the Road of  
Bantam.*

The fourth of March at eight at night I set saile from Saldanha, having bought heere with a little Copper, which at ten pence the pound might be worth some three pound tenne shillings, foure hundred ninetie foure Sheepe, foure Beeves, nine Calves. On the day of our comming to Sea the people brought us more then we could buy, or knew what to doe withall. We brought to Sea eightie Sheepe, two Beeves, and one Calfe.

The foure & twentieth North North-west halfe West till nine, ten leagues & an halfe. Then West till sixe in the morning twelve leagues. Then we saw Sancta Helena from us West North-west some eight or nine leagues off. I find the latitude of it to be sixteene Southerly. Also we observed at noone: and it hath longitude from the Meridian of the Cape of Good Hope, twentie two degrees. At three of the clocke we anchored in the Roade right against the Chappell.

*They saw  
Santa Helena.*

While I was at Saint Helena, I sent my Boates to the West-ward to find a shorter way to the Limon Trees, and to bring downe Goates and Hogges with more ease. For from the Chappell to the Limon Trees is a most wicked way: and even a dayes worke to goe and come. In fine, in seeking they found some three or foure miles to the South-west a faire Valley, which leadeth directly up to the Limon Trees. It is the greatest and fairest Valley from the Chappell; and either the next or the next save one from the South-west point from the Chappell: Heere in this Valley is better water, and more cleere, then at the Chappell, the Roade all one for ground and depth. Heere

*Another Road  
at Santa  
Helena, better  
then the  
former.*

*The best  
water.*

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at this Valley it is much better being then at the Chappell, both for getting of all provisions, and for watering. It is from the Chappell some three or foure miles, and is from it the fourth Valley or Swampe: and from the Point to the West-ward of it, the second. So that you cannot misse of it. It is heere much better riding then at any other place on the Iland. From this place you may goe up to the Limon Trees, and downe againe in three houres. Heere we got some thirtie Hogges and Pigges, and some twelve or fourteene hundred Limons. In eight or ten dayes a man may heere get two hundred Hogges, and many Goates, lying on land of purpose to kill them. The variation is here seven degrees thirtie minutes.

[I. iv. 466.]  
*The Lizard.*

The fourth of June 1614. we saw the Lizard North from us, some foure or five leagues off. And now our longitude from the Cape of Good Hope was twentie seven degrees twentie minutes, and two degrees carryed by the Current. So that the difference of longitude betweene the Cape of Good Hope and the Lizard is twentie nine degrees twentie minutes, or very neere thereabout.

*Comming suddenly out of long heat into the cold, seemeth to bee a great cause of the Scurvie.*

Note, that this day three moneths at night I did set saile in the roade of Saldanha: yet notwithstanding our short passage, having beene from Santa Helena but two monethes and nine dayes, the one halfe or more of our Company are laid up of the Scurvie: and two dead of it. Yet had we plentie of victuals, as Beefe, Bread, Wine, Rice, Oyle, Vinegar, Sugar; and all these without allowance. Note, that all our men that are sicke, have taken their sicknesse since wee fell with Flores and Corvo. For since that time wee have had it very cold, especially in two great stormes, the one with the wind at North and North North-east: The other with the wind at South-west. From the Cape of Good Hope to the Ilands of Flores and Corvo, I had not one man sicke. The variation foure or five leagues off the Start is nine degrees thirtie minutes, little more or lesse.

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*They arrive in  
the Thames.*

The fifteenth, wee came into the River of Thames, it being that day sixe moneths since wee came from Bantam in Java.

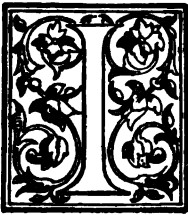
Blessed bee God.

Chap. VIII.

Certaine Observations written by others employed in the same Voyage, Master Copland Minister, Robert Boner, Master, Nicholas Withington Merchant.

§. I.

Remembrances taken out of a Tractate written by Master Patrike Copland Minister in the former Voyage.



N the Tropickes are seldome or no stormes, but a smooth Sea with soft gales: flying fishes are frequent as bigge as a small Whiting: they flye twice the length of a ship. Turnados (gusts within two degrees of the Line) cause all things, specially cloaths, to smell. They had ninetie or a hundred sicke, the rest weake, before they came to Soldania.

The Bay of Soldania and all about the Cape is so healthfull and fruitfull, as might grow a Paradise of the World; it well agrees with English bodies, for all but one in twentie dayes recovered, as at the first day they set forth. They had then in June, Snow upon the hils, the weather warmish. The Countrey is mixed, Mountaines, Plaines, Medowes, Streames, the Woods as if they were artificially planted for order. There is free stone to build with, plentie of fish and fowle, wilde Geese, Partriches and Duckes, Antilopes, Deere, Rivers. They had thirtie nine Beeves, one hundred and fiteene sheepe for a little Brasse cut out of two or three old Kettles. For

*Commenda-  
tions of  
Soldania.*

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*Their persons  
and their  
apparell.*

✓ the sheepe worth one penny, or one penny halfe penny the piece; the Beeves twelve pence. The people are loving, afraid at first by reason of the unkindnesse of Dutch (which came there to make traine Oyle, who killed and stole their Cattell) and at our returne more kind: of middle size, well limmed, very nimble and active. They dance in true measure all naked, only weare a short Cloke of sheepe or Seale skinnnes to their middle, the hairie side inward, a Cap of the same, and a kind of Rats skinne about their privities; some had a Sole on their feet tyed about; their neckes were adorned with greasie Tripes, which sometimes they would pull off and eat raw. When we threw away their beasts entrails, they would eat them halfe raw, the bloud lothsomely slaving: Bracelets about their armes they had of Copper or Ivorie, with many Ostrich feathers and shels.

✓  
*The Table.  
Porcupins  
Quils.*

The Womens habit is as the Mens. They were shame-fac't at first; but at our returne homewards they would lift up their Rat-skinnes and shew their privities. Their Breasts hang to the middle, their haire curled. Copper with them is Gold; Iron, Silver; their Houses little Tents in the field, of Skins, moveable at pleasure, their Language with doubling the tongue in their throat. There is a high hill, called the Table, over-covering all the adjoyning Territories one hundred miles. Some went and discovered many Bayes and Rivers. The Negroes behaved themselves peaceably at Sinon, yet seeme of little or no Religion; they cut their skinnnes like Baals Priests, one seemed (by making price) to be Commander.

[I. iv. 467.]

The Guzerates tooke sea-coale to carry for a wonder to the Mogol. The Portugall Fleete was two hundred fortie sayle of Frigats, Merchants bound for Cambaya, which furnish the Carracks, foure Gallions, with twenty five or twenty sixe Frigats. The Admirall was Numo de Ancuna. When the Sabandar perswaded him to keep between us and shoare; he answered proudly, that he scorned to spend a weekes provision on his men in hinder-

*Portugal  
pride.*

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*The first fight.*

ing us, being able to force us to yeeld in an houre. They had all red colours displayed. After three fights, they manned a Frigat, with sixe or seven score best men to fire us, which were all sunke.

Medhaphrabads is now ruined by the Mogols warres, which sometime hath beene a faire Citie, and walled. Here was a Castle kept by the Ratspuches, in which at that time a strong Rebell to the Mogoll, was besieged by the Nabob, with fiftie or sixtie thousand people in his Campe. The Nabob had a stately and spacious Tent, covered above with Cloth of Gold, beneath spread with Turkie Carpets. The Generall would not stirre till he had taken the Castle. He sent a horse, and two Vests wrought with Silke and Gold to our Generall, and foure Vests for foure other. They have store of good Grapes, yet none but Rasin wine.

The three and twentieth and foure and twentieth of December, in view of the whole Army we had a second fight, and forced them first to cut their Cables, and then flee from us, being better of saile then we.

I rode to Surat in a Coach drawne with Oxen (which is most ordinary, though they have store of goodly horses) here in the way was the goodliest Spring and Harvest together that ever I saw; the Fields joyning, one greene as a Meadow, the other yellow as Gold, ready to bee cut: their graine Wheat and Rice; they have excellent bread. All along were goodly Villages, full of Trees yeelding Taddy, like new sweet wine, much strengthening and fattening. Surat hath stone and bricke houses faire, square, flat-roofed, goodly Gardens, with Pomegranats, Pomecitrons, Limons, Melons, Figs, continuing all the yeere, with curious springs of fresh water: the people are grave, judicious, neat, tall, goodly cloathed in long white Callico or Silke robes.

The Sabandar assured us, that we had killed of the Portugals above three hundred and fiftie: we heard after that there were spoyled and killed above five hundred. The Generall sent Letters by land, and the Messenger

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

with his Indian were poysoned by two Friers homewards : but a second Letter was delivered to a Mariner, which came to their hands.

Anno 1613.

The twelfth of Aprill, they anchored in the road of Achen, where the King welcomed our men. The Arancaja came riding in a Tent on an Elephants backe, with two or three of the Kings boyes (for he is attended with Boyes abroad, Women within) holding a Bason of Gold, to receive the Kings letter. Our Generall followed with fortie or fiftie men. After the Letter and Present delivered, the King told us we should see some of his Pastime, and called for his Cockes, which after they have fought about once or twice, they take them up, bath them, picke their feathers, and sow up their wounds. After an houre thus spent in Cock-fighting : his Rammes fought very fiercely ; then his tame Elephants more cruelly : then his Buffles most stomackfully. Finally, our Antilopes wherewith our Generall had presented him, whose fight best pleased him. Hee all this while drinkes Tobacco in a Silver Pipe ; given by his Women which are in a close roome behind him. After this, Supper was served in by young Boyes of foureteene or fiteene yeeres in Swasse (a mettall halfe Copper halfe Gold.) This Supper continued from seven till almost twelve, in which we had foure hundred dishes with hot drinkes. The next day the King sent the Generall an Elephant to ride on, and appointed one of his chiefe Arancajas to attend him alwayes. They had continuall free accesse granted, without the Kings Creese (which is used as a Scepter) and promise to ratifie the Articles agreed upon by his Predecessors, and Sir James Lancaster.

The second of May, all Strangers were invited to a banquet sixe miles off, for which purpose two Elephants were sent for our Generall. Here were all the dishes brought by water, the boyes holding the dish with one hand, and swimming with the other : so did they carrie the strong drinke also, whereof when they had tasted (which they must of all) they threw the rest into the

River. It continued from one till five. In it were five hundred dishes well dressed. Our General (weary with sitting by the King thus long in the water) was dismissed an houre before the rest. The Captaine of the Dutch house, taking there his bane, either with hot drinke, or cold sitting so long in the water, soone after died.

The second of June, they were entertained with a fight of foure Elephants, with a wild Tygre tied at a stake, which yet fastening on their Trunks and legges, made them to roare and bleed extreemely. This day we were told, that one eye of a Noble man was plucked out, for looking on one of the Kings women washing in a River. Another Gentleman wearing a Shash, had his head round cut so farre as that was too large. Some he is said to boyle in scalding oyle, some are sawne apeices, others their legges cut off, or spitted alive, or empaled on stakes.

The twentie fifth, was before the King a fight of wild Elephants, which would quickly kill each other, but that some tame are made fast to them, which draw them backe, sometime eighty or an hundred men helping. They set one wild betweene two tame to tame them. He sent the King a Letter, for painting and writing most stately, a Creese, &c. for a Present.

The Letter is thus Englished.

[I. iv. 468.]

**P**Educka Sirie Sultan King of Kings, renowmed for his Warres, and sole King of Sumatra, and a King more famous then his Predecessors, feared in his Kingdome, and honoured of all bordering Nations: in Whom there is the true Image of a King, in whome raignes the true methode of Government, formed as it were of the most pure Mettall, and adorned with the most finest colours; Whose seat is high, and most compleat, like to a Christall River, pure and cleare as the Christall Glasse: From whom floweth the pure streame of Bountie and Justice: whose Presence is as the finest Gold, King of Priaman, and of the Mountaine of Gold, viz. Solida, and Lord of nine sorts of Stones, King of two Sombrieroes of

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

beaten Gold, having for his Seats mats of Gold, his furniture for his Horses and Armour for himselfe, being likewise of pure Gold. His Elephant with teeth of Gold, and all Provisions thereunto belonging: his Lances halfe Gold, halfe Silver, his small shot of the same; a Saddle also for an other Elephant of the same Mettall: a Tent of Silver, and all his Seales halfe Gold halfe Silver. His Vessels for bathing of pure Gold, his Sepulchre of Gold (whereas his Predecessours had all these halfe Gold halfe Silver) his services compleat of Gold and Silver. A King under whom there are many Kings, having taken the King of Arrow: All the Countrey of Priaman, Tecoo, Barouse, beeing subdued by him, is now under his Command: Seventie Elephants, and much Provisions carried by sea, to make his Warres at Arrow, where God gave me more Victory, then any of my Predecessors.

This Great King sendeth this Letter of Salutation to James, King of Great Britaine, viz. England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, To signifie the great content he hath received by his Highnesse Letter, delivered by the hands of Arancaja Pulo, Thomas Best his Majesties Embassadour, at the receipt whereof, his eyes were surprised with a Celestiall brightnesse, and his spirits ravished with a Divine joy: the opening thereof rendred a savour more fragrant then the most odoriferous Flowers, or sweetest perfumes in the World. For which cause, I the great King of Sumatra, doe professe my Selfe to bee of one heart, of one mind, and of one flesh with the most Potent Prince James K. of England, and do earnestly desire that the League begun, may be continued to all Posterities. And herein I take my greatest Felicitie, there being nothing in the World more pleasant or joyfull to me. And for a Testimony of my desire, that the League and Amitie begun may be continued betwixt Us, I have returned this Letter unto your Majestie, making also my Prayers unto the Great God for the continuance of the same. And it shall be my greatest Honour, to receive Memoriall from so Great a Potentate, and so remote a Nation. And for



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a pledge of my Love, and Honour, and continuance of Our League, I send your Majestie a Creese wrought with Gold, the Hilt thereof being beaten Gold, with a Ring of Stones, an Assagaya of Swasse, halfe Copper halfe Gold, eight Purslan Dishes small and great, of Camfire one piece of sowing stuffe, three pieces of Calico Lawne : Which your Majestie accepting as from a Brother, I shall rest satisfied, and much honoured. And so with my Prayers to the Great God, Creator of Heaven and Earth for your Majesties long life, with Victory over your enemies, and Prosperitie in your Land.

Given at our Pallace of Achen, the 1022. yeere of Mahomet, by the accompt of the Moores.

This King of Achen is a proper Gallant man of Warre, of thirty two yeares, of middle size, full of spirit, strong by sea and land, his Countrey populous ; his Elephants many, whereof wee saw one hundred sixtie, or one hundred eightie at a time, his Gallies and Frigats carry in them very good Brasse Ordnance, Demicanon, Culverin, Sakar, Minion, &c. his building stately and spacious, though not strong ; his Court at Achen pleasant, having a goodly branch of the Maine River about and through his Pallace, which branch he cut and brought sixe or eight miles off, in twenty dayes, while we continued at Achen. Sumatra is very Mountainous and Woodie : the people courteous : wept at our departure, leaving little without his chop. Strangers may neither come at him, nor depart from him. He desired the Generall to commend him to the King of England, and to entreat him to send him two white women. For (said hee) if I beget one of them with child, and it proove a Sonne, I will make him King of Priaman, Passaman, and of the Coast from whence you fetch your Pepper : so that yee shall not need to come any more to mee, but to your owne English King for these Commodities. July the twelfth we tooke leave of Achen.

*Description of  
the King and  
Court.*

The ninth of August they went on shoare at Tecoo :

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*The aire and  
water at  
Passaman  
naught.*

here they stayed eleven weekes, bought one hundred twenty Tunne of Pepper, buried twenty five men, which got their death at Passaman, for Tecoo is healthfull. Pepper growes most at Passaman, and the Countrey about.

I have thought good also here to adde a word or two taken out of the Journall of Nathaniel Salmon, Master of the Salomon.

*Jan. 3.*

The Sabandar counselled the Admirall Nunha del Cunha, to cause his Frigats to ride betwixt the shoare and us, so to keepe us from watering, which he refused: yea, M. Canning (which had been taken by them) was delivered at our house in scorne, they professing this their only feare and care, least we should run away. The three that were driven a ground had there perished, but for their Frigats. Out of the fire-Frigat were taken up eightie foure men drowned. The Dragon in these fights hath spent sixe hundred thirtie nine great shot, and three hundred eightie seven.

[I. iv. 479.]

### §. II.

Notes taken out of M. Robert Boners Journall, who was then Master in the Dragon.

*Departed from  
Gravesend.*

**T**He first of February, having received in all provisions for so long a Voyage, we set saile from Gravesend, and the same day at ten of the clocke we anchored in the Hope.

*The generall  
wind blowed  
betwixt East  
South-east, &  
South-east.  
Ternadoes.*

Aprill the thirteenth, wee had the generall wind. Note that you shall seldome meete with the generall wind, till you come in two of three degrees to the South-ward of the Line, and then, when you come to meete with the Ternadoes, (as you shall be sure to meete them in two or three, and sometimes in foure degrees to the North-ward of the Line: you must be very diligent to ply to the South-ward) for therein lyeth the mayne of your good or bad passage, and likewise for the health of your men,

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or they are very unhealthfull, and for passing the Line, order it so by your course from Maio, that you may passe the Line betwixt seven and ten degrees of longitude from the Lizard. But covet not to come within sixe degrees, for feare of the calmes upon the Coast of Guinea, and not without ten degrees of longitude from the Lizard, if it be possible, for feare of meeting with the West North-west streame, that sets alongst the Coast of Brasil, and so into the West-Indies. And so passing the Line in seven, eight, or nine degrees to the West-ward of the Meridian of the Lizard, you shall not feare the flats of Brasil. For the generall wind will blow at the East South-east, and at South-east; so that you shall make a South South-west way commonly, and so keepe the ship good full, that she may goe through, for there is losse of time, in hawking of the ship crosse by the wind, therefore giving her a fathome of the sheete.

*This endangered and much hindered the Dragon and Hector in the third Voyage, as you may read in the Relations thereof.*

Note, he that comes out of the Sea, bound in for the Bay of Soldania, let him keep himselfe betweene thirtie three degrees fiftie minutes, and thirtie foure degrees twentie minutes of latitude, so shall you be sure not to come much wide of the Bay. If seeing the land you find it high, then you are to the South-west-ward of the Bay; if low sand hils, then know that you are to the North-ward of the Bay of Soldania. But falling with the high land to the South-ward of the Bay, which is betwixt the Cape and the Bay, the land lyeth North North-west, and South South-east from the Cape seven leagues, and then it trents away North-east and South-west, towards the point of the Sugar-loafe, some foure leagues: and from this point of the Sugar-loafe lyeth Penguin Iland, but keepe faire by the point: for two miles from Penguin Iland lyes a shoales: it is from the point to the Iland some seven or eight miles North and South, and so borrowing on the said point, at eight or nine fathome, your course South-east, and East South-east, untill you bring the Table South South-west, and the Sugar-loafe hill South-west and by West, and so you may anchor in sixe

*Soldania.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

and an halfe or sixe fathome, as you will, and then will the point of the land by the Sugar-loafe beare from you West North-west, and Penguin Iland North North-west some three leagues off, and the point some two miles off. The latitude of the Bay of Soldania, I meane of the point going in, is thirtie foure degrees five minutes, the variation of the Needle is fortie minutes Easterly: when you come in with the land heereabouts (although it be thicke) feare not: for the land is bold within a Cables length.

*Current neere  
Cape Das  
Aguilhas.*

I am of opinion that the Current neere Cape Das Aguilhas sets Southerly not past fiftie or sixtie leagues off the land, and therefore being bound to the East-ward haule off the land sixtie leagues, after you are to the East-ward of Cape Das Aguilhas, so shall you find no Current. The land lyes from the Cape Das Aguilhas, ninetie or one hundred leagues East Northerly, and not as in the Cards East North-east.

*Note.*

Ino de Nova, is a low ragged Iland, about foure miles in length, lying South South-east, and North North-west. This Iland hath latitude seventene degrees thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope, nineteene degrees fortie minutes, &c. Wee had no ground at one hundred fathome: we can perceive no danger from it, only at the South South-east end of it lies a small breach about a mile off: therefore feare not to haule in sight of it, being bound this waies, for if you shall haule over for the Maine, you shall be mightily troubled with a strong Current setting to the South-ward, and there are likewise many dangerous bankes, whereon many Portugals have lost their ships, wherefore be sure you haule not much to the West-ward of this Ile Ino de Nova, for you may very boldly haule in sight of it without danger, and so shall you not meete with the Current.

*Foure Gallions  
& 30.  
Frigats.*

The eight & twentieth day of November, we received a Letter from M. Canning, & our Purser concerning foure Gallions of War, with thirty saile of Frigats, which were comming to fight with us. And this day we saw them some two leagues to the South-ward of the Barre of Surat.

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*Sabander a  
Spye.*

This day the Sabandar of Surat came aboard to view us as wee judge being a friend to the Portugals, but the more he looked the worse he liked, we having all things readie, &c.

The nine and twentieth day, at two in the after-noone wee set saile, and stood with the foure Gallions and Frigats which were come within some two leagues of us. The first which we met withall was the Vice-Admirall: wee gave her such a welcome, as that she was glad to haste unto the rest with all speed: night being neere and our long Boat sunke, at our sterne with an unluckey shot, we anchored.

*This day wee  
began our  
fight.*

The thirtieth day, early in the moorning wee set saile, and stood with them, and after some houres fight put three of the Gallions ashore on the offermost sand, and then wee stood into deeper water, and anchored: their Frigats were straight aboard the ships aground, and shoared them up with their yards, or els I thinke they had never come off. Assoone as the Floud came wee weighed, but they were afloat ere wee could get to them: wee fought with them till it was darke, and had one man kild, and another hurt.

[I. iv. 480.]

*Three of the  
ships aground.*

The first day of December, 1612. we roade within a league one of the other, alwayes we had thought they would have come to us, we having gone to them three severall times, but they are not so hastie. I thinke they have more minde to goe for Goa againe.

The nineteenth day, there came a second Messenger from a great Lord of the great Mogols from a place called the Castellet, which place this great man lyes in Campe against, sending our Generall word that if he will but come thwart that place with his ships to grace him, hee will be a sworne friend unto the English for ever. The Generall hearing that hee was a great man in favour with the King, resolved to goe spend a day or two with him, to see what his desire was.

The twentieth day, we anchored thwart of the Campe beeing close by the Sea-side, for the Castle besieged

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butted upon the Sea, they in the Castle being a companie of Rebels and Rovers on the Sea.

The one and twentieth day, upon the receipt of good caution for his person, our Generall landed, and at three returned to ship.

The two and twentieth day, we saw the foure Gallions and Frigats againe in sight, having beene at Diu for more fresh Souldiers, to have a bout more with us. At night they anchored within a mile of us.

The three and twentieth day by day light, we were under-saile, and stood with the Admirall, and so fought till two of the clocke, at which time they cut their Cable, and began to runne, the Admirall having received a shot under water: but the helpe of the Frigats brought her upon the Carine presently, and stopped it, and so for this time fled, all the Campe standing by the Sea-side looking on us, within a league or two miles of us. For a great Commander did there just by us besiege a Castle holden by Rebels and Pirats, and were willing Spectators of this Sea-fight.

*Portugals faine  
to flye.*

The foure and twentieth day, we stood with them againe, and fought with them till two or three of the clocke in the after-noon. They fled, and being light ships and cleane, went from us: one man kild, and no more hurt, praysed be God for all his mercies. Note, that wee have spent sixe hundred eightie great shot, and three thousand small shot out of the Dragon, and some sixtie Barrels of Powder: their Admirall had thirtie eight Peeeces, and the rest thirtie by ship, very good Ordnance. This night we steered for Surat South-east, to haule without the sands. South from Mea some sixe leagues off lyes the first spit, on which sand the Ascension was lost.

*The number of  
shot spent in  
our five fights.*

The fourth day of February 1612. wee set saile and stood to the South-ward, wind at North North-west.

The fifth day, being some eight leagues short of Cape Comorin, wee met with the wind at East very much wind, so that we plaine see there is no going to the East-wards, the Easterly Monson not being done. Heere we an-

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chored at a point of the land, from which point the land trents away East South-east with the Cape of Comorin, and distant eight leagues: but beware how you come neere this point, for thwart of it foure miles off lyes two sunken Rockes close by the edge of the water, and lyes in the streame of twentie or twentie two fathomes: wherefore keepe off in twentie eight or thirtie fathome, and feare them not. But bee sure that you keepe within thirtie five or fortie fathome, for the Current sets off South with the Maldines, and being calme some Portugall ships have beene driven to the Maldines, and beene in great danger. You shall know this point from the which these two sunken Rockes lye, by this. Thwart of the point lye two bigge Rockes a good heighth above the water: a league right off from the Eastermost of the dry Rockes lye the two sunken Rockes, where we roade, the two dry rockes did beare from us South-east and by East foure miles of the Northermost: here the people will come aboard of your ship every day with provisions as Hens, and Hogges with linnesse in their little Canoes.

*Sunken rocks.*

The five and twentieth day at foure a clocke, the Cape of Comorin did beare North North-west some foure leagues off. Note, that the Cape it selfe is very low land with two craggie Rockes lying a little from it, but up in the Countrey, high ragged land; the Cape of Comorin hath latitude seven degrees fiftie minutes, and longitude from the Meridian of the Cape of Good Hope, fiftie seven degrees twentie minutes East. The variation is fourteene degrees thirtie minutes Westerly: we have very faire shoalding off from it twentie foure fathomes, foure leagues of sand, from the Cape the land trents away East North-east.

*Note, for the Cape of Comorin, for longitude, latitude, and variation.*

I doe thinke that the Gulfe of Cambaya is the worst place in all the Indies for Wormes, and therefore the ships which goe for Surat, must have good provision. The Barre of Surat hath latitude twentie one degrees ten minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope fiftie three degrees thirtie minutes Easterly. Variation sixteene

*Many wormes at Surat.*

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degrees fiftie minutes Westerly. Latitude of Swally is twentie one degrees twentie minutes. Variation seventeene degrees no minutes.

[I. iv. 481.]  
*The latitude,  
longitude and  
variation of  
Achen.*

The Road of Achen hath latitude five degrees fortie minutes South, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope of seventie three deg. thirtie foure min. East and from the Cape of Comorin about sixteene degrees twentie minutes East. The variation is sixe degrees thirtie minutes Westerly. As you ride in the Road one high great Iland will beare North of you, distant some sixe leagues, and the two other bigge Ilands will beare from the West South-west to the North-west and by West, anchor hold good: in the Westerly Monson, you shall have many times very much wind, with gusts of raine, but you shall ride very well: there goes a small Current to the East-ward, and West-ward in manner of a tyde; but not so certaine, and heights and fals some five or sixe foot water.

The King loveth our Generall exceeding well, in so much that hee maketh no sport, but hee commands some one of his Nobles to goe for the Arrankaja Putee, for so hath hee named him: so that all the Citie through is he called by that name, and all our men by the common people very kindly entertayned, more then ever any strangers heretofore have beene.

*Notes for the  
Road of Tecu.*

In steering North North-west from the little Iland, which lyes South-west and by West seven leagues from Priaman Iland, wee saw a shoald bearing from the said little Iland South-east and by South five miles off. We sent our Boat to it, who found it but three fathome Rockes. From this shoald the Homockes of Tecu beare North and by West: wherefore beeing bound for Tecu, keepe off, so that the Homockes may beare North, or North and by East, and feare not. The Homockes are two round hils standing upon the low-land close by the Sea-side. At two a clocke we saw the three little round Ilands of Tecu, which Ilands you must ride under, they beare of us, North and by East some foure leagues off,



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wee steere North, keeping the Ilands open on our star-board bow.

Note, that by good looking out you shall perceive any danger by this: it will shew it selfe in white spots. For otherwise the Sea is of his perfect colour, as in the maine Ocean. At night wee anchored within two leagues of the two outermost Ilands of Tecu in thirtie fathomes, the Ilands bearing North and by East, and the Homocks North Easterly.

Note, the Homockes doe stand some three leagues to the Northward of the Ilands of Tecu, there being in all three of them, but the Northermost of the three Homockes doth not shew it selfe so perfectly, as the other doe.

*Variation of  
Tecu is 4. degr.  
40. minutes  
Northeasterly.*

The seventh of August in the morning, weighed and plyed in, the wind at the North North-east of the land we see a shoale, bearing from the two offermost Ilands of Tecu South-west & by South foure or five miles off, right in the faire way. We sent our Boat to it and found it but two fathome & a halfe, being a Rocke of two Cables length long. This is the unluckey Rocke whereon the Princely Trade received her destruction, as we understand by those people. About eleven of the clocke we anchored on the Easter-side of the uttermost Iland in nine fathome, soft, Ozie, praysed be God. Riding under this outward Iland of the three we saw a breach, bearing South halfe Easterly, and another South and by East some three or foure leagues off, which breach as you come for this place, you must leave betwixt you and the shoare: wherefore keepe this outer Iland North and by East, or North North-east, and feare nothing. But beware when you come within two leagues of this Iland. For South-west and by South two leagues or five miles off lyes the Rocke whereon the unhappie Trade grounded. Wherefore keepe this Iland North and by East, and upon life feare not, your depth as you come neere the Iland will bee from thirtie to ten, nine and eight fathomes soft, Ozie, you shall have nine fathomes within your ships length of either side of the Iland.

*A ledge of  
Rockes.  
The Rocke  
whereon the  
Trades-  
Increase was  
bruised.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

The ninth day, some people came aboard: we find them very base and subtle.

The eleventh day, the Hosiander departed for Priaman, to shew them likewise that wee have brought the Kings Letter of Achen, without the which you cannot trade. Note, that as wee ride here upon the Poope, we see the foure Ilands of Priaman bearing South-east and by South some seven leagues off.

This day at nine of the clocke wee sailed into the inner Roade, which is betwixt the Mayne and the innermost Iland, halfe a mile from the Mayne, and a Cables length from the Iland, your depth foure fathome soft, Ozie, our depth in was twentie two foot beeing halfe tyde, it highes and fals some five or sixe foot water, the tyde, as I perceive, runnes twelve houres North North-west, and twelve houres contrarie. To the North-ward of all the Ilands in comming in you shall have foure fathomes and an halfe: but keepe neere the inner Iland, for from the Mayne on that side lyes a shoald. The Ilands are all of one bignesse, being halfe a mile a piece in circuit, they will beare from the South-west and by South to the North-west: your best water is on the Iland: digge a Well, and presently water comes. Thus much out of Master Boner; the rest you have before in Captaine Best.

[I. iv. 482.]

### §. III.

*\*Captain  
Saris told me  
that some have  
two testicles,  
but those the  
baser, and (as  
the one stoned  
gallants  
affirmed to  
him) were  
slaves, the  
others marked  
with this note  
of Gentry.*

Extracts of a Tractate, written by Nicholas Withington, which was left in the Mogols Countrey by Captaine Best, a Factor, his Adventures and Travels therein.

**T**He eleventh of Aprill, 1612. we crossed the Equinoctiall: foule weather eight daies together, wind and raine. Soldania sheep are hairy: the Beeves large, and most leane; the people Negros, woolly pates, flat nosed, very straight of body: the men have but \* one stone a peece; the other is cut out when they are yong: apparelled with a skin about their shoulders, which

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reacheth downe to the waste, the skin of a Ratte before their members, another on their bumme, else naked: some cappes of leather close to their pates, and shoo-soles to their feet, much broader and longer then their feet: their armes very small: Lances with heads artificially made: Bowes and Arrowes of little or no force: they are very expert in throwing their Darts, wherewith they kill many fish in the Sea: they weare about their neckes guts of sheepe and oxen, smelling, which being hungry they eate; and would scramble for our garbage like dogges, and eate it raw and foule.

The six and twentieth of July, they had sight of Saint Laurence. The thirteenth of August, crossed the Equinoctiall, temperate weather: on the thirtieth, they saw Snakes in the Sea in eighteene degrees and a halfe, one and thirtie min. white water at nineteene fathoms. The first of September, they saw land. The second, anchor against Daman Towne, inhabited and conquered by Portugalls. The Fluxe infested them all that remained on land at Surat. Master Aldworth was sicke forty dayes. Strangers heere present any Inhabitants of fashion whom he visits; and they retorne presents. Notwithstanding Sir Henry Middleton taking their ships in the Red-sea, yet they promised us good dealing, considering else they must burne their ships (said Mill Jeffed, one of the chiefe Merchants of Surat) and give over their trade by Sea. Impossible it was to have any trade at Surat, by reason of Portugall Frigats in the Rivers mouth. Therefore the Generall repaired with his ships to Swally, whence he might by land go and come without danger.

The third of October, Sheke Shuffe, Governour of Amadavar, chiefe Citie of Guzerat, came to Surat, and so to Swally, and agreed upon Articles. Master Canning had been taken by the Portugals, but the Vice-Roy commanded to set him ashore at Surat, saying, Let him goe helpe his Country-men to fight, and then we will take their ship, and the rest of them altogether. But the Purser made an escape, and so came to us on land:

*Pride goeth  
before the fall.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Fleet of  
Portugals.  
The first fight.*

Master Canning was set on shoare at Surat, according to promise, and so went aboard. And the same day, being the twentie ninth of October, the foure Portugall Gallions, with a whole Fleet of Frigats, came in sight. The Generall, after words of encouragement, met them, and never shot one shot, till hee came betweene their Admirall and Vice-Admirall, gave each a broad side, and a volly of small shot, which made them come no more neare for that day. The other two ships were not as yet come up; and the Hosiander could not get cleare of her anchors, and shot not one shot that day. In the evening all came to an anchor in sight of other; and the next morning renued their fight: the Hosiander bravely redeemed the former dayes doing nothing: the Dragon drove three of them on ground, and the Hosiander daunced the Hay about them, so that they durst not shew a man upon the Hatches. In the afternoone they got aflote with the flood, and fought till night; then anchored, and lay still the next day.

*The second.*

*The third.*

The next day after, the Dragon drawing much water, and the Bay shallow, remooved to the other side of the Bay, rode at Mendafrobay, where all that time Sarder Cham, a great Noble-man of the Mogolls, with two thousand Horse, was besieging a Castle of the Razbooches (which were before the Mogolls Conquest, the Nobles of that countrey now living by robbery). He presented our Generall with a horse and furniture, which he againe gave to the Governour of Goga, a Port Towne to the West of Surat. After ten dayes stay heere, the Portugalls having refreshed, came thither to our ships. Sarder Cham counselled to flee: but the Generall chased the Portugals in foure houres, driving them out of sight, before thousands of the countrey people. Sarder Cham relating this to the King (after the Castle razed) to his admiration, which thought none like the Portugalls at sea. The seven and twentieth of December, they returned to Swally, having lost three Saylers, and one mans arme shot off: Portugals

*The last fight.*

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1613.

confesse of theirs an hundred and sixtie, some report three hundred and odde.

The thirteenth of January, I was entertained Factor, and bound to the Company in foure hundred pound. The ship departed the eighteenth of January, the Gallions never offering one shot. Anthony Starkey was sent for England. Master Canning was seventie dayes on the way betweene Surat and Agra, with many troubles, set on by the enemye, who shot him into the belly with an Arrow, and another English man thorow the arme, and killed and hurt many of his Pions. He was cured before his arrivall at Agra. Two of his English fell out with him and returned, leaving two Musicians onely to attend him. The ninth of Aprill he arrived: the tenth presented the King with our Kings Letter, and a Present of little value. He asked if our King sent that present: who answered, it was sent by the Merchants. The King graced him with a cup of wine from his owne hands, and referred him to Moracke Chan. One of the Musicians dyed, and was buried in the Portugalls Church-yard, whom they tooke up, and buried in the high-way: but upon complaint, were compelled by the King to bury him there againe, threatning to turne them all out of his Countrey, and their buryed bodies out of their Church-yard.

*Nicholas  
Withington  
Factor.*

*Master  
Canning sent  
to Agra.*

[I. iv. 483.]

After this Master Canning wrote of the feare hee was in to be poysoned by the Jesuits, and therefore desired that I might come up to assist him; which amongst us at Surat was concluded. The nine and twentieth of May, 1613. he dyed: and so Master Keridge went the two and twentieth of June. I should have been sent by the way of Mocha to England, but the Master of the ship which went, said it was impossible, except I were circumcised, to come neare Mecca.

*Master Can-  
ning poysoned  
by the Jesuits.*

The thirteenth of October, 1613. the ship returned, and our Messenger taken, notwithstanding their late passe at the Barre of Surat, by the Portugalls Armada of Frigats, worth an hundred thousand pound, with seven

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Portugal  
perils.*

*Fugitives and  
Renegado's.*

hundred persons going to Goa. This is like to be their over-throw heere, for no Portugall might passe without a suretie, nor in, nor out. Merchants of Surat are by this meanes impoverished, and our goods left in our hands: with which we went to Amadabar. John Alkin which had runne from Sir Henry Middleton to the Portugalls, came now to us, told us of divers their Townes besieged by the Decans, and other neighbouring Moores: in so much that they were faine to send away many hundredths of Banians, and many others that dwelt amongst them, for want of victuals: three Barks of which came to Surat, and divers others to Cambaya. Their weaknesse in fight with us caused all this. Robert Claxon of the Dragon, fled to Portugall for feare of punishment, and came to us with an Almayne, which had been slave in Turkie. Robert Johnson came to the Portugals, and thence intending to us, passing thorow the Decanes Countrey, was perswaded by another English man, which was turned Moore, and lived there: and was circumcised, and received seven shillings six pence a day of the King and his diet at the Kings table: But eight dayes after his Circumcision he died. Robert Trully, the Musician in Agra, not agreeing with Master Kerridge, went to the King of Decan, and carrying with him a German for interpreter, offered both to turne Moores. Trully had in his Circumcision a new name given, with great allowance from the King, with whom he continues. But the German formerly cut in Persia, now thought to deceive the Decan, but was not entertained: he returned to Agra, and serveth a French man, and goeth to Masse againe. Robert Claxon also turned Moore, at the Decan Court had good allowance: but not content, came to Surat, and provoked pitie with seeming penitence, but getting some fortie and odde pounds, under pretence of buying commons, gave them the slip, and returned whence he came. So there are foure English with the Decan, and divers Portugal Moores.

The seven and twentieth of October, 1613. we received

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letters from Mesulopatan of Master Gurney, written by Captaine Marlo of the James, of their arrivall and trade. From Surat I went to Periano three Course: to Cosumbay a little Village 10°. Barocho 10°. a prettie Citie on a high hill, compassed with a wall, a great River running by, as broad as Thames; divers shippes of two hundred tunnes and odde there riding: best Calicoes in the Kingdome, store of Cotton: to Saringa 10°. to Carron 10°. to Boldia a lesse Citie then Barocho, but faire built, a strong wall, and three thousand horse under Mussuff Chan: to Wassach a River 10°. where Mussuff was ready to fight with the Razbooches or Radgepoots, that lay on the other side the River: the chiefe of these of the race of the old Kings of Surat: to Niriland 14°. a great Towne where they make Indico. To Amadabar 10°. chiefe City of Guzerat, neare as great as London, walled with a strong wall, situate in the Plain by the River side, store of Merchants Moores, Christians, Heathens: Commodities are Indicoes, Cloath of gold, silver Tissue, Velvets (not comparable to ours) Taffataes, Gumbuck, coloured Baffataes, Drugges, &c. Abdalachon Governour, a man of five thousand horse pay. I went from thence to Cambaya, seven course to Barengeo, where every Tuesday the Cafily of Cambaya meete, and so keepe company for feare of theeves. Hence sixteene course to Soquatera, a fine Towne well manned with souldiers. Departed at midnight, and about eight of the clocke next morning came 10°. to Cambaya.

*A description of his journey by land thorow the Mogulls Countrey, hired shot for guard against theeves.*

*A Course is a mile and halfe English.*

In November, we rode to Serkeffe, three course from Amadabar, where are the Sepulchres of the Kings of Guzerat, a very delicate Church and faire Tombes, which are kept very comely, much resort to visite them from all parts of the Kingdome: a course off is a pleasant House, with a Garden a mile about, by the Rivers side, which Chon Chin Naw, the greatest of the Mogoll Nobilitie, built in memoriall of the great victory which he got of the last King of Guzerat, whom he tooke prisoner, and subjected his Kingdome, the battell being fought in this

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

place. No man dwells in this house, but a few poore men keepe the Orchyard. We lodged one night in it, and sent for six Fisher-men, who in halfe an houre tooke us more fish then all our company could eat.

*Tutta.*

*Master Ale-  
worth was  
Agent.  
[I. iv. 484.]*

*A Towne of  
common  
women.*

The eight and twentieth of November, we had newes at Amadabar of three English shippes arrived at Lowribander, the Port Towne of Gutu Negar Tutta, chiefe Citie of Sinda. A French Jesuit at Amadabar made poore, by the Portugals imbarquement, begged of our Agent, who gave him ten Rupias. I was sent thither, and the thirteenth of December came to Cassumparo, where I overtooke a Caphilo, travelling to Radenpare, six dayes journey on my way, fourteene to Callitalowny, a faire Castle: thirteene 7°. to Callwalla, a pretty Village, which Ecbar gave to a company of women, and their posterity for ever, to bring up their children in dancing, &c. they did this in our Caravan, every man giving them somewhat; and then they openly asked if any wanted a bed-fellow. The sixteenth 8°. to Carrya, where is a well manned Fortresse: and the eighteenth (till which, for feare of theeves, wee stayed for another Caravan) to Decanavra, our Camell stolne, and a man slaine. The nineteenth 10°. to Bollodo, a Fort kept by Newlock Abram Cabrate, for the Mogoll, who that day came with an hundred sixtie nine heads of the Coolies (a robbing people.) The twentieth 13°. to Sariandgo, a Fort. The one and twentieth 10°. to Radempoore, a bigge Towne with a Fort. Heere we stayed to provide us of water and necessities for our desert journey: and the three and twentieth travelled 7°. and lay in the fields, met a Caravan robbed of all from Tutta. The foure and twentieth 12°. dispeeded one of my Pions to Lowribander with a Letter, which promised to doe it in ten dayes; but I thinke was slaine. The five and twentieth 14°. lodged by a well of water so salt, that our cattell could not drinke it. The six and twentieth 10°. to such another well, there gave our Camells water, not having drunke in three dayes.

*Salt water.*

The seven and twentieth, 14°. lodged in fields. The



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eight and twentieth, 10°. to a Village called Negar Parkar. In this desert we saw great store of wild Asses, red Deere, Foxes, and other wild beasts. The nine and twentieth, we staid and met with an other Caravan, robbed within two dayes journey of Tutta. The thirtieth, we departed from Parkar, which payes a yearely tribute to the Mogol: all hence till Inno, halfe a dayes journey from Tutta, acknowledge no King, but rob and spare at pleasure. When any army of the Mogols comes against them, they fire their houses, and flee into the Mountaines: their houses are made of straw and mortar like Bee-hives, soone rebuilt. They take for custome what they please, and guard Passengers, being loath any but themselves should have the robbing of them. We travelled 6°. and lay by a Tanke or Pond of fresh water. The thirty one 8°. and lay in the fields by a brackish Well.

*Anarchy worst  
Tiranny.*

The first of January, we went 10°. to Burdiano, many were sicke of this water, we provided us yet of it for foure dayes, and travelled more the second 18°. all night. The third in the afternoone till midnight 10°. the fourth 12°. Here I fell sicke, and vomited by reason of the water. The fifth 7°. and came to three Wells, two salt, one sweetish. The sixth, to Nuraquimire a pretie Towne 10°. Here our Raddingpoore company left us. We remained, two Merchants, my selfe, five of their servants, foure of mine, with tenne Camels, five Camel-men. This Towne is within three dayes of Tutta, and seemed to us after our Desart a Paradise. We agreed with one of the Ragies or Governours kinred for twenty Laries (twenty shillings) to conduct us, who departed with us the eighth, and we travelled 10°. to Gundaiaw, where we had beene robbed but for our guard. The ninth, we were twice set on, and forced to give each time five Laries: wee came to Sarruna, a great Towne of the Razbootches, with a Castle, whence it is 14°. to Tutta. We visited the Governour Ragee Bouma, eldest sonne to Sultan Bulbul (who lately captived by the Mogol, had his eyes pulled out, and two Moneths before this had escaped) now living in

*Sarruna  
within 14°. of  
Tutta.  
Of these things  
see M. Peysons  
Voyage.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Abuse of Sir  
Rob. Sherley.*

the Mountains, and causeth all his kinred to revenge. This Ragee was kind to me as a stranger, asking many questions of our Countrey, made me sup with him, gave me Wine till he was stured. A Banian here told me, how Sir Robert Sherly had been much abused by the Portugals, and Governour at Lowribander, his house fired, men hurt in the night: and arriving at Tutta thirteene daies journey thence, Mersa Rusto used him unkindly. He advised to get this Ragee to guide us, told of the great trade of Tutta, the chiefe that he had seene, and that a shippe of three hundred Tunne might come to Lowribander.

*Treacherous  
robbery.*

*Nich. Whith-  
ington robbed  
and sent a by-  
way.*

*Robbed again.*

1614.

*Large River.*

We hired the Ragee for fortie Laries with fifty horsemen to the gates of Tutta: and on the eleventh departed from Sarruna 5<sup>c</sup>. and lay by a Rivers side. At two in the morning we departed, and he lead us a contrary way, and came about breake of day into a Thicket, where he made us unlode, then caused us to be bound, and tooke our weapons from us, sudainly hanged the Merchants and their five men, with their Camels ropes fastened about their neckes with a Truncheon; stripped and threw them into a hole they made in the earth. He tooke from me my horse, and eightie Rupias, sent me and my men 20<sup>c</sup>. up the Mountaines to his brothers, January the foureteenth, where I continued two and twentie dayes shut up. February the seventh, order came to send me to Parkar to the Governour of their kinred, to send me to Radingpoore. But I was robbed by them in the way of all my clothes, and all I had. February the twenty eighth, we begged for our victualls, finding the inhabitants charitable: for my horse (which not beeing worth the taking, they left me) I could get but foure Mamoodies, or foure shillings: but chancing on a Bannian of Amadabar whom I had knowne, I was releevd with my men. Wee were five dayes between Parkar and Radingpoore, whither I came March nineteenth. I came to Amadabar, April the second, being absent one hundred and eleven dayes. Thence I went to Brodia, Barengeo thence 16<sup>c</sup>. to Soquitera, 10. to Cambaya: then the large River 7. course

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broad, yeerly swallowing many hundreds to Saurau. On the other side the River is a Towne and Castle of the Razbootches. The sixteenth of Aprill, I travelled 25°. to Borocho: the seventeenth, passed that River, and 10°. to Cassimba: the eighteenth, 13°. to Surat.

Concerning Sinda, no Citie is by generall report of greater trade in the Indies then Tutta, the chiefe Port Lowribander, three dayes journey from it; a faire roade without the Rivers mouth, cleare of Wormes, which about Surat especially, and in other places of the Indies, after three or foure moneths riding (if it were not for sheathing) would hinder returne. The Ports and Roads of Sinda are free. In two Moneths from hence by water they goe to Lahor, and returne in one downe. There are these Commodities, Baffitas, Stuffles, Lawnes, Indico course, not so good as Biana. Goods may be conveied from Agra on Camels to Bucker twenty dayes, which is on Sinda River, thence in fiftene or sixteene dayes aboard the ships. One may goe as soone from Agra to Sinda as Surat, but there is more theeving, which the Mogoll seeks to prevent. [I. iv. 485.]

Inhabitants of Sinda are most Razbootches, Banians, and Boloches: in Cities and great Townes, the Governours are Mogols. The Countrey people are rude, naked from the wast upwards, with Turbants contrary to the Mogoll fashion. Their Armes, Sword, Buckler, and Launce; their Buckler great, in fashion of a Bee-hive, in which they will give their Camels drinke, and Horses provender, their horses good, swift, strong, which they ride unshod, most desperately. They back them at twelve Moneths old. The Mogoll sayes, the Razbootch knowes as well to die as any in the world. They eate no Beefe nor Buffoll, but pray to them. *Razbootch.*

The Banians kill nothing: there are thirtie and odde severall Casts of these that differ something in Religion, and may not eat with each other; but all burne their dead. When the husband dies, the wife shaves her head, and weares her jewels no more, so continuing till death. *Banian.* *Funerals.*

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1614.

*Burning of the  
Rasbut wives.*

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

When the Rasbut dies, his wife accompanies his bodie going to be burned, in her best array, accompanied with her friends and kinred, and Musique, and the fire beeing made at the place appointed, compasseth the same twice or thrice, bewailing first her husbands death, and then rejoycing that she shall now live with him againe, after which, embracing her friends, shee lastly sits downe on the top of the pile, and dry sticks, taking her husbands head in her lap, and bids them put fire, which done, her friends throw oile and other sweete perfumes on her, she enduring the fire with admirable patience, loose and not bound. I have seene many, the first in Surat, the woman but tenne yeeres old, and a Virgin, he a Souldiour slaine in warre, from whence his cloathes and Turbant were brought home. She would needs burne with his cloathes; the Governour forbade her, which she tooke grievously, bidding them put to fire presently, her husband was a great way before: which they durst not, till her kinred intreated, with a Present given, the Governours licence, to her exceeding joy. The husbands kinred never force this, but the womans holding it a disgrace else to their family. They may choose, (but few doe) but then must shave their haire, and breake their jewels, and henceforth are not suffered to eat, drinke, sleepe, or company with any body, and so continue till death. If after purpose to burne they leape out of the fire, her father and mother will bind her, and throw her in, and burne her perforce. But this weakenesse is seldome.

*Boloches.*

The Boloches are of Mahomets Religion. They deale much in Camels; most of them robbers by land, and on the River, murthuring such as they rob. When I was in Sinda, they tooke a boat with seven Italians, one Portugall Friar, the rest slaine in fight, this was ripped by them for Gold. There are very honest of them in Guzerate, and about Agra.

*Banian  
marriages.*

Banian marriages are made at the age of three yeares, and under; sometimes they make mutuall promise if two pregnant women proove to have one a male, the other a

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A.D.  
1614.

female. But alwayes one of their owne cast and religion, and of the same trade, as a Barbar, &c. When they be three or foure yeere old, they make a great Feast, set the two thus espoused on horsebacke (a man behind each to hold them) in their best clothes, accompanied with the Bramens or Priests, and many others according to their state, and so lead them up and downe the Citie where they dwell, and then to the Pagod or Church: and after Ceremonies there done, come home, continue certain dayes feasting, as they are able. Being tenne yeeres old they lie together, of which they give this reason, not to leave them wivelesse, if their Parents die and leave them Parentlesse. Their Bramens keepe their Pagods, and have Almes or Tithes, esteemed marvellous holy, married and follow occupations, good workemen, apt to learne any patterne. They eate but once a day, and wash before and after meat all their bodies, so also after urine or stoole.

John Mildnall \* an Englishman had beene employed with three English young men, which hee poisoned in Persia, to make himselfe Master of the goods, but he was likewise poysoned, yet by preservatives lived many Moneths after, but swelled exceedingly, and so came to Agra, with the value of twenty thousand dollers: thither therefore I went, May the fourth, 1614. from Surat: came to Bramport, where Sultan Perves lies, situate in a plaine, the River of Surat running by in a great breadth, having a large Castle. Hence to Agra twenty sixe dayes, betweene Surat and Agra are seven hundred courses, 1010. English miles, which I travelled in seven and thirty daies in Winter, wherein it almost continually raineth. From Surat to Bramport is a pleasant and champion Countrey, full of Rivers, Brookes, and Springs. Betweene Bramport and Agra, very Mountainous, not passable for a Coach, hardly for Camels: by Mando is the nearest way: there are high hills and strong Castles in the way many, Townes and Cities every dayes journey, well inhabited, the Countrey peaceable, and cleare of theeves.

*\*See before his  
Letters.*

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1614.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

[I. iv. 486.] Mildnall had given all to a Frenchman, to marry his bastard-daughter in Persia, and bring up an other.

*Jesuites.* The Jesuites have a very faire Church built by the King, and a house: the King allowes the chiefe seven Rupias a day, and the rest three, with licence to convert as many as they can: which they doe, but alas, it is for moneys sake. For when by the fact of the Portugalls, they were debarred of their pay, their new converts brought them their beads againe, saying, they had beene long without their pay, and therefore would be Christians no longer. The Portugals not delivering the goods taken in Surat, the King caused the Church-doores to bee locked up, as they have continued ever since: so the Padres make a Church of one of their Chambers, where they say Masse twice a day, and preach every Sunday in Persian, first to the Armenians and Moores, after in Portuguise, for themselves, the Italians and Greeks. These told me the particulars of Mildnals goods, who gave all to a French Protestant, himselfe a Papist, which he denying, was put in prison. After foure Moneths all were delivered.

The second of March, 1614, tenne Gallions, two Gallies, sixtie Frigats fight.

*Pilgrimage.* Betweene Agminere and Agra every tenne course (which is an ordinarie dayes journey) a Seralia, or place of lodging for man and horse, and Hostesses to dress your victuall, if you please, paying a matter of three pence for both horse and meat dressing. Betweene these places (120<sup>c</sup>.) at every course end is a great pillar erected, and at every tenne course a faire house built by Ecbar, when he went on Pilgrimage from Agra to Aggimere on foot, saying his prayers at every course end. These houses serve the King and his women, none else. This King lies in Agimere, upon occasion of warres with Rabna a Razboch, who hath now done homage, and peace is betweene them.

*Ganges.* I rode to the River Ganges, two dayes from Agra. The Banians carry the water of Ganges many hundred miles

## NICHOLAS WITHINGTON

A.D.  
1611.

thence, and as they affirme, it will never stinke, though kept never so long. By Agra runnes a large river Geminie. *Agra.* Agra is a huge Towne, the wall two course in compasse, fairest and highest that ever I saw, well replenished with Ordnance: the rest (except Noble-mens houses, faire seated by the river) ruinous. The auncient royall seat was Fatipoore (twelve course from Agra) now decayed. Betweene these two, the Sepulchre of the Kings Father, to which is none that ever I saw to be compared. And yet the Church of Fatipoore comes neere it, builded by Geometry as is the other.

The foure and twentieth of May, 1616. we in our returne entred the Bay of Soldania, where were divers English ships outward bound, the Charles, Unicorne, James, Globe, Swan, the Generall was Benjamin Joseph.

The fifteenth of September, we arrived at Dover.

### Chap. IX.

The eleventh Voyage to the East-India in the Salomon, begunne in the yeere of our Lord 1611. after the account of the Church of England, and ended in the yeere 1613. Written by Ralph Wilson, one of the Mates in the said ship.



He first of February 1611. we set saile from Gravesend, being foure ships, the Dragon, the James, the Salomon, and the Hosiander; being counted as three severall Voyages: the James the ninth; the Dragon and Hosiander the tenth; and wee in the Salomon the eleventh. The reason was, because we were directed to severall parts of the East-India. *February 1. 1611.*

In our course betweene the Iles of the Canaries, and the Iles of Capo Verde, we must steere a more Westerly course, then that which the Plats lay downe, without they

A.D.  
1612.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*A new Iland  
discovered in  
19. degrees  
34. minutes  
Southerly.  
Santa Maria  
d'agosta.  
The Isle of  
Martin Vaz.*

be Portugall Plats, which lay it a quarter of a point more then the truth is.

The seven and twentieth of Aprill, we in Salomon descried an Iland in the South latitude of nineteene degrees, foure and thirty minutes, and it bare from us, South-east one third part Southerly, fifteene leagues off. This Ile is a place, which in my opinion yeeldeth water, and fish in great abundance: the Sea-fowle were so many, that our people in the galleries of our ship might strike them downe, they were so tame. To the Eastward of this Ile lye two Ilands more, the one about the bignesse of the first, the other a great Ile. By these Iles we found a Current, which setteth to the Northward.

[I. iv. 487.] The eight and twentieth of June, we departed from Soldanha. I would advise them which go forth of Soldanha Bay, with the wind at East, or South-east, to get off some pretie distance from the land, before they hale up to the Southward: for if they doe otherwise, the high land will take their wind from them. And if a man should be becalmed, he should very much be troubled: for most commonly thereabout you shall meete a mightie Western Sea. Secondly, the streame setteth to the shoare-ward, if the wind have been at the North North-west, West or South-west. And thirdly, the shoare is neald to; so that a man cannot anchor.

October 6. The sixt of October, wee met a great Current setting to the Northwards, when wee were within one degree of the Equinoctiall.

The twelfth, wee met with a great deale of rubbish, as Canes, Sties, and many other things, which usually are on the shoare about Sumatra.

The sixteenth, drave by our ship rubbish, as Rock-weeds, Canes, branches of trees, the huskes of Coco Nuts, and such like.

The seventeenth at noone, drave by us a bed of rubbish, which was at least two miles long: it lay North North-west, and South South-east, and drave off West South-West.





RALPH WILSON

A.D.  
1612.

*They discric  
Sumatra,  
Illabar or  
Celeber.*

The eighteenth in the morning, we discried land, which lyeth by Celeber in the Ile of Sumatra, which Towne of Celeber standeth about three degrees of Southerly latitude.

The seven and twentieth, wee had a Current setting to the Southward. The nine and twentieth, the salt hill, or Ile bare East North-east sixteene or eighteene leagues from us.

The first of November, at six of the clocke at night, *November 1.* we were shot within the salt Ile.

The second at noone, comming betweene the Land of Java and a ragged Ile, which lyeth to the Westward of the point of Palymbam, we met a great tide running out so fast, that we could scarce stemme it with a stiffe gale of wind. And afterward the wind slacked, so we chopped to an anchor, and then I found that tide to runne three leagues and an halfe in a watch. Heere I have noted, that the tide or streame keepeth no course, but in the day time setteth out, and in the night time in. This day at noone, the point of Palymbam bare North-east by East three leagues off us. From thence to the Road of Bantam is five leagues; South South-east one third part Easterly. So the longitude of Bantam is an hundred fortie five degrees, two minutes. The latitude six degrees, ten minutes. The variation three degrees. This longitude of an hundred fortie five degrees, and two minutes, is somewhat to Easterly for the Road of Bantam. But for the first falling with the land, for an hundred fortie foure degrees is the truest longitude for Bantam from the Island of Flores.

The eighteenth, nine sailes of Hollanders came into the Road, and the other two, which went out the day before, came with them to Pulo Panjan: they had refreshed themselves at the Iles Mascarenhas, which stand in one and twentie degrees and an halfe of South latitude. Of which place they gave singular commendations for great plentie of refreshing which they found there.

*Excellent re-  
freshing at the  
Ile do Mascarenhas.*

The seventh of March, at five of the clocke in the *March 7.*

A.D.  
1612.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

### Chap. X.

A Journall of all principall matters passed in the twelfth Voyage to the East-India, observed by me Walter Payton, in the good ship the Expedition: the Captaine whereof was M. Christopher Newport, being set out, Anno 1612. Written by Walter Payton.

#### §. I.

Their comming to Saint Augustine, Mohelia, and divers parts of Arabia.



He seventh of Januarie we set saile from Gravesend for the East-India, in the good ship, the Expedition of London, being about the burthen of two hundred and sixtie tunnes: which carryeth in her fiftie sixe persons, besides a Persian Ambassadour and his followers, who are in number fifteene, which we had order to receive into our ship, to be transported into the Kingdome of Persia, at the costs and charges of the Worshipfull Company aforesaid. The names of the Ambassadour, and his people, are these. Sir Robert Sherley, the Ambassadour. Teresha, his Ladie, a Circasian. Sir Thomas Powell. Tomasin his Ladie. Leylye, a Persian Woman. Morgan Powell, Gentleman. Captaine John Ward. Francis Bubb, Secretarie. John Barbar, Apothecarie. John Herriot, Musitioner. John Georgson, Goldsmith and Hollander. Gabriel, an olde Armenian. Nazerbege, Scanderbege, Molhter, all Persians.

The sixe and twentieth of Aprill, 1613. in the morning, wee fell with a part of the land of Æthiopia, whereunto, close adjoyning, is an Iland of small compasse, called  
*Connie Iland.* Connie Iland, beeing a very low land, and invironed about with many dangerous Rockes, to Sea-ward: and

## WALTER PAYTON

A.D.  
1613.

standeth in the latitude of thirtie three degrees, and thirtie minutes. The wind taking us short, we were inforced to come to an anchor betwixt this Iland and the Maine: where wee had very good ground in nineteen or twentie fathom water. Here we sent our Schiffe ashore to the Iland, where we found Penguins, wild Geese, and other Fowles, & Seale-fishes in great abundance, whereof we tooke for our refreshing, as much as we would. By a carved boord, wee perceived the Hollanders had beene there, who made great store of the traine Oyle of the Seales, as it should seeme, for their necessary spending, outward bound. They left their Implements wherewith they wrought, and a great Copper Caldron, standing upon a Furnace, full of traine: all which wee left as wee found. Thus having spent two dayes at an anchor, and the wind favouring us to proceed, we set saile from hence for Caput Bonæ Spei.

The thirtieth day, by Gods grace, we arrived at Saldanha, where wee found riding at an anchor sixe ships, whereof two English, namely, the Hector and the Thomas, the other foure were Hollanders: all bound homeward. Here we watered and refreshed our selves very well, with reasonable store of that Countrey sheepe, and Bullockes, which we bought; and fresh fish which we caught with our Sayne.

*The Bay of  
Saldanha.*

The tenth of May, 1613. the Pepper-corne arrived heere at Saldanha, also bound homewards. Shee having beene long out, was not very well fitted with necessities, which wee supplied out of our small store, so much as we could spare: who also dispatched and was readie to set saile with the first faire wind, which was, on the fifteenth of May, from whence we set saile all together, out of the Bay, taking our leave each of other, according to the common fashion of the Sea, directing our course for Saint Augustine. And in our way we had sight of Cape do Arecife, being part of the mayne land of Æthiopia; and standeth in the latitude of thirtie three degrees twentie five minutes, the Compasse varying there

*Cape do  
Arecife.*

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*Variation sixe  
deg. nine min.*

sixe degrees and nine minutes, which was on the foure and twentieth of this present.

[I. iv. 489.]  
*Port de S.  
Augustino.*

The fifteenth of June, we had sight of Saint Laurence Iland, and on the seventeenth day, we came to an anchor, by Port Augustine of purpose, to search the sounding and way into the Bay, before we entred; because there was none in our ship well acquainted therewith. Which being done, wee entred and came to an anchor, on the eighteenth day in ten fathome water: but our ship roade in fortie fathomes. Heere we had wood and water, and great abundance of fresh fish, which we tooke with our Sayne, sufficient to have satisfied halfe a doozen ships men, if they had beene there. But for flesh, we could get none of the Countrey people, they being as it seemed, fearefull of us, who came to us once, and promised to bring us Cattell, the next day in the morning: which, I thinke, was rather in policie to carrie away their Cattell, wherein they employed themselves in the meane time, for they never returned to us againe. We marched up into the Woods, with about fortie shot, to see if we would have met with any of them, to buy some of their Cattell: but wee found none but emptie houses made of Canes, where wee perceived that people had beene not long before, by the fires which were yet burning, and scales of fish which had beene broyled thereon. Also we perceived the footing, and tracing of many Cattell, which had beene there not long before: so wee returned emptie as wee came. This Port Augustine, standeth in the latitude of twentie three degrees and thirtie minutes. The variation of the Compasse is fiteene degrees fortie minutes.

*Houses made  
of Canes.*

*Fifteen degr.  
40. minutes  
variation.*

The entrance into this Port resembleth Dartmouth, and to goe in there, you must bring that which is called Westminster-Hall, being not unlike, North-east by East off you, and so steere in due East, borrowing a little to the South-side of the Bay, where you shall have sounding thirteene, nine, eight, and seven fathomes water, good ground, till you bee shut within the shoale: and then you have deepe water, untill you come to the Road, and then

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you have seven, eight, and ten fathomes water. But if you goe in too farre behind the hill on your larboord side (which resembleth an old Barne) then you shall have thirtie five or fortie fathomes. From hence wee set saile, on the three and twentieth of this present, directing our course for the Iland of Mohelia.

The third of July 1613. we had sight of an Iland called Juan, being to the East-ward of Mohelia some nine or ten leagues, and beareth from it East and by South. Also this day we came to an anchor at Mohelia, betwixt broken land (which lyeth on the Souther side) and the Iland. Here we had great store of refreshing and very cheape, for we bought five Bullockes in trucke of one Levant Sword: also we bought Goates, Hennes, Pines, Cocker Nuts, Plantanes, Oranges, Limons, and Limes, for Trifles or little Money. One Riall of Plate we paid for a Bullocke, or else ten pieces of foure pence halfe-penie, and so we bought about fortie one head of Cattle, besides other refreshing aforesaid.

*Mohelia Iland  
neere unto  
Comoro.  
Great store of  
refreshing.*

The fifth, the Inhabitants of this Iland, are chiefly Moores: but there are Arabians, Turkes and other Nations amongst them, and are in Warre with the people of Juan, and Comora Ilands neere adjoyning. They told us that the King of Mohelia dyed the same day, that we came into the Roade: and Phanehomale his sonne succeeded in his place, being as yet but of tender yeeres, was to raigne under protection of his Mother Queene. His Brother-in-law came downe (as chiefe man accompanied with divers other men of sort) to speake with us, who bad us very kindly welcome. Both he and many other of the same Iland do speake reasonable good Portuguse Language, by reason whereof I had great conference with them, and was resolved in any thing I demanded.

*The largenesse  
of the Portugal  
Tongue.*

They build Barkes upon this Iland, and trade with them, amongst the Coast of Melinde, and Arabia, with slaves and fruits, whereby they furnish themselves with Royals of Plate, and other necessities. Also I thinke, they have some Trade with the Portugals, but they will

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not bee a knowne thereof, because we should not suspect any treacherous dealings amongst them. They told us, that we were very welcome, and that the whole Iland was at our command: but if we had beene Portugals, they told mee, that they would have put us all every man to the Sword. But howsoever, I hold it not good to repose too much confidence in them. The Kings Brother shewed me a Letter of commendations of the place, left there by an Hollander, which was written in Dutch: and withall desired us to leave another to the same effect, thereby to specifie their honest and kind dealings towards us, and to shew it unto others of our Nation, which should come thither after us: to which we consented, and I made them a Writing accordingly, which was sealed by the Captaine of our ship, expressing therein our good entertainment, and the prices of victuals. But neverthesse, with such a Proviso, that our Nation should not trust them any further then in their discretions they should thinke requisite for their owne safeties. They speake a kind of Morisco Language, which is somewhat difficult to learne, and our continuance there short: so that I only tooke notice of these few words following, which are sufficient to call for victuals and fruits, when Portuguse Language is wanting; and to speake to any of the Countrey people, who understand not the Portuguse. viz.

Gumbey, a Bullocke. Buze, a Goat. Coquo, an Henne. Tudah, Oranges. Demon, Limons. Mage, Water. Surra, a kind of Drinke. Quename, a Pine. Sejavoye, Cocker Nuts. Figo, Plantans. Cartassa, Paper. Sinzano, a Needle. Arembo, Bracelets. Soutan, the King.

*Moheliain 22.  
deg. 10. min.  
[I. iv. 490.]*

This Iland standeth in the latitude of twelve degrees ten minutes, and in the Road is good ground in forty fathomes water. From hence we set saile on the tenth day (having watered, and refreshed our selves very sufficiently, God be thanked) directing our course for the Iland of Socatora.

The nineteenth, we passed under the Equinoctiall line:

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and on the twentie fifth day, wee had sight of land, which we supposed to have been Cape Guardafuy, which lieth at the entrance of the Red Sea: and so thinking to steere for Socotora, found it not. Whereupon we were inforced to bethinke our selves, where to goe that wee might shelter our selves from the cruelty of the Winter in those parts, and also to refresh us againe. So we determined to saile for the Ilands of Curia Muria, the bodies whereof lie in the latitude of about eighteene degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, over against the wast of Arabia Fœlix. In our way, we never had other weather then fogges, which were so thicke, that we could not discry halfe an English mile before us (being a thing usuall every yeare in July, August, and part of September.) In all this time, both the Sunne and the Starres were so obscured, that we could not helpe our selves any way by observation: but God being our guide, at length we groaped out the land by our lead, well perceiving the colour of the water to be changed white, and many yellow grassy weeds swimming thereon; we sounding still as we sailed, and our first ground was fortie three fathomes. So as we neered the land, our sounding lessened to twenty two fathomes, where we anchored in very good ground, but could see no land (although we heard the rut of the shoare not to be farre off) untill the next day, which was somewhat cleare weather. And then we sent our Skiffe ashoare, to see if they could discover a place of more securitie for our ship to ride in: but by reason of the great Seas which came rowling into the Bay, there went so great a seidge that they could not come neere the shoare, and therefore returned as they went: onely they had descried a situation of faire houses, built of stone, hard by the Sea side, which prooved to be the Citie of Doffar in Arabia Fœlix. When God had sent us a little cleare weather, we perceived an high Cape land, on the Wester side of the Bay, the which we discovered with our Skiffe (at the second time of her going) to be a very good road for all winds, except from East to the

*The Ilands of  
Curia Muria.*

*Doffar a  
Citie on the  
Coast of  
Arabia.*

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South by East (God make us thankfull) for thither we warped in our ship, although with much toyle of our men, beeing distant sixe or seven leagues from the place where we were.

*August. 3.  
Resoit a small  
Village.*

The third of August, we came to an anchor in the said roade, and went ashoare with our Skiffe at a little Village, called Resoit, standing close by the Sea side. The Inhabitants thereof are Arabians, and for the most part fishermen, who gave us very kind intertainment, and told us all concerning the Countrey, that we desired. Also the chiefe Governour of Doffar came downe to us (whose name is Meir hahamud Madoffar) and bade us very kindly welcome, and presented us with three Bullocks, Sheepe, Goates, Sugarcanes, Hennes, Plantans, and Coco-nuts, and such like. For requitall whereof, we presented him againe, with a fine piece of Damaske double lockt, which was greatly by him esteemed: he desiring our friendship as much, as we desired his, and gave us licence forthwith to come ashoare when we would. Also he gave order to have a Market kept at this little Village of Resoit, purposely for us to buy any kind of victualls which the Countrey did afford. Their cattell are both deare and leane, and their fresh water is very scarce and bad, and very hard to come by: so that we were inforced to hire people to bring it downe to the sea side in skinnes, paying therefore twenty foure shillings sterling, for every five pipes filling. Before our departure from hence, Meir hahamud Madoffar desired us to leave a writing of commendations in his behalfe, specifying the good and kind intertainment we had received there; which was graunted: and I made it in parchment, begun with great letters, the effect whereof beeing correspondent to the other writing, before left at Mohelia, also signed by the Captaine. And the Governour sent us three notes, by him signed, to the end we might send them in severall ships, if they should happen to come upon that coast (as we did perforce) whereby he might know our ships from others, and to give them intertainment accordingly. This



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Cape Resoit standeth in the latitude of sixteene degrees, and thirty eight minutes, to the Northward of the Equinoctial line, and is good anchorage, in five and an halfe or sixe fathomes water. *Sixteene degrees, thirtie eight min.*

The eight and twentieth, we set saile from hence, directing our course for the coast of Persia, still coasting alongst the Arabian shoare: for there were our cheifest hopes fixed, in setting the Lord Embassadour ashoare. By reason of the \*newes, and advices wee heard and received at the Cape Bona Esperanza, our expectations were frustrated, both of Surat, Dabull, and all other parts thereabouts.

The second of September, we sailed close by an Iland, lying alongst the Arabian shoare, called Macyra, the body of which standeth in twentie degrees thirtie minutes, North latitude, the variation of the Needle being twenty degrees tenne minutes. *The Ile de Macyra, in 20. degr. 10. min. variation.*

The fourth day, we passed the Eastermost part of the Arabian land, called Cape Rasalgat, standing in the latitude of twenty two degrees, and thirty foure minutes, and nineteene degrees twenty minutes variation. *Cape Rasalgat.*

### §. II.

[I. iv. 491.]

Their comming on the Persian Coast: the treacherie of the Baluches.



He tenth of September, crossing the Gulfe, wee had sight of the Coast of Persia, our ship being in the latitude of twentie five degrees and tenne minutes: the variation of the Compasse eighteene degrees thirty minutes: and being some seven leagues off from the shoare, we sent our Skiffe with Sir Thomas Powell, *Septemb. 10.*

\*For Captain Hawkins comming away in distast, and denied trade, the English wronged by the Mogol in often breaking promise (as before is shewed) forced trade at the Red Sea on his Subjects: which after (least the Sea and Merchandizing should be shut up to them) procured the Priviledges obtained by Captaine Best, especially seeing the English able to withstand the Portugals, whose sea-forces held the Guzerats in Marine subjection, and made them afraid of trading with Englishmen.

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*Tesseque a  
small Village.*

*Baluches.*

*Pessegue.*

*Two great  
Boats called  
Teradas.*

accompanied with two of the Embassadors Persians, together with Albertus our Linguist, of purpose to discover the Countrey, and to seeke some convenient place to land his Lordship. Where when they came to a little Village, called Tesseque, they spake with Camell men, and others of the Countrey people, by whom they understood, that that Countrey was called Getche Macquerona, and the inhabitants Baluches: all living under the government of one King, named Melicke Meirza, whose chiefe residence was some five or sixe dayes journey from hence, at a Port called Guader. And they further told them, that all that Countrey of Macquerona, paid yeerely Tribute unto the King of Persia. Also they understanding our intents to land the Embassadour, told us, that by Melick Meirza his conveiance, his Lordship should have safe conduct from Guader in nine dayes to Chirman, and from thence to Spahaun in Persia, in eleven dayes. So we sayled alongst the Coast, and sent our Skiffe againe ashore on the eleventh of this present, with Sir Thomas Powell and others, accompanied as before, both to enquire further of the Countrey, and to see if they could hire a Pilot to direct us for Guader, because we knew not how the Coast did lie. And they lighted on a place called Pessegue, about one dayes journey from the other place before; where we found the like newes and reports of these people to agree directly with the former; all commending the Port of Guader to be our best place of landing. Whereof we being very glad to heare, presently set downe our determinations, with Gods leave, to saile thither with all the speed we might, although we had no Pilot. And in our way, on the thirteenth of this present in the morning, wee espied comming from the East-ward, two great Boates called Teradas, sayling alongst the shoare towards Ormus: whereupon, to the end we might have a Pilot out of them, we manned our Skiffe sufficiently, of purpose to bring them to our ship (if intreaty did faile) perforce; yet without any intent to have offered them the least discourtesie, or to have sent them away ungratified. But when our

Skiffe came up to them, in stead of answering our mens hailes, they weaved our Skiffe to Leeward with a naked Sword. Wherefore our men thinking to feare them, and to make them amaine their sailes, shot off a peece at randome towards them; for answer whereof, they discharged another peece at our Skiffe, with halfe an hundred of arrowes to boote: which our men perceiving, plyed all their Muskets at them againe: but our Skiffe not able to hold way with them sayling, was constrained to leave them, and returne to our ship againe, with one man very dangerously hurt with an arrow in his breast, although after recovered. Now wee aboard perceiving our Skiffe to be too weake, and returning againe without them, presently hoysed out our long boat, and sent her after them; we following with our ship so neare to the shoare as conveniently wee might with safetie. For it imported us much now to speake with them, whereby wee might avoid the spreading of their scandalous reports of us, in that Countrey; which might have frustrated our chiefe hopes in landing the Embassadour there, beeing the place whereon wee most depended, especially considering how destitute we were of any other place, if this should fayle, by reason aforesaid. So our long boat fetching the Teradas up, drave them into a Bay, from whence they could not escape; which strooke such a feare into them, that they desperately sayled so farre into the Bay, that one of them was cast away upon the shoare; and the other neere upon following, had not our men saved her from the breach thereof. All the Baluches for the most part leaped over boord, whereof some of them narrowly escaped drowning: and other taken in againe by our men, were brought with the Terada aboard our ship, beeing onely nine Baluches left of about twenty sixe. Who when they came aboard, perceiving them to be of Guader, wee told them, that we were sory for the losse of their other Terada, and that we meant them no harme; but only to speake with them, whereof they were glad to heare (for they thought we had been as mercilesse as themselves) imputing their losses

*One of the  
Teradas cast  
away.*

*Onely nine  
Baluches  
saved.*

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unto their owne follies. Then we told them, that we were bound to Guader, to land a Persian Embassadour there, and that we would intreate the Master of the Boat, whose name was Noradim, to pilot our ship thither, and we would content him for his paines. To which (knowing himselfe not to be freed by deniall) he yeelded, conditionally that we would let the Terada and his men proceede in their Voyage for Muscat, which wee thought not fit, for feare of clamours and newes to be spread about the Gulfe, of our beeing there amongst the Portugals: but rather to carry the Terada with us to Guader, thereby to make manifest our good dealings towards them. The Pilot perceiving himselfe to be urged between feare and friendship, in the end agreed; of whom we made very much, and in our way to Guader had much conference with him and his men, both concerning the state of the Countrey and King, and touching the passage of the Embassadour into Persia, through the same. Their answers, reports, and speeches all concurring with the former, in a manner confirmed our hopefull intents, without any dislike.

[I. iv. 492.]

This Terrada was about the burden of fiftene Tunnes, her lading, for the most part, was victualls of those parts; as Rice, Dates, and Wheat, and such like. They had a Portugall passe, which they shewed us, thinking at the first we had beene Portugals. The Originall whereof I translated out of the Portuguese language, because it might be knowne in what subjection the Portugals doe keepe all these Countrey people: without which Passe, they are not suffered to saile to nor fro, upon paine both of losse of life, ship, and goods: the Copie whereof followeth, viz.

*The Castle of  
Mascot.  
A Portugal  
Passport by  
sea, shewing  
how all those  
parts are owed  
at sea by them,  
Moores, Guz-  
arats, and  
others.*

Antonio Pereira de Laserda, Captaine of the Castle of Mascot, and the Jurisdiction of the same, for his Majestie, &c.

**A**Ll those, to whom these Presents shall bee shewed: Know that I have thought good, to give secure licence unto this Terrada, of the burden of fiftie Candies,

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*A Baluche.*

the Master whereof is Norradim a Moore, and Baluche, and a dweller in Guader, of the age of fiftie yeeres, and carrieth for his defence foure Swords, three Bucklers, five Bowes with their Arrowes, three Calivers, two Launces, and twelve Oares: That in this manner following declared, she may passe and sayle from this said Fort, to Soar, Dobar, Mustmacoraon, Sinde, Cache, Naguna, Diu, Chaul, and Cor. In going, she carrieth goods of Conga, as Raisons, Dates, and such like: but not without dispatch first out of the Custome house of this said Fort, which shall appeare by a Certificate, written on the Back-side hereof. And to performe well the said Voyage, she shall neither carry nor bring any prohibited goods, viz. Steele, Iron, Lead, Tobacco, Ginger, Cinamon of Seilon, and all other things whatsoever prohibited, and not tollerated by the Regiment of his Majestie. And in this manner shall the said Terrada make her Voyage, without let or hinderance of any Generalls, Captaines, or other of the said Signories Fleete, or Ships whatsoever, which she shall happen to meet withall. And this shall be of force and sufficiency for one whole yeere, in going and coming. If it be expired, then to serve other so long time, as the making hereof.

Given from the said Castle of Mascat, this sixteenth of November, Ann. Dom. 1611.

I Anthonio de Peitas, Notarie of this said Factorie, have written this, &c.

Sealed and Signed,  
ANTHONIO PEREIRA.

The Certificate written on the backe side hereof is this: viz.

Registred in the booke of Certificates, in Folio xxxij. and so forwards.

Signed, ANTH. PEITAS.

The seventeenth of September, we sayled by high  
ragged Cliffes, whereto close adjoyning, is a good water-  
ing place, at a Village called Juane, (as Norradim told us)

*September 17.*

*Juane a  
Village.*

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beeing about fiftene leagues distant from the Port of Guader, to the Westerside thereof, which beareth North of you.

*Guader.*

Also, upon this day in the evening, wee arrived at Guader, and anchored at the Ports mouth untill the next day in the morning; where, about thirty Boates came out of Guader to fish. Some of them came to speake with the Baluches, which wee had aboard; but what they said was spoken in Baluche language, and therefore not by us understood. So betimes this morning, we cleared our Balucha Pilot, with his Boat and men; and told him, that when he would come aboard againe, hee should be satisfied for his paines: and so hee departed, being very well contented therewith.

And presently after, the Ambassadour sent one of his Persians, named Nazerbeg, ashoare in our Skiffe, with a message to the chiefe Governour concerning his landing, and passing thorow that Countrey into Persia: who by the way was met with the Governours Boat, comming aboard our ship, into which Nazerbeg was taken out of our Skiffe, and went with them ashoare to performe his message, according to direction, being accompanied with many people unto the Governours Tent. Where, he having delivered his message to the said Governour in the Persian language (which is as well understood there, as their owne) was very much made of, and kindly entertained. The answer of which message by the Governour, was, that although that Countrey of Macquerona was not the King of Persias; yet they did acknowledge a kind of dutifull love unto his Majesty, and that they had been Tributaries unto him and his Predecessors for many yeeres past, as they were now at present. Also, he further said, that the King of Macquerona was the King of Persias Slave, with such like fained and trapping complements; and the Ambassadour should be as welcome, as if he were in the Persian Land; only tending by treachery to allure his Lordship ashoare, as by the event it appeared.

*The Countrey  
of Macque-  
rona, is not the  
King of  
Persias.*

This answer being returned by Nazerbeg, hee had to

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accompany him aboard (and to confirme the same with addition) about a dozen of the ancientest men there of Baluches: who, when they came aboard our ship, saluted the Ambassadour with great submission, both in their Governours behalfe, and in their owne: some of them offering to kisse his feete, telling his Lordship, that he was the happiest man alive in comming thither to that place. For, but one day passt, the Vice-roy was come downe with a troope of men, to visite a Saint; and therefore his Lordship should bee conducted with more safetie thorow his Countrey (from the danger of Rebels and Theeves, which were betweene Guader and Persia) either to Chirman or Sistan, and so to Spahaun. Also that the Vice-roy would furnish his Lordship with Camels and Horses, and other necessities requisite: and that he would accommodate him with all the meanes he had in his power. And moreover said, that they much rejoyced to have such fit opportunitie, to shew their unfained love towards the King of Persia: and withall, he should be dispatched from Guader (if hee would) in two dayes at the furthest: and told us, for our ship, we should have both water, and other necessities whatsoever we needed: they bringing then with them three bagges of bruised Dates, being about three hundred pound weight, with two Goats, and sent aboard the said fish-boats, that every one of them should send two fishes (upon the Governours account) aboard our ship, who did accordingly. So that, what with their exterior shew of unfained love and kindnesse towards us, together with all mens speeches (of whom enquiry was made, as aforesaid) agreeing so jumpe one with another, wee were thoroughly perswaded, without any kinde of distrust, that they meant us as well as they said: Especially, the Lord Ambassadour was exceedingly well conceited of them, being joyfull to arrive in Persia in twentie dayes; and wee not sory, in bringing to perfection our long desired hopes. But God, from whose Divine knowledge the secrets of no hearts can bee hidden, knew their contrary meanings towards us: for had not his Mercy

[I. iv. 493.]

*September 18.*

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exceeded his Justice, we had been consumed, and it never could have been knowne what had become of us, ship nor goods.

For, hereupon the Ambassadour resolved, and fitted all things in a readinesse, and on the nineteenth of this present, which was the morning following, sent both his money, treasure, and all his carriage ashoare, with the Baluches Boates, that came aboard for that purpose. Very early also they brought a message from the Vice-Roy and Governour, that they had provided a Tent for his Lordship, and all his followers, neere adjoyning unto their Tent: and therefore he might come ashoare so soone as he pleased. All things were ready; into which Tent all the Ambassadors goods were carried, and by his order, some of his followers were appointed to remaine with them, untill his Lordship should come ashoare himselfe. Intending to have followed the same day in the afternoon, at foure of the clocke, he sent the Vice-Roy word, that hee would then come. And in the meane time our Skiffe went ashoare with emptie caske, to bring fresh water aboard: wherein went the Ambassadors Persians, and three or foure others of his followers, to see the landing of the goods, and carefull carrying of them into the Tents. And at the landing thereof, the countrey people demanded if the Ambassadour had no more goods then those to bring ashoare? To which answer was made, that there was all, except Jewels, and such like things, which should be brought when himselfe did come. Other

*Baluches per-  
fidie.*

Baluches standing by, replied to each other amongst themselves, that it was no matter; for there was enough for the souldiers: which Nazerbeg over-heard, and understood, yet concealed it for that time, although it possessed him with a jealous conceit; and hee said afterward, that neverthesse he had no power to continue in the same, by reason of such equal correspondencie of all matters passed before; but was somewhat more attentive unto what should be said afterwards amongst them, and could heare nothing contrary unto honest dealing: untill at



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*Hoge Comal.*

length meeting with one Hoge Comal (whom God had made an instrument to disclose their devillish project unto us) hee understood the particulars of their bloody intents, by him revealed. At which Nazerbeg was somewhat amazed, and angry with the man, that he did not tell him of it before the goods were brought ashoare. Also, the houre appointed of the Ambassadors comming ashoare drew neare, which made him feare, lest he should have come ashoare before he should get to our shippe, to forewarne him: but as God would have it, our Skiffe was yet a filling of water by the sea side; where, when he came, he told our men, that there was treachery plotted against us ashoare: and withall wished them to row him aboard our ship with all the speed they could; and so was brought aboard immediatly, although not one eighth part of an houre too soone: for both the Ambassadors, and all his followers, together with the Captaine of our shippe, and all the chieftest of us (who were willing to grace his Lordship all we might, for the honour of our Countrey) stood in the ships waste, ready to go ashoare. But Nazerbeg bringing these newes, wee were not halfe so hasty in our proceedings, he telling us what had passed; the chiefe effect whereof was this, That the Vice-Roy, and Governour, did entice so many of us as they could ashoare, of purpose to cut our throats: Which being done, they meant to have set upon our ship, and to have made spoile of all. And further, that they were all Rebels to the King of Persia, being present death for any once to name the King of Persia in that place. Also, that they had made enquiry of every particular man in our ship, both of our places, profession and estates: for they had consulted and concluded upon the Massacre of us all (except the Chirurgions, Musitians, Women and Boyes) with determination to have put all the rest to death without mercy. Now, God be thanked, although we understood of their intended plots so sufficiently, whereby we were forewarned to prevention thereof, by arming our selves, (we knew, under Gods protection, wee were able

*September 19.*

*The great  
treason of the  
people of Gua-  
der revealed.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

[I. iv. 494.]  
*Fifteene hundred shot of  
the enimie.*

*September 20.  
Sic ars deludi-  
tur arte.*

to defend us from receiving any injury aboard, notwithstanding their great store of Boats and men, they having at that instant about fifteene hundred shot, besides others) yet we were to seeke how we might procure againe his Lordships goods, and his three men, which were ashoare in their custodies. For performance whereof, God, that had thus miraculously delivered us from their tyranny, likewise opened our understandings, in so much that wee obtained all, according to our owne desires, in this manner following, viz. Whereas they expected the comming ashoare of the Ambassadour, his followers, and our Capitaine, and us, accompanied together: we presently sent Nazerbeg ashoare againe, with directions what he was to doe, and to tell the Vice-Roy, that the Ambassadour was not very well, and therefore deferred his comming till the next morning, which was Munday, the twentieth day of September. Also, to request the Vice-Roy and Governour, that they would send two or three of their Boats very early for him, the women, and the rest of his company, because the ship-boats were too small. And withall, that the Ambassadour did expect to bee received by some men of sort from the Vice-Roy, to come in the said Boats, in regard of the King of Persias Honor, whose person he did represent. This message being well delivered tooke effect, and willing grant was made for performance thereof. Which businesse Nazerbeg having finished, he was to go to the Tent, where the goods were, and to bring out of one of the Trunckes two bagges of money, containing two hundred pound sterling, with some other things of worth, if conveniently hee could without being spied; because they should not suspect that we had discovered any of their villanies. Also, wee gave him order to returne instantly, and to wish the three men to stay still in the Tent, till the next morning, and they should be freed. All which was done accordingly; and not only the said money brought away, but also a Trunck, wherein was the Lady Sherleyes apparell (notwithstanding the Baluches demanded why that Truncke

was brought aboard againe) answere being made, that therein was the Ladyes night-cloathing, and that it should bee brought againe the next day: and so passed on for currant. Now the Ambassadour made account, that if he could but get one great Trunck more (wherein were things of moment and charge, with his said three men) to lose the rest without care. And for the better bringing to passe hereof without suspition, we fitted over-night a great Chest, and a close-stoole, bound and maled up together with cords, very fast and handsomely: which were filled with billets, rubbish and stones, to make them heavie, to bee left in the place of that Truncke which should be brought aboard: and the three men should come forth of the Tent, with each of them their instruments of musicke in their hands. And for excuse, if the Baluches should demand why they brought that Truncke aboard againe, answere should bee made it was one of the Merchants, and it was mistaken. Likewise, if they demanded why the men came aboard againe, answere should be made, that his Lordship did send for them, to accompany him ashoare with their musicke. So all being ready, the next morning very early, wee perceiving the three Boats comming aboard to fetch his Lordship, according to promise, presently manned our Skiffe, and sent her ashoare, to put our plot in execution: whereby wee hoped to catch them in the same snare that they had laid for us. And in the meane time we received the three Boats of men into our shippe, with entertainment requisite: wherein came about fortie or fiftie persons; but not above seven or eight of any reckoning, whereof our friend Hoge Comal was one, the rest Slaves and Fisher-men. We kept them in talke, and much conference of by-matters, to passe away the time, because our Skiffe might returne before we did meddle with them. Amongst which talke, one of them earnestly requested us, as from the Vice-Roy, that we would carry our Slurbow ashoare with us, he being very desirous to see it. So we smoothed them in their desires. And not long after, we espied our Skiffe

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*Long knives  
worne by their  
sides.*

*September 20.*

*These  
Baluches are  
Mahumetans.*

[I. iv. 495.]

returning, with her successe; which, God be thanked, fell out prosperously: For they did not only bring the three men, and the Truncke, but also one chiefe man of the Baluches, whom Nazerbeg inticed aboard. And so soone as hee was entred into the ship, hee, with the rest, desired to see our Gun-roome, wherein, hee knew (by intelligence) we had all our fire-workes, they standing in much feare thereof, especially of our Slurbow, with the fiery Arrowes; which fell out fit for our purpose. For wee had meant to have sent them downe thither, to take away their knives which they wore by their sides. So all the chieftest of them being gone downe into the Gun-roome, and our ship fitted, with every one of us our weapons in our hands, we divided our selves, some above the Deckes, some betwixt, and others, as was needful, in the Gun-roome, to lay hold of the Traytors (so soone as the word should be given) to take away from them their long knives: all which was done in an instant, without any disquietnesse or resistance. Then we began to parle with them upon plaine termes, laying open to them their bloodie intents: also telling them, that their lives lay in our hands, and they were now themselves caught in the same snare, which they had plotted for us: and that if wee served them rightly, wee should cut them in pieces, as they had determined to serve us. All which, they, like stony-faced Mahumetans denied. So we kept sixe of them, which were the chieftest, with two of their Boats, the rest of the crew we sent ashoare, being all, for the most part, naked Rascalls, except one, to whom we delivered a message in particular, to tell the Vice-Roy and Governour, That unlesse he would send us aboard all our goods, and things wee had ashoare, without one peny-worth diminished, wee would carry away those men we had aboard for satisfaction. This message being delivered to the Vice-Roy and Governour, they presently sent answere backe againe, by the same messenger we sent: that if wee would release the Baluches, then they would send us all our goods againe; and with many lame excuses,

would make us beleeve they meant us no hurt. Where-upon, presently in the sight of the messengers, we clapped them all in Irons, and writ one letter to the Vice-Roy, and the Prisoners wrote another (both tending to one effect) in the Persian Language: threatning the lives of those Prisoners, if they did not send us all our goods, as afore-said, and that without delay, within the space of two houres at the most: to which purpose we set up the running glasse, before the messenger departed out of the shippe, because he should make the more speed backe againe. By these sharpe meanes, we urged them forthwith to returne all our goods againe, in very ample manner, as we desired. Which being received into the ship, wee freed both the men and Boats, and sent them away according to promise: only one named Malin-Simsadin, who, by Hodge Comal, was discovered to be a good Pilot for Sinde and Cambaya; we kept with us for the same purpose, conditionally to reward him according to his deserts.

*They stay a  
Pilot for Sinde.*

Thus with Gods assistance (to whom bee alwayes endlesse praise for our happie deliverance) we had dispatched all this intricate businesse, by six of the clocke in the evening, being the twentieth day of September: and set saile from hence the same night, with our new Pilot and Hodge Comal (who came aboard from amongst the cursed crew, to save his life) for Sinde: because wee would be sure to avoyd all insuing inconveniences there, which they might attempt by their future circumventions. And in our way to Sinde, we had much conference with Hodge Comal, our good friend, of whose company we did much esteeme. He was borne at Dabul, but his Father was a Persian by his profession, he was a Churchman of that Sect, and had some skill in Chirurgerie and Physicke, for which use he was resident in the Governours Tent: and by this meanes he over-heard all that passed. And excusing his comming aboard for certaine Oyntments, which our Surgeons had promised him, hee told us that when hee heard of their intents, his heart was full of bemoning compassion, to thinke that we should come like

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innocent sheepe, to the slaughter of such butcherly Bloud-suckers: and therefore he perceived well, that God would have him reveale it. And he further told us, that to his knowledge, they had betrayed three ships before in the like manner; and that they were all rebels to the King of Persia, denying to pay the Tribute, which both they and their Ancestors had formerly done. Wherefore, the King of Persia had levyed a great Armie of Souldiers, not farre from Guader of purpose, to come upon that Countrey the next Winter.

*Macquerona.*

*Guader port in  
25. degrees.*

This Countrey Macquerona, is bordering close upon the Persian Land, beeing part of the Maine Continent of Asia: and Guader Port standeth in about twentie five degrees of North latitude, and the variation seventeene degrees fifteene minutes; good anchorage betweene foure and five fathomes.

The one and twentieth of September at night, our Baluche Pilot brought our ship in danger of a shoale: where we were inforced to chop to an anchor, till the next morning.

The foure and twentieth at night, as we lay a hull (because we were not farre from Cape Camelo) there passed close by us a Portugall Frigat bound for Sinde: which at the first wee supposed to have beene a Galley, and therefore armed our selves for defence.

### §. III.

Their comming to Divulginde landing the Embassadour, seeking Trade, and crossed by the slanderous Portugals, going to Sumatra and Bantam; and returne.

*The mouth of  
the River  
Sinde is 24.  
degrees 38.  
minutes in the  
Mogols  
Dominions:*



He six and twentieth, we came to an anchor right before the mouth of the River Sinde, with directions of a Pilot, which we had out of one of the Fisher-boats which were fishing there. We road in a foot lesse then five fathome water (the Rivers mouth bearing East & by North) in very good ground: and is in

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the latitude of twentie foure degrees and thirtie eight minutes, to the Northward of the Equinoctiall Line, the variation is sixteene degrees fortie five minutes.

*Variation 16.  
degrees 45.  
minutes.*

Hereupon the same day the Ambassadour sent two of his people ashoare, to speake with the Governour concerning his Lordships comming ashoare: and to tell him his intent, to have passage through that Countrey into Persia. Which Governour, named Arah Manewardus beeing of Diul, was very willing to welcome the Ambassadour, and to shew him all the kindnesse hee could (for the love he professed to the King of Persia) both in his Royall entertainment, and passage through his Countrey, or Jurisdiction: and sent a principall man aboard us, accompanied with five or sixe more to welcome his Lordship, with many Complements, assuring him of kind entertainment.

So presently, there were Boates sent for from Diul, to

*Diul.*

carrie him, his people, and his goods ashoare, which came on the nine and twentieth of this instant: upon which day, we were cleered both of him and his (both in number and health) as when they first entred into our ship: and for his farewell, eleven Peeces of Ordnance were shot off from our ship. Also, Simsadin, our treacherous Baluche Pilot, wee set ashoare at the same time (beeing intreated of the Guserats) notwithstanding his desert to have beene set in the Sea, in that hee would have cast us away twice: whereof, once by himselfe, and another time by his Devilish counsell given to another Pilot, which we had of the Fisher-boates here. At the Ambassadors departing out of the ship the Captaine delivered him a fine piece double locked, to present the Governour of Tata, a great Citie one dayes journey from Diul, both Cities standing in the Great Mogols Dominions. Also we intreated his Lordship, that hee would send us word how he found the Countrey, and whether we might have trade there or not: and withall delivered his Lordship a note in writing, what we chiefly desired. The Copie whereof doth follow.

[I. iv. 496.]

*Tatta a great  
citie one dayes  
journey from  
Diul.*

Inprimis, that our comming hither to this Port, as it

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is purposely to land your Lordship, so withall we have brought certaine Commodities and Money, to the end if we obtaine safe protection for quiet and peaceable Trade, we may make sale of such and so much of our Commodities as shalbe fitting: otherwise we desire but leave to refresh, and so depart. Likewise, if the Governour please that we may settle a Factorie heere, we also desire it: and although now wee are but slenderly provided, yet, hereafter we will bring such store, and sorts of Commodities, as shalbe most required and conveniently vented in this Port.

The Commodities we now have brought are these, viz.

**E**Lephants Teeth. Fine Peeces. Lead in Barres. Morses Teeth. Tinne in Barres. Some Rials of Plate.

*A Portugall  
Liedger in  
Diul.  
His slander of  
the English.*

The thirtieth of September, the Ambassadour had audience with the Governour of Diul concerning all his businesse, unto whom he shewed the King of Persians Firma, as also the King of Spaines Passe, thinking thereby to satisfie and resolve the jealous doubts of the Portugals Liedger there, (who reported, upon intelligence from Ormus, that Don Roberto Sherley was come forth of England with three shippes into the Indies of purpose to steale) but they peremptorily denied credence to any Writing hee shewed them, saying, it was neither their Kings hand, nor Seale. For if it were, they could not be ignorant thereof, considering they knew it so well: and further said, it was counterfeit. Whereat the Ambassadour was much moved to impatience, and replied againe unto them, saying, that it was meere folly to shew them any Kings hand or Seale: for they had no King, and therefore could not know it. And that they were a waste Nation only subdued, and brought under subjection perforce by the King of Spaine, and were servile both to him and his subjects. Notwithstanding the Portugals were not danted, but stood stiffely in their former opinions:



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and said, that he had two ships more in the Indies. Then Arah Manewardus spake in the Ambassadors behalfe, rebuking them sharply for such unseemely contradictions of the Persian Ambassador: and so concluded, absenting the Portugals out of the roome. Afterward the Ambassador made a speech unto the said Governour and assembly, concerning the admittance of us into his Port, to trade (according to directions, given his Lordship from us, as aforesaid) which was very kindly imbraced of the Governour: with willingnesse to do therein what he might, all inconveniences understood. For which purpose he willed the Ambassador to send for one or two Merchants from aboard, to conferre with him upon the same. Whereupon the Ambassador wrote a Letter unto us, by two of his people, who came aboard our ship on the second of October 1613. in the morning: by which Letter we perceived his Lordships proceedings in our desired businesse with the Governour, with assurance for our safe going and returne: being in such good sort and fashion, that our hopes were great in establishing a trade there, if not a Factorie: especially to make sale of the small quantitie of goods which wee now brought. Wherefore Master Joseph Salbancke, and my selfe, fitted our selves with the advice of the Captaine and others in our ship, and went ashoare in one of the Countrey Boates the same morning about eight of the clocke, our ship riding about foure or five miles from the rivers mouth, from whence we had fiftene miles to the Citie Diul, where the Ambassador was, so that it was late in the evening the same day before we landed.

*Joseph  
Salbancke and  
Walter  
Payton.*

And in our way we met with a Portugall Frigat bound for Ormus, which I saw went to carrie newes of our ships being there: because none of their ships (which were daily expected) should come till we were gone. This Frigat came close by our shippe, and tooke view of her, and so departed. Now when we were landed, there came three or foure Portugals unto us, demanding if we had brought any goods ashoare, and such

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*Portugals  
slanderos  
policies.*

[I. iv. 497.]

*The malice of  
the Portugals.*

October 3.

like questions: to whom wee made no reply, making shew that we understood them not, because we might understand them for our advantage, if occasion served. Then there came another Portugall (who spake the Dutch Tongue very perfectly) telling me many things concerning the people and Countrey, all tending to disgrace, in an idle and frivolous manner: thinking thereby to disswade us from desiring Trade there. Not long after, the Officers of the Custome-house came and conducted us up to the Castle, where the Governour dwelt, who we thought would have spoken with us that night, but did not, because it was so late: yet the Officers (being for the most part Banians, and spake good Portuguse) searched every part about us for money, not leaving so much as our shoes unsearched. Which being done, and perceiving us to take it strangely, they prayed us to be contented, for it was the order of that place. To which I answered, that although the Portugals might give them cause to ordaine so bad a fashion, yet English Merchants did not, Meazle like, hide money in their shooes: but notwithstanding, we were therewith contented. Then the Governours Servants came to us, excusing it likewise, saying, that he was displeased thereat. And so they brought a great light, and directed us from the Castle, unto the house where Sir Robert Sherley, the Persian Ambassadour did lodge: to whom wee found our selves very welcome, and lodged there all the time of our abode in Diul, expence free. The Portugals seeing us landed, and hearing that wee were to treat with the Governour about the setting of Trade there, did nothing all this time but (like envious and lying Malignants) spread clamorous and scandalous speeches, in disgrace of our King, Nation, and Countrey: reporting that we were theeves, and not Merchandizers, but lived chiefly by robbing of other Nations on the Seas.

The third of October in the morning, the Governour sent the Ambassador word, that in the afternoone he would have speach with us. In the meane while, wee had intelligence that the Portugalls were labouring all they

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could with him, and others, to prevent our intertainment : both by offering him gratifications if he would refuse us, and by threatening to be gone, if he did receive us, alledging as before, that they would not trade where theeves did trade. Neverthelesse, according to our expectations, the Governour sent for us ; and withall commanded foure great horses gallantly trapped, to be brought unto the Embassadours house, for his Lordship, Sir Thomas Powell, Master Salbancke, and my selfe ; also a certaine company of his servants, to conduct us to the Castle : also all the Embassadours followers went with him, each of them carrying an Halbert on their shoulders.

*They goe to the Castle in honourable fashion.*

Thus we rode through some part of the Citie, wherein the people in every street came flocking to see us, they having of long time heard talke of Englishmen, but never had seene any before now : for we were the first that ever came into that part of the Countrey. When we came to the Castle, we were received very orderly, and directed through some spacious roomes, (where souldiours were standing on each side as we went in rankes, cloathed all in white linnen from head to foot) up to an high Turret, wherein the Governour, and some other were set : who at our entrance arose, and saluted us, bidding us kindly welcome. Then we all sate downe together round upon the Carpets, which were spread upon the floare according to their fashion. Then the Governour againe said, we were very welcome, and that he was glad to see Englishmen in those parts ; and proceeded to further talke concerning our businesse, and told us (whereas wee desired trade) the Portugals would not consent that we should drive any trade, or have to doe where they were, threatening to be gone if he did entertaine us. Notwithstanding, if he could be assured of a greater benefit to arise by our trade then by theirs, he would not care if they did forsake him : for hee did well affect our Nation. But in the meane time, he having farmed the customes of that Port from the King, unto whom he stood bound for the payment of certaine summes of money yearly for the same, whether

*Their entertainment at the Castle.*

*This King is the Great Mogol.*

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it came in or not: it behooved him carefully, to be circumspect in ordering those businesses, whereby to avoid the Kings Highnesse displeasure; which unhappily might fall out to his utter overthrow and undoing.

*A Rupia is  
two shillings,  
or somewhat  
more, and a  
Leck is  
100000.*

And then he began to tell us further, that the custome of the Portugalls trade, together with their meanes in letting out their ships to Guzerates and Banians, amounted unto a Leck of Rupias yeerely, which is tenne thousand pound sterling. Then he demaunded of us, what sorts of Commodities we had now brought, and the quantities of each; also what store of money? All which we answered him, a little more or lesse, and withall told him, that although now we brought but small quantities, yet wee could furnish that Port at our next returne, with any Commodities whatsoever the Portugalls did bring; and such a quantitie of each, as we should perceive requisite and fitting to be vented there. Of this he liked well, and asked in what time we could returne from our Countrey thither againe? We answered him, in about twenty two moneths. So hee concluded, saying, That in regard of our small stocke, the Portugals would both laugh at him, and us, if we should be entertained now. Wherefore, he wished us to deferre it untill our next comming, and in the meane time he would give us a writing under his hand and seale, thereby to assure us of entertainment at our next comming, conditionally, that we come provided as aforesaid, and we to leave him another writing, to assure him that our ship should not molest any of the King of Mogors ships, goods, nor subjects; which we agreed unto: withall requesting him, that although hee would not receive us whereby to establish a trade now; yet that he would permit us to make sale of those goods we now had: which in no wise he would grant, for feare of offending the Portugalls, alleadging as before. Then we desired him that wee might have water, and other refreshing for our money, and we would depart so soone as we could. For this he said, that so soone as we did send him our writing aforesaid, he would both send us another, and give

order to his Officers for the same : but he would not have the Portugalls to know thereof. So we seeing no remedie, demanded of him what sorts of commodities he would have us bring thither ; also what Commodities that countrey did afford : who answered these, viz. [I. iv. 498.]

Broad cloath of divers prices, and light colours, as Stammels, Reds, Greenes, and Sky-colours, and Aniles, Blewes, and Azures, &c. Elephants teeth, Iron, Tinne, Lead, Steele, Spices, Mony. These Commodities are to be carried for Sinde.

Commodities to be had there.

**I**ndigo of Lahor. Indigo of Cherques. Callicoes all sorts. Pintadoes of all sorts. Guserat and Cambaya. Commodities of all sorts, with many sorts of Drugges.

Then wee tooke our leaves of him and parted, returning to the Embassadours house againe, where I framed a Letter, and sent him according to our promise, signed by M. Salbancke, and my selfe ; and received another from him likewise, which was in the Persian language, much like the Hebrew Letter backward : the English whereof was interpreted to us by the Ambassadour ; as followeth, viz.

**W**Hereas here arrived at this Port of Diul, in the Kingdome of Mugore, one English ship called the Expedition, whereof is Captaine Christopher Newport, and Merchants, Joseph Salbancke and Walter Peyton, to land Don Robert Sherley, the King of Persians Embassadour, who desired grant of trade in this Port (being under my government) which willingly I would have graunted, but onely for prejudiciall inconveniences insuing : for they brought not merchandize, fitting in quantitie to begin such trade : neither the Portugals by whose trade at present I reape benefit, would consent thereto, threatening to bee gone if I did receive the English Nation. So that thereby, I should have beene left destitute of all trade, whereof those Summes of Money doe arise yeerly,

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which I am bound to pay unto the Kings Majestie : and in default therein, I should put in hazard his Highnesse displeasure, to my utter over-throw and undoing. Yet notwithstanding, for the love I owe unto the King of Persia, by whose Embassadour I am requested, and the affection I beare unto the English Nation, together with the faithfull performance of their writings, left with me under their hands and seales, of the two Merchants aforesaid, (which is not to molest or meddle with any of the said Kings shippes, goods nor subjects, in the time of this their Voyage, in the shippe aforesaid) I have given them this writing under mine owne hand and seale : hereby promising the English Nation (that if they will come like themselves, so fitted that I may advantage my selfe more by them, then by the Portugals) infallible assurance of intertainment to trade, with such reasonable grant of Priviledges as we shall agree upon. Dated in Diul the third day of October, Anno 1613.

Signed, Arah Manewardus.  
Sealed with Incke.

The fourth of October, we received the writing from the Governour, together with order to his Officers for our watering and refreshing : and then wee hastened to returne aboard our ship againe. And a little before our departure, the Ambassadour fell into discourse with us, about the procuring of a Firma from the King of Magore : and withall, wished Master Salbanck to go along with him for Agra (which is the chiefe place where the great Mogoll keepeth his Court) and he would warrant us, that he would procure the same in very short time : especially now, at this so fit an opportunitie offered, both in regard of his businesse with the Mogoll, as also the willingnesse of Arah Manewardus, to entertaine us at this Port : which opportunitie being let slip, we should never obtaine the like ; his Lordship protesting and vowing to doe his best endeavour therein, and shew himselfe a true hearted English man towards his Countrey, howsoever the Com-

pany of Merchants (he said) did conceit him. And further, that Master Salbanck should be an eye-witnesse of his constant and faithfull proceeding therein, to doe the Merchants good, in obtaining the said Firma: not only for Diul, but also for any other part in the Mogolls Dominions: and also should bring it for England overland himselfe. All which being grounded upon some reason, and Master Salbanck having been in those parts before, hee was willing to undertake: Provided, he might have the consent of the Captaine, my selfe, and others in the ship. To which purposes, the Ambassadors writ a letter to the Captaine, perswading his consent thereto, and sent it aboard by us.

So we parted from Diul this day in the after-noone, and when we came to the Rivers side to take Boat, there flocked about us many of the Countrey people: also there came downe to us about a dozen of the envious Portugals, who began to talke with us in Dutch, as before, demanding of us many frivolous questions: which, when I had answered, I spake in their owne language, (because the Banians which were there present, might understand) and told them that they were a shamelesse and lying people, in spreading of so many devised scandals, and slanderous reports of our Nation; unto whom they knew themselves much inferiour in many respects; and that they did it only in malicious policie, because they would not have us to trade in the Indies, as well as they. Also I told them, that if they did not containe themselves within the compasse of better peace, reforming themselves hereafter, both in their sayings and doings, they should be all rooted out of the Indies, and a more honest and Royall Nation placed in their roomes. Then one of the chieftest of them singled out himselfe, and answered thus: That they had enemies too many already, and therefore they desired no more. And as for scandalous speeches they did not deny, being [I. iv. 499.] urged thereunto: for not long past, off from Surat, they had a ship taken by English men, as they supposed: to which I answered them, that it might bee rather the Hol-

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landers. So they concluded, in the end very plyant and sociable, wishing that we might trade in all parts of the Indies with them, and they with us, like neighbours and friends; and that there were some agreement made betwixt our King and theirs, for the bringing to passe thereof. Thus they taking their leaves of us in very kind manner, we parted.

The sixt, we arrived aboard our ship againe, where it was agreed upon, that Master Salbanck should goe, as aforesaid, with the Ambassadour for Agra. Wherefore he fitted himselfe, thinking to have gone ashoare the next day; and in the meane time, the Captaine sent the Purser and his man to buy fresh victualls, and provision for the Sea: who, when they came to the Citie, were by the Governour presently turned backe againe as they went; and expresse command by Proclamation, upon paine of death, the Country people should bring no more English men ashoare. These sudden and strange alterations made us much to marvell; for wee could never know the certaintie whereupon it grew, or what should be the cause.

All the time of our being heere at Sinde, we could never understand of any trade settled at Surat: for if we had, we might have taken other courses. The Ambassador had above seven moneths journey, (from Sinde to Spahaun in Persia) by Caravan; or if he procured to travell otherwise, then it is one moneth lesse.

*They depart  
from Sinde.*

The ninth, we set saile from hence, directing our course, with Gods leave, for Sumatra.

*November 20.  
Priaman.*

The twentieth of November, we came to an anchor in the Roade of Priaman, where we went in betwixt the two Northermost little Ilands, and anchored close by the Northermost of them both in five fathome water. And in the meane time wee beat the price of Pepper at Priaman, and brought it from two and twentie Rialls, to seventeene Rialls a Bahar, first peny: at which price we bought two Bahars, which were brought aboard our ship. But the Governour, although we had presented him with a piece, would not suffer us to take an house, nor to buy any



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Pepper ashoare, unlesse wee would bestow some twentie Presents upon the Officers and Merchants there.

The two and twentieth, we received a letter from Captaine Christen, out of the Hosiander at Tecoo, earnestly wishing us to come to Tecoo with our ship, so soone as we could, and wee should not faile to lade so much Pepper as we determined, and that in short time. And because we were not well acquainted with this place; Captaine Christen sent one of his Masters Mates, named Richard Hall, to Pilot us into the Roade, by reason of many dangerous shoalds that lye about Tecoo.

The eight and twentieth, we came to an anchor in Tecoo Road, in foure fathom water, where Richard Hall returned aboard the Hosiander, and being troubled with the Fluxe, dyed the same night. Now we being come to Tecoo, found all things contrary to our expectation. For, whereas before our comming hither, the Countrey people offered their Pepper to Captaine Christen after twelve and thirteene Rials a Bahar, in trucke of Surat commodities; they now demanded two and twentie Rials ready money, refusing to trucke with him at all for commodities. Also, heere they demanded as many presents, as they of Priaman; besides seventie two Rials of plate for anchorage. So that we were now worse to passe then before and time not permitting us to make delay, we grew into short termes with them: and told them, that although wee did not buy a Cattee of Pepper there, wee would not agree, nor yeeld unto their unreasonable demands. And withall, I framed a letter, as from the Captaine, by him firmed and consigned to the chiefe Governour, shewing him that they did not use our Nation so well, as we did expect at their hands, both in regard of their unjust demanding of presents; (which we did not usually give by compulsion, but either for affection or deserving) and also their unreasonable delaying the performance of their promises, falling out to be so uncertaine, that wee could not account them to bee Merchant-like dealings. For our ships have stayed there divers times, three, foure or five

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moneths, only depending upon their posting promises, to have their full lading; which might have beene as well dispatched in one moneth, with that small quantitie of Pepper which they had. This letter was Englished by the Hosianders Linguist (named John, an Indian, who spake the language very well) unto the chiefe Governour: who hereupon gave present order, that wee might buy Pepper of any man that would sell. And withall sent a messenger aboard our ship, to wish one of us to come ashore, and it should be weighed there. But we doubting their delays, accepted not thereof; and therefore sent him word againe, that wee could not stay so long, as to weigh it ashore: if they would bring it aboard and weight it, we would give them eighteene Rials a Bahar for their Pepper, and two Rials upon each Bahar, for the custome and Governour, being just twentie Rials, conditionally they would bring it aboard; otherwise we would not stay. So they lingring somewhat long before they came, we set saile, making shew to depart: which the Governour perceiving, forthwith sent another messenger (who spake the Portuguese language indifferently well) to entreate us to come to an anchor againe, and wee should have as much Pepper brought aboard immediately as we would lade: which we did, and they came as fast with Prawes lading of Pepper, as conveniently we could weigh it: and so continued for the space of three or foure dayes, till they had brought about some two hundred Bahars, and then began to slack their bringing. Which we perceiving, and fearing to spend over-much time heere (lest we should lose the seasons of the Monsons) we departed for Bantam.

[I. iv. 500.]

December 8.

The eight of December, we set saile from Tecoo, where we left three of our men in the Hosiander, their necessitie so requiring. In our course to Bantam, for the most part, we sailed within sight of Sumatra.

The sixteenth, at our entrance into the Straights of Sunda, being the sixteenth of this present, we met with the Dragon bound homeward, by whom we writ home.

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The seventeenth, wee brought our ship to an anchor in Bantam Road: where wee presently went ashore, to provide her lading. On the nine and twentieth, we made an end of lading our whole complement.

*They arrive  
in Bantam  
Road.*

The second of January, we set saile from Bantam for England, not having lost one man by sicknesse in all our Voyage hitherto; for which, God make us thankfull. Also this day, as we were going out by Pulo Pan Ian, wee met with Generall Saris in the Cloave, come from Japan: for whose letters, and the delivery of foure chests, the Captaine cast anchor againe. Also we spared him two of our men, namely, Mortimer Prittie Yonker, and Thomas Valens, one of our Carpenters Mates whereof they stood much in need; for they had not one Carpenter left alive. Thus having also dispatched these businesses with the Cloave, we set saile once againe for England, on the fourth of this present.

*January 2.*

*Generall Saris  
in the Cloave,  
come from  
Japan.*

The one and twentieth, we came to an anchor in Saldanha Bay: where wee had sheepe and Bullocks reasonable store, besides great abundance of fresh fish, which we caught with our Sayne in the River.

*March 21.  
The Bay of  
Saldanha.*

On the ninth of Aprill, we departed, and then we had prosperous winds, which continued untill we came in the latitude of about three degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall Line, which we passed under on the eleventh of May, finding our ship then to be in two and twentie minutes North latitude. Hereabouts many of our men began to fall sicke, some of the Scurvie and swelling in their legges. The tenth of July, we came to an anchor in the Downes in safetie, God be ever praised.

*Aprill 9.*

*May 11.*

After this twelfth Voyage, the order of that reckoning is altered, because the Voyages ensuing were set forth by a joynt stocke, and not by particular and proper ships, stockes, Factories, (as before) but promiscuous and generally accountable to the whole societie. Of which, all are not come to our hands: such as I have (that which thence is meete for the publike view) give I thee.

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### Chap. XI.

Extracts of the Journall of Captaine Nicholas Downton, who was employed chiefe Commander in the second Voyage set forth for the joyned Stockes in the East-Indies, by the Governour, Deputie, and Committees of that Societie. Wherein is related their happie successe against the Vice-Roy, and all the Indian sea forces of the Portugalls, by force and cunning attempting their destruction.

#### §. I.

Their comming to Soldania, Socatora, Swally :  
Disagreements betweene the Mogoll and Portugalls, and the Nabob and us.



He Shippes employed were the New-yeeres-gift, Admirall, of burthen sixe hundred and fiftie tunnes: The Hector, Vice-Admirall, of five hundred tunnes: The Merchants Hope, of three hundred tunnes. Master William Edwards was Lieutenant and Cape Merchant, and Commander of the Hector: Master Nicholas Ensworth Cape Merchant and Commander of the Merchants Hope: Master Thomas Elkington Cape Merchant, and Commander of the Salomon: Master Peter Rogers Minister, Martin Pring, Arthur Spaight, Matthew Molineux and Hugh Bennet, Masters of the foure Shippes, assisted with divers Mates.

[I. iv. 501.] The first of March 1613. we set saile. On Wednesday the fifteenth of June 1614. we anchored in the Road of Saldania, and were welcommed with a great storm. John Barter by a long Fever bereaved of his understanding, was suddenly missing, and by former speeches of his it

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seemed that he made himselfe away, whiles every one was busie in mooring the ship, and none looking after him.

The sixteenth, wee got all in readinesse for erecting our Tents, which was that day effected, and a Guard placed for their reliefe.

On the seventeenth, we landed halfe our Caske to be trimmed and seasoned. Choree the Saldanian presented me with a young Steere.

The eighteenth, we landed more of our Beere Caske to be washed, trimmed and seasoned, and supplied the wants of our men labouring about our Boates: also this day (Choree) the Saldanian departed from us, carrying with him his Copper Armour and Javelin, with all things belonging to him, promising to come againe to us the third day after, but he never came againe.

*Choree and  
his Copper  
Armour.*

The nine and twentieth, I sent George Downeton on land to observe both the latitude and variation of this place, in regard of the great difference in our variations wee had found betweene my former Voyage in the Pepper-Corne, and this present Voyage: the latitude he found was thirtie foure degrees, and no odde minutes, and the variation one degree and fortie five minutes by an Azimuth, being Westerly variation, whereas for the most part all formerly have made Easterly variation. This night wee dissolved our Tents and brought all our things aboard, and made readie our ship against the next day to depart, which we did accordingly.

*Note for the  
variation at  
the Bay.*

The sixt of August, we came to an anchor in the Bay of Saint Augustine, in Saint Laurence Iland. But on sight of our comming the Inhabitants abandoned the place, that wee could have no speech with them: we cut straight Timber for divers uses. And afterwards wee got some refreshing of them. On the twelfth, we set saile.

The ninth of September, wee anchored in the Bay of Delisa in Socotora. The next day wee went on shore to salute the King, who was readie with his troupe to give me entertainment, and told me of the Warres at present in India, the Mogoll and Kings of Decanie joyning to roote

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*This ship was  
the Hassanie.*

the Portugals out of the Countrey. The reason whereof was, their taking of a shippe which came from Jedda in the Red Sea, wherein was three millions of Treasure. Hee also informed mee of Captaine Bests two great fights with the Portugals, with other newes of those parts. Heere I procured what refreshing wee could get, and bought of the King Alloes, two thousand seven hundred twentie two pounds, and on the fourteenth departed.

The second of October, we had sight of land being on the Coast of Decany neere Dabul. Wee found great hinderance, till by observation we were taught to stay the ebbes and ply the floods.

*Portugall  
Frigats.*

The twelfth, we againe weighed and plyed the floods, and anchored the ebbes till the fourteenth day in the evening, and then anchored two miles and an halfe short of the Barre, where presently came a fleet of Frigats being fourteene saile and anchored neere us, discovering themselves by their lights being darke: but seeing our readinesse by the lights out of our Ports, durst come no neerer unto us, so we rid quietly all night.

*South Swally.*

The fifteenth, early in the morning we weighed with the land-turne, and approching somewhat neere them, they also weighed and stood to the South-wards, and wee held on our course by the Barre towards South Swally, where soone after we arrived after much striving against contrary winds. Assoone as I anchored I sent Master Molineux in his Pinnasse, and Master Spooner, and Samuell Squire in my Gellywatte to sound the depths within the sands. Master Molineux tooke a Channel in which in our former Voyage we had but five foot at low water, but now found three fathomes water, and Master Spooner found that where our Boats could not passe formerly by reason of shoalds, he had now seven and eight foot water. In the after-noone, I seeing people ashoare sent my Pinnasse to them, supposing some of our Merchants had beene come from Surat: but found otherwise to be some people of Cogenozan sent downe to discover what Nation we were; two of which came aboard to me,

*Cagenozan.*

by whom I understood further of their Warres with the Portugals; they besieged Damon and Diu, and that Mocrib Can was Generall of the Mogols forces against Damon, and also to my griefe, I understood that he was Governour, and as Vice-roy not onely over Surat, but also over all the Countrey neere about it; I esteeming him to bee the greatest Adversary to our Nation, and one that most favoured the Portugals. This was my settled conceit by former experience. I understood of the health of Master Aldworth and the rest, to whom I writ to hasten his presence, and sent it away by Baly Ball, together with the other Servants of Cogenozan.

The sixteenth, in the morning early I sent my Purser and Pinnasse on land to buy such Commodities as I supposed might be brought, who about ten a clocke without buying any thing for our turne, returned with Master Aldworth our chiefe Merchant at Surat, and in his company one Richard Steele who came by land from Aleppo to Surat. Master Aldworth strived to perswade me that Mocrib Can the Nabob was our friend, and that now was the best time by reason of their Warres (with the Portugals) for us to obtaine good trade and all Priviledges that in reason wee could demand; and for that both he and all the Countrey people did so much rejoyce at our comming, therefore of necessitie could not but give us Royall entertainment, I liking all their hopefull words, yet ever wishing some other in his place, and that Mocrib Can had beene further away, of whom I rested still in doubt, that we should have no free trade but according to his accustomed manner; and to see and to be privie to all that ever past, and restraine all others, which then I tooke to bee an injurie forced by him to crosse us, and not by the direction of the King, which in time, though too late, we were better advised. And notwithstanding the remembrance of his name given him by the King, Mocrib, which is as much as his owne bowels, and Chan which is as much as great Lord: Yet I was too much deluded by being perswaded that his state in favour of the King stood

*M. Aldworth  
and Steele.*

[I. iv. 502.]

*The significa-  
tion of Mocrib  
Chan.*

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*Paul Canning  
& Thomas  
Kerridge  
Agents at the  
Mogols Court.*

tottering, and might easily be made subject to any disgrace, by any complaint of things done contrary to the will or humour of the King, which made us somewhat too bold and thereby prejudice to our businesse when we found him opposite to our wils, and as wee thought contrary to reason. I inquiring of the state of our businesse, and the health of our people, Master Aldworth informed that Paul Canning and divers others were long since dead, and that Thomas Kerridge had long since resided at Court in his roome, and that there was no more Factors but onely himselfe and William Bedulph at Surat.

The seventeenth, in the morning I called a Councell to advise of all things heere to bee effected, and who fittest to send to Agra to remayne as Liedger there, and then entring into the sixe Interrogatory Articles included in the second Article of our Commission, requiring Master Aldworths direct answere to every question should be demanded.

*Jesuits cour-  
tesie.*

The first, in what favour Paul Canning was with the Emperour and his Councell, and how he carried himselfe in the businesse at Court that was committed unto him. Hee answered, that at his first comming to Court, hee was well respected by the Emperour, untill such time as the Jesuites made knowne he was a Merchant, and not sent immediately from the King: but afterwards he was neglected as himselfe complained, and for his carriage there, Master Aldworth saith that for any thing he knoweth, it was sufficient and well.

The third, then demanding whether needfull to maintaine one as Liedger at Court, his answere was, not onely necessarie, but also by the King required, that one of our Nation doe reside there, and therefore fitting to be a man of good respect for preventing and righting any wrongs that may be offered by the Jesuites our Adversaries, as also by his direction may stand in great stead for the buying or selling of Commodities.

The sixth, concerning the charge of him that should reside at Court, hee saith to bee about three hundred



pounds per annum, by Paul Cannings estimate, but some-while after when his Writings came to be searched, his estimate is found to be five, sixe or seven hundred pounds per annum.

Question being made whether it were fit Master Edwards should proceed under the title of a Merchant, according to the strictnesse of the Companies Commission, his opinion was by Master Cannings experience, that then he would not be respected by the King.

The foure and twentieth in the morning, Cogenozan came downe to the water-side with a great traine as their manner is, resting himselfe in my Tent till my landing: unto whom I repaired ashoare accompanied with all the Merchants and a good guard of Halberts, Shot, and Pike; I having a Coach to carrie me up from the Boat to a place neere the Tent; and at the instant when I alighted from the Coach, he came forth of the Tent, addressing himselfe to meete mee, and after salutations returned into the Tent and sate downe. And before any other conference began he was let to know, that there was a Present to be delivered him for the Nabob, which was presently brought in, Viz. One Case with sixe Knives, two paire of Knives, sixe Sword Blades, sixe Spanish Pikes, one Combe-case, one Looking Glasse, one Picture of Mars and Venus, one Picture of Paris in judgement, two Muscovie Hides, and one great gilded Case of Bottles full of rich and strong Waters. Then for himselfe I caused a Present to bee delivered him, which was six Knives in single sheathes, foure Sword Blades, two Pikes, one Combe-case, one Looking-glasse, one Picture of Moses, one Case of Bottles, in regard of the promise of the Nabob to our people that what Cogenozan should do, he would performe. I therefore moved for the enlarging of our Priviledges; for the lessening of our Custome, especially at Baroch to have a Bazar or Market by the waterside, that we might buy Beef for the peoples eating (in regard that other flesh was not good for them) according to the Kings Firma given. His answere was, that if

*The Mogol  
little respects  
Merchants.*

*Present for the  
Nabob, or  
Governour.*

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*Banian Super-  
stition.*

[I. iv. 503.]

I would assist them against the Portugals, the Nabob would do us all the favour that in his power lyeth; but for the Custome of Baroch it was out of his power, for the King had let it to another by rent, and could not be holpen. A Bazar we should have, but for Bullocks and Kine, the King had granted his Firma to the Banians for a mightie summe yeerely to save their lives. In summe, wee found nothing that he had power to grant us: yet willing to leave mee in content, wishing that I would send some of my Merchants along with him to the Nabob, that our businesse on both sides might bee considered on, and receive answeres accordingly from each other. I sent along with him Master Aldworth, Master Ensworth (who desired to goe up because he was not well) Master Dods-worth, Master Mitford and others; which when they had accesse to the Nabob, two or three dayes after he would know againe their demand, which was as aforesaid. Then he desired to know if we would goe with our ships to fight against Damon for him, and then he would doe us any favour; but that was answered, that we could in no wise avouch the doing thereof, for that there was peace betweene our King and the King of Spaine. Then he demanded if we would goe to the Barre and ride there and fight with them that should come to prejudice them. That we could neither covenant to doe, for it was a breach of the peace betweene our two Kings as aforesaid. Then he answered, that if we would doe nothing for him, he would doe nothing for us. Divers of the principall Merchants of the Towne came to move our Merchants that I might give way to the Nabob his reasonable request, and though I did grant for satisfying his minde, yet I might doe what I list: and that they all knew the Frigats might for all my riding at the Barre come in and out on each side me. Answer was returned it was unfit for me to halt, but whatsoever I promised, I must maintaine, though it were to the losse of my life, and all under my command: and that I would not be hired to fight with the Portugals, which is contrary to my Kings Commission (unlesse they

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gave me first cause) not for the World ; neither would I bee withheld from fighting with them if they provoked me, not for his wealth, which difference it seemes he tooke small notice of ; but that we refused to fulfill his desire, he was much moved, and in all things crost our proceedings all that he might : insomuch that he had almost queld all former conceived hopes of happie Commerce in this place. Continually devising what to doe, or what course to take, this meanes failing us, as I see no likelihood to the contrary, I made inquisition of Gengomar and Castelletta, also of Gogo, but could heare small incouragement for transportation to seeke better dealing ; so with doubts wee rested perplexed a long while, yet returning to our businesse at the shippes.

The seven and twentieth, in the morning Nicholas Ufflet going ashoare found all the people of Swally departed thence in the night : he demanding the reason, they told him that the Nabob had expresly commanded them so to doe, as also the people from the Tents. Whereupon hee inquiring further thereof, was certified that our Merchants were stayed at Surat, and that attempting to passe over the bridge, they were perforce withheld, and received some store of blowes by the guard thereto appointed by the Nabob, with whom in company to attend upon them, the Gunners Boy and his companion formerly supposed to have beene runne away, were also well beaten and withheld as the rest.

The one and thirtieth, we began to take in fresh water, because our stay heere was so uncertaine, not knowing how suddenly our departure might bee. This day Thomas Smith the Masters Boy being swimming about the ship, had most of the out-side of his thigh bitten away by a great Fish which pulled him under the water, yet he comming up againe swamme to the shippe side, and got up to the bend, where as soone as he was come up, he presently sounded. Then the Chirurgion brought him into the Gunners Roome to see what might be done for his recoverie : but the issue of bloud had beene so great

*Ravenous fish.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

that they could not revive him, but presently dyed, and towards night was buried ashoare.

*Jesuites tricks.* The second of November towards night Master Aldworth and Master Elkinton came downe from Surat, where they had left Master Ensworth very sicke: they declared unto me their proceedings with the Nabob as formerly, and of their reconciliation, with large promises of future good respect, with free Trade throughout all their Countries. This hard measure hitherto offered us by the Nabob, I cannot attribute unto any hatred or ill will borne to our Nation, but his owne doubt and feare of us, least I should joyne with the Portugals against him: which feare was the more increased in him, in that I would not agree to fight against Damon. And this suspition and doubt was the more increased by a Knavish device in the subtile and lying Jesuites, who tooke occasion by my denyall, voluntarily without cause to fight against the Portugals at Damon, or otherwise. They pretended a Letter from the Vice-Roy, to give notice to the Nabob, that unlesse he made peace with them, that both he and the English his friends should joyne together and come against Surat; which Devilish device did us much hinderance in our businesse, by the Nabobs continuall doubt, which he made of our friendship towards them. And besides unfortunately by their extreame unkind usage Master Aldworth in the middest of his haste, and thinking to qualifie their rigorous courses, and yet altogether ignorant of the practice of the Jesuites, in threatning-wise wisht them to take heed, that by their ill usage of us, they doe not force us to joyne with the Portugals against them; which proved a kind of confirming the Jesuits former report from the Vice-Roy, as altogether making against us. Likewise, hee forbade all Trade with our people aboard, which at first wee likewise thought had proceeded out of his troublesome humour to crosse us; but afterwards we were advised the contrary by Thomas Kerridge his Letter, who declared that he and all Sea-port Governours, had expresse Commandement from the Mogoll, not

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to suffer any Trade with us, till they had made choise of all strange things that we bring, and they to buy them for the Kings use, and to send it unto him.

The third, I called a Councell concerning our businesse, viz. how farre wee might proceed in their aide against the Portugals, and examined our Commission in that point; also we appointed the Merchants for the severall places of employment, aswell those that were to stay heere, as those also that were to proceed on the Voyage. The goods that were at Surat of the twelfth Voyage came aboard, which was of Indico sixtie Bales, and Cotton Yarne eleven Packes.

The sixteenth, whereas my desire was to have beene ashoare amongst our Merchants, to have borne some stroke in the ordering of our businesse at Surat, and the rather considering the turbulent head-strong and haughtie spirit of ( ) ever striving to sway all things according to his owne will, and distastfull to others which without private respect aymed at the common good, whose better discretion hath beene inured to more humilitie. But the estate of our businesse so uncertaine, partly by the uncertainty of the Nabob and people here, and partly in regard of the Portugals (which we daily doe heare are arming us) besides I understand the Nabob makes question of restitution of the goods taken by Sir Henrie Middleton in the Red Sea, at under rates as they say, though I know they had goods for goods to a halfe pennie: yet not knowing what might come of it, I thought best to keepe my selfe nearest my charge, and referred all things ashoare to the care of such Merchants in generall as were of my Councell, and in whom for most part I had constant affiance. [I. iv. 504.]

The two and twentieth, I finished my Letters for Persia, viz. one for the Company, one for Sir Robert Sherley, and another for advice to Richard Steele.

The three and twentieth, Lacandas the Banian came downe with newes of some discontent or hard speeches that had past betweene the Nabob and the Merchants, *Rude dealing.*

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but now that they were reconciled and friends; the cause was, for that Master Edwards would not let him see the Presents, which at last he was driven to yeeld to. All the chiefe Merchants wrote unto me severally that there was a certaine report that the Vice-Roy was arming against us. It pleased God to call to his mercie Master Ensworth and Timothy Wood, both in an houre. John Orwicke, Robert Young, and Esay But set forwards to provide such Clothes and Cotton Yarne, as wee formerly agreed on.

*Nabobs gifts.*

The five and twentieth, Master Edwards wrote me of the comming of three great men with seven Firmanes from the Mogore, in whose presence the Nabob bestowed on him eight hundred & fifty Mamudies: ten fine Bastas, thirtie Topseeles, and thirtie Allizaes: he further gave to Master Elkington and Master Dodsworth ten Topseeles, and a Cloke to Master Aldworth, & another to Master Elkington, Master Dodsworth having had one before: he promised free Trade in all places under his command, and good refreshing for our people aboard.

*Crowther and  
Steele goe to  
Persia.*

The seven and twentieth, John Crowther came from Surat, who advised mee that the chiefe Merchants had chosen him to accompany Richard Steele into Persia, and therefore came to take his leave of me, and to fetch his things from aboard. This day Master Edwards wrote to mee by Edmond Aspinol for fiftie Elephants teeth, and indifferently chosen in their size and bignesse, for there was a Banian Merchant in price for them all, if they could agree, which Teeth the same day were sent up to him.

*Presents to the  
Generall.*

The sixth of December, the Nabob Mocrib Chan seemed now to be ashamed, for that he had not since my arrivall heere shewed me the least taste of courtesie; and therefore beeing desirous to excuse himselfe, intreated Master Elkington to accompany aboard the great Banian that brought our Teeth, and Lacandas the Banian Merchant of the Juncke of the King of Cushan, whom he made choice of, and entertayned (by reason of his former familiaritie with our people) to buy among them such Com-

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modities as they had to sell, viz. Sword Blades, Knives, Looking-glasses. By them he sent me a Present of two Corge of course Bastas, ten fine Bastas, tenne Topseeles, ten Cuttonies and three Quilts, certifying mee that the Nabob was minded to come downe to see me within two or three dayes at the most. At their going ashoare I gave them five great shot. They told me that the Nabob heard from Goa, that for certaine, the Vice-Roy was preparing to come against us, with all the force hee could make to fight with us: likewise that the Nabob requested me that I would waft a ship or two of his off the Coast for two or three dayes, being bound for the Red Sea. But I answered, that having once put off from the Coast, the wind being adverse, I could not recover it againe: but if he would further our dispatch that we might be readie in convenient time, then would I doe any thing reasonable.

*Newses of the  
Vice-Royes  
preparation  
against the  
English.*

The ninth, the Nabobs sonne came to the water-side, but would not come aboard; whereupon I went ashoare to him, who against my landing sent a Horse to fetch mee, hee willed mee to sit downe upon the Mount with him, which I did. Then hee commanded part of his Horsemen to shew me some pleasure upon the sands, by warlike chasing each other, after the manner of Decanie, from whence they were: then he desired to heare some Ordinance goe off, and I gave him eleven shot. Hee at present would drinke no wine, but being departed, hee sent for it, and for a Fowling Peece which he found in the hands of one of our people, both which I sent him with a Bowle to drinke his wine.

*Military  
sports on horse-  
back.*

### §. II.

[I. iv. 505.]

The Portugals Forces, Acts, Attempts, Fight with the English, and disgracefull Repulse.

**T**He sixteenth, Master Elkington wrote me that the Nabob told him that the Portugall Frigats had burnt Gogo with many Gonges or Villages thereabouts, and tenne great ships, one whereof was the

*Gogo burnt, &  
divers ships.*

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Reheme, and one hundred and twentie small Vessels: and that he was displeased at me for not shooting at them when they past by us; which did renew his suspicion of our friendship with the Portugals: to all which Master Elkington answered him, yet he could not rest satisfied.

*Twentie two  
Portugall  
Frigats.*

The three and twentieth came two Boates more for Lead. This day wee saw twentie two Frigats, who in the night came to anchor betweene us and the Rivers mouth, where they roade most part of the next day.

The foure and twentieth, in the morning we saw foure Boates comming downe the River towards us, who seeing the Frigats returned, two Frigats chasing them up the River: but seeing they could not fetch them up, went ashore and fired two or three poore houses, and tooke away two or three head of Cattell, and so returned backe to their Company, who in the after-noone went up into the River together.

The five and twentieth, in the morning early we saw five or sixe Frigats under saile an houre or two: after, we perceived a small Boat under saile standing towards us, but was presently chased by two Frigats, the men in the small Boat runne her aground, and forsooke her, so that the Frigats could not float where she lay, the tyde ebbing so fast, therefore they departed without doing any further harme unto her.

The sixe and twentieth, in the morning I sent the Hope to the Northwards a good way from the rest of the Fleet, to see if the Portugals would charge upon her.

*Portugall  
bravado.*

The seven and twentieth, early in the morning, the Frigats came and made a bravado before our ship, and then before the Salomon, which was next unto us, and from her to the Hope which roade a great way from us, who drove directly upon her with all their men stowed, not a man to be seene. The Master twice hailed them, but they would not speake, whereupon they let flye at them with their Bow-pieces, having no other to ply upon them, which made them with some losse to depart: the Master doubting, that if hee had not shot, they would

*Their repulse.*



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have boarded him, or mischieved him by fire, they coming upon the advantage both of winde and tyde, that none of the rest of the ships could come to the rescue; and in such sort right a head, that hardly can he traverse any piece of Ordnance at them. In the after-noon I sent the Salomon to accompany the Hope, who went to the North-wards of her, and made five or sixe shot at the Frigats, who roade at anchor hard by the Hope. But we did not perceive any hurt she did them: wherefore I commanded my Gunner to shoot a Peece to warne them to give over, whereupon the Salomon stood in againe and came to anchor.

The eight and twentieth, in the morning I went in the Pinnasse aboard the Hope and Salomon, to understand the occasions of their shooting: and the Portugals seeing our Boates passe to and againe, removed in the after-noon, and roade a little without us to cut off all intercourse. In the meane time, came the former Boat which was chased ashore aboard the Gift, and brought some Letters from Master Elkington. The Master sent the Bearer with the Letters to mee in the Hope, where having answered Master Elkingtons Letter, I sent him backe againe to the Gift, to goe thence in the night to Surat: but as the Gelliwat returned, the Frigats chased her, which I perceiving, caused to weave to the Gelliwat to returne, which they not seeing held on her way. But the Frigats held her so close that they were within shot of her, and made one faire shot at her, and had not the Gift let slip one Cable, and veered another, and plyed upon them with her Ordnance, it would have gone hard with them: which made them give over the chase not without some damage: and late in the night upon the tyde of ebbe, I commanded the Hope and Salomon to set saile and fall neerer to the other ships, and then I went aboard the Gift.

The nine and twentieth, I perceiving that my riding was of no availe to keepe the Frigats out of the River, because they could passe to and fro over the sands, where wanted water for my ships to swimme; and that no

*Other  
attempts.*

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Boates durst come to us to fetch our goods for feare of the Frigats; neither could I heare from our friends ashoare how all things past; therefore I set saile for Swally: but being but little wind and calme, it was the next day before we arrived there.

*A Fleet of  
Frigats.*

The fourteenth of Januarie, we heard of the approach of many Frigats, which roade at the Barre till next day within night, and then in the darke came from thence, and roade within shot of us all night till the morning, when they weighed and went to the South-wards; whom I thought were the Mallabars, that the Nabob promised formerly to send mee: and therefore put forth a Flagge of Truce, and sent Master Spooner one of the Masters Mates towards them with the Gelliwat, and appointed him to have an eye backe to our signes that wee would make, if

[I. iv. 506.]

we mistrusted any thing. I seeing the Gelliwat so neere, and no shew of friendship from them in answer of ours, put forth my flag which before was taken in, and shot a peece of Ordnance for a signe to my Boat to come aboard, which presently upon sight thereof shee did, who was not scarce aboard, when our Centinell from top-mast head, discryed another Fleete of Frigats, who afterwards met together at the Barre, and went altogether into the River: whereby I perceived they were Portugals, and was glad that our men and Boat so well escaped their hands. I thinking these Frigats were forerunners of greater forces, caused all the decks to be cleered, and the Ordnance freed, and all things else fitting both for the Ordnance, Shot, and Barracadoes to bee in a readinesse.

*Another fleet  
of Portugall  
Frigats.*

The seventeenth in the night, the Frigats came all forth of the River, they beeing in the morning at the point of the Barre.

The eighteenth, there came to the water side Maugie, the Banian Captaine formerly named, with an other great man, the sonne of Clych Caun, to whom I went ashoare: whither not long after word was brought me from aboard, that they discryed a farre off a Fleete of ships looming very bigge, which ashoare we could not see by reason of

*A fleet of ships.*

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the lownesse of the place. And after leave taken on both sides, he departed, and I returned aboard, causing all things to be set in a readinesse, which was speedily performed. Towards night, we made them to be sixe Gallions and three lesser shippes, besides the sixtie former Frigats, the two Gallies beeing not yet come: the tide being spent, they anchored till the next day.

*The Portugall forces consisted of sixe Gallions, and three ships, and sixty Frigats, besides two Gallies.*

The nineteenth, they pleyed up to the entrance of our new Channell, where they came to an anchor, and the two Gallies came up to them, where one of the great ships beeing too forward, came too neare the sands, and touched, but soone got off againe. The Nabob sent the Sabandar, and divers other principall men of the Towne to the Vice-roy, with a Present of great provisions, they making some treaty of peace, but brake off, effecting nothing, great policie on both sides being used. On the Nabobs side, to the increase of my grieffe: for he and all the Countrey in generall despaired of my being able to withstand so great forces, and began to make preparative before-hand to claw the Vice-roy with Presents: for I once overthrowne, his turne had come next, to endure a great assault, or to make such peace as the enemy desired. For, peace with them was it that stood with the Vice-roys policie most to desire, for the setting-trade a foote between them. On the other side, the Vice-roy seeing the tractablenesse of the Nabob, and his seeming desire to make peace, for the Present set light of it; supposing to have made it with great royalty and profit for his owne part, after he had over-throwne us, which he made no doubt easily to accomplish; which once performed, he expected greater Presents; and great submission on their parts to him being the conquerour. But it pleased God, who beheld the unjustnesse of his attempt, to turne it contrary to both their expectations: for the Vice-roy failing of his purposes in attempt against me, seeing he could not recover so much as a Boats thoule from me in all the time he spent, with losses and disgrace about it; afterward was forced to revive the former neglected motion of peace with the Nabob; which

*Nabobs Presented to the Vice-roy.*

*His feare and policie.*

*Vice-royes subtiltie. Presumption before.*

*Disgrace attending.*

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Nabob beeing strengthened with a Moneths experience, notwithstanding all their bragging threats, seeing he was not able to remoove our small forces one foot out of their place, gave answer : Since with so great an army he could not prevaile against foure Merchant ships, I wil make no peace with you : and so was the Vice-roy frustrated of both his hopes. Yet now after some digression, returning againe to my daily businesse.

*Care and prevention of the Generall.*

Formerly hearing of the Vice-royes forces to come, we imagined it would not bee so great as now by view it seemes, therefore high time to enter into best considerations, how by Gods help to resist the same. The odds and advantages he had over me, put me to my shifts in casting up all things that made against me, being overtopt by his forces, whom I esteemed furnished with the principall ships and meanes of India, and people of greatest ranke and valour in these parts, in likelihood too hard for us when we should put into the deepe water ; nay, I know not how to put into deepe water, but they alwayes ready to intercept, over-charge, or force me a ground irrecoverable on one side or other : my disadvantages so great in putting out, and their smaller Vessels I knew might much with fire-workes, or otherwise hazard us within at anchor where we rode, where I had hope their great ships through the shoaldnesse of water, could not or durst not put in. The things with me to give me hope was, my people (though much with death and sickenes shortned) all from the highest to the lowest, seeme very couragious and comfortable ; though (for the most) ignorant, either of the danger, or how to prevent it, yet pleasing to me to see their willingnesse. My care is not small, how to doe my best in maintaining the Honour of my Country, nor negligent in the memory of the estates and charge of my friends, and employers in this Journey ; not onely for the hazard of this at present committed to my charge, but also all hope of future times, if I should now be overthrowne : by reason the enemie in getting the upper hand of me, would make his peace with these people upon what

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conditions he lust, to the expelling of our Nation this Countrey for ever. And what my care was for the safetie of my people, I referre to the consideration of such fathers, as are tender over the safetie of their obedient children. All this while my whole powers so kept in action, that I found little time to converse, or almost shew myselfe sensible of the dangers approaching; yea, ever as I could be solitary or free from others; very earnestly craving aide and assistance from the Lord of hosts, and from that mightie and mercifull God, who hath manifold wayes formerly delivered me; often I say desiring his Majestie so to guide and direct me, that I might omit nothing which might tend to the safety of my owne charge, nor the danger of the enemy: and that God would grant my request, I had a strong confidence; and the same againe often queld by the assembly of my manifold and grievous offences, and but for Gods mercie sufficient to drowne the world; whereby forced afresh by prayer to pierce the heavens, and flie unto God for aide against both inward and outward assaults. I so resolved by Gods assistance what to doe, if my assistants the Masters of the Ships would yeeld thereunto; knowing if we should receive a foile riding at our anchor, our disgrace will be greater, and our enemies little abashed: but in mooving, I might moove the Vice-roy in greedinesse and pride, to doe himselfe wrong against the sands; hoping that that might bee an occasion whereby God might draw him to shorten his owne forces, and so might open the way for our getting out amongst the rest: which would rather have been for a necessitie, then any way hopefull: for at present our goods on the way, and daily by some and some expected to come hither, and if once gotten out, unlesse it had pleased God to make us conquerours, and drive the Vice-roy cleane away, I could not returne into my place, where onely (and no where else) I could take in my lading: I esteeming the Vice-roy to hold his honour in so high regard, that he must have been dead before he would have given way. I also, though helplesse, remembered two great advantages

[I. iv. 507.]  
*The best help  
in trouble.*

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the enimie had of me in this warre. Ever before my people came to fight, they are first tired, or halfe spent with the labour of the ship, as heaving at Capstaine, and getting up our anchors, setting of sailes, and other labours, which greatly quells their courages, making them in hot Countreys both weary and faint; and then of necessitie must become souldiours: whereas the Vice-roy his souldiours come fresh to fight, beeing troubled with no labour, which is done by slaves and inferiour sea-people, which are never accompted companions of Souldiours. Secondly, if the Vice-roy loose many men in his ships, he may be supplied againe out of his fresh supplyes, to be fetcht from their nearest townes by their Frigats, whereas we could not have one man supplied, how many soever we should have slaine or disabled.

*Consultation.* This present Thursday at night, I having no Merchants at all aboard, but all employed in the Countrey (besides those with Master Elkington at the house at Surat) I sent for all my Masters to supper, with some mates, where (as the time served) I began speech of our present businesse, desiring every man to speake freely, how he thought best for us to worke, considering to the present straight we seemed to be in; alleadging my confidence to be (for all the bragging of these Portugals abounding in force) that God would not suffer their injurious attempts upon us, that have been tender not to wrong them in the East. I have had also a jealous conceit carried over mee by the Nabob, and principals of the Countrey, as though I had been confederate with the Portugals, for that I did not shoot at the saucy-governed bragging Frigats. I found all the Masters to my hearts desire, willing and tractable to whatsoever I should wish; and had some fewe speeches about our provident mooring, as also of the remooving somewhat lower downe. But ere long, I let them know my conceit, desiring their free opinion therein: which was, that now our ships were as fit for fight as we could make them, and our danger by night if we rode still (worke never so providently) to prevent is not small; therefore

I thought fittest in the morning at low water, to send downe one ship to ride, as we might have water enough at low water for all our ships: for then none can come to annoy her, which may prepare the Vice-royes mind to some attempt at high water, and as the Flood comes, the other three should beare downe against the streame (the spring now neere the highest) to proove what attempt the Vice-roy would give, to attend it, and worke accordingly as we shall see reason, in hope that God will put designes into the mind of the Vice-roy, that he may commit some error, to the weakening of his owne forces; which if he doe, then will be fittest time in the darke of the night following, to put out when it shall be unfit for them to come to saile to hinder us. Or if we see reason, we may with the wind worke every day to and againe with our sailes on the Flood, to be alwaies ready in action, when the tide is aloft, which may somewhat the courage of the people quell and dismay, though the Gallants seeme to thinke otherwise. This no sooner propounded, but liked for the best way, and so we agreed to proceed, and for that I found M. Molineux willing at low water in the morning to fall downe with the Hope, which was accordingly performed.

The twentieth in the morning, at low water I sent downe M. Molineux with the Hope, to prepare the Enemie to some attempt, when the tide shall be up; which beeing done, upon the flood we also with the other three ships stood after her. The Vice-roy and all the worthy Knights about him, supposed I had been flying, hastened also as the streame would permit them, towards the entrance to stop my comming forth; but contrariwise we all anchored short of the Hope, not altogether of purpose to leave her destitute of our helpe, but rather doubting of depth for our ships (so farre downe) to ride at low water. I was no sooner at anchor, and gone downe to my Cabbin, and set downe to write, to give my friends and Merchants ashore notice of my purposes and resolution, howsoever it might please God to dispose of me; and

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

[I. iv. 508.]

*The fight with  
the Hope.*

*Portugals losse  
by slaughter,  
sea, and fire.*

*A mischance.*

that they might know it to be no rashnesse, but in good discretion to tend upon my best advantages to prejudice my enemies; but presently I had notice, that three ships with most of the Frigats were before the wind, running stem-long aboard the Hope, and the Gallions after them, so farre as the sands gave leave. We assayed to weigh our anchor, but time not permitting, wee cut Cable, and set saile for the Hopes rescue, but the Enemies ships were aboard her, and entred their men before we came sufficiently neere them; their men being entred with great shew of resolution, but had no quiet abode there, neither could rest in their owne ships, nor make them loose from the Hope, for our great and small shot; so that when the principall were kild, the rest in great number, for quietnesse sake, leapt into the Sea, where their Frigats tooke many of them up. But first of purpose to have burnt the Hope with them, they made preparation to fire their owne ships, which was well performed without harme to the Hope, (praised be the Lord of heaven) for so soone as the fire was wel kinled, the ships of fire were let loose, and drove a ground on the sands, where they burnt till the flowing water came and quencht them; whiles day light lasted, we continued changing of shot in all our ships with the Gallions, they being on the out-side of a spit of sand, and we on the in-side; by which they did little harme to our Huelles, but to our ropes and sailes over head. In this conflict besides them which were wounded, we lost five men, by great mischance the Hopes main top, top-saile, top-mast, and shrouds came a fire, and burnt away, with a great part of the maine mast, by the fire-works that were in the said top, the man being slaine that had the charge thereof. This mishap kept us from going forth into deepe water to try our fortunes with the Vice-roy, but were put to our shifts, not knowing how, or by what meanes to get the said Mast cured.

The one and twentieth, I sent to weigh the anchor we had cut the day before. The two and twentieth, I understood that many great men, with five or sixe hundred



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horse, and a Portugall Father came downe to Swalley, to send on the morrow the Father with three or foure principall Moores, to conclude a peace betwixt them: and the Nabob sent me word that he sought no such thing, and was resolved to make none, but wherein we should be included. He also granted me what Timber we should want, which we made use of. Likewise we were promised provisions. The Portugals continued quiet.

The five and twentieth, the Muccadam of Swally came to me, and told me that the former Father had sent to intice him to poison the former Well, where hence we had our water, which he would not yeeld unto, and therefore had put into the Well some live Tortoises, who would by their death demonstrate the poysoning thereof, if it should by them be performed. At night came part of the hundred and seventie bales of Indico to the water side, which was presently fetcht aboard. Isaac Beg sent me a Present of the fruits of his owne garden. This day came downe the rest of the Timber for the Hopes Mast.

*Jesuites  
venime.*

The seven and twentieth, I sent all our Boats to sound the Swach at low water; chiefly to keep the Enemy alwayes ignorant of what I intended: whither was sent by the Enemy to prevent them, one Gally and five Frigats, thinking to cut off our Boats, whereof they failed, as of all other things they attempted.

The eight and twentieth, the Nabob sent to the Vice-roy great store of provision, Goats, Bread, Plantans, &c. with a banquet of sweet meates. Cogezozan sent me a Present of five Bullocks. Divers of our men died here of Fluxe and diseases.

The one and thirtieth in the morning, we received aboard from Cambaya fiftie bales Indico. In the after-noon came Cogearson Allee aboard, who presented me with divers things, viz. Goats, great store of Bread, Rostmeat, Plantans, and Sugar, &c. With him came an old acquaintance of mine, a Persian, he reported unto me that there is newes come from Damon, that the Portugals carried thither three hundred and fiftie men to be buried,

*Newes of Por-  
tugals slaine.*

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and that this newes is most certain : and by our estimate, there cannot be lesse then an hundred more kild and burnt in their ships, besides those drowned, which the tide did cast up ashoare. They also related to me, that not onely here in India they found opposition, but also the Persians against Ormus, and the Malays at Malacca, are in armes against the Portugals : and whereas there had been speech of a peace to bee concluded betweene the Viceroy and Mocrib Can, he wisht me to assure my selfe it was broken off, and would none be. I found his love, and tooke great content in his long staying with mee, whose presence I thirsted to see, and till now he could never get leave of the Nabob to come to see mee (which without no man dare, or will be so bold) who proceeds by the great charge he hath from the King, that all things of worth, should be procured by the Nabob for the Kings use ; which holds him in such doubt and jealousie, least any thing should passe by any other meanes to his disgrace, whereby he is inforced to use strange and severe courses to restraine the same. The day being farre spent, I returned him with a Present, gave money to all his people, let him see the cast of the Bullets of some of our Great Ordnance ; they tooke their leave and departed.

[I. iv. 509.]

### §. III.

Portugall supplies, Fire-boates frustrated, seeke peace and refused, their departure : Enterview of the Nabob and Generall : departure of the English.

February 3.

*Supplies sent  
the Vice-Roy.*

**T**He third of Februarie, there came to the water side twentie foure Bales Indico, seven packs white Bastas, seven packs blacke Bastas, sixe packs Cotton-yarne, foure packs blue Bastas, three packs Caudikens, one pack Crecany, al which were presently fetcht aboard : this day also the Vice-royes supplies came in sight, which were two ships of burthen, two Junkes, and eight or tenne of the Countrey Boates. The Nabob sent

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Lacandas to informe me, that these supplyes were not for warre, but fild full of combustibile matter to fire, and so to be let drive with the tyde upon our ships in the night; which advise I was glad to understand, and addressed my selfe also to prevent that, and all other their attempts with smaller ships. The Spring now neere the highest, and fittest for their assaults, which every tide I expected: and to shew that I was in a readinesse to intertaine them, as also how little I cared for them (having all the time formerly ridden without the like) I purposed and performed the setting and cleering our watch, Morning and Evening, with a Volley of shot from every ship, and the best Peece in my shippe directed to the Prow of the Vice-roy, which I did to daunt the courage of them hee must employ, and to try his temper, whether it would make him angry or no: and I still thinke it prooved to good end. It pleased God this day at night, when I had least leasure to mourne, to call to his mercie my onely Son George Downton, who early the next morning was buried ashoare, and the Volleyes aforesaid, appointed to try the temper of the Vice-roy, served also to honour his buriall.

*The bravers  
braved.*

*Death of the  
Generals son.*

This morning also came to me on Mousa Attale a Malabar Captaine (with his troope attending) to visit me, expecting some businesse this day by the Portugals to be attempted; whom I intertained with all kind respect, and by conference made the best use of his company that I might; by drawing from him the description of the principall Ports and Harbours in his Countrey, and manifesting the desire I had to be acquainted with him, and to intertaine love, league, and familiaritie between the English and them, with a mutuall trade and traffique one with another: the which with great desire he seemed to imbrace, willing me to give him some Letters of my hand, for their ships to carry to shew to my Country-men, wheresoever they should meet them: which I delivered, as also a Letter for him to moove their King for the kind usage of our Nation, whensoever any of our ships should arrive in any of his Harbours, and so after leave taken, he

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departed, I presenting him with a Sword blade, and three or foure knives. The Master of the Hope complained, that besides those presently kild, he had many hurt, bruised, and disabled for service: whereupon I sent him for supply, three men from the Gift, foure from the Hector, and foure from the Solomon.

*Reisbutes  
assault.*

The fifth, I received letters from M. Aldworth from Baroch, who writes of their arrivall there, and that the day before, nine Courses from Baroch, they were set upon by two hundred theeves, Rashpooses, with Pikes, small shot, and Bowes and Arrowes: and skirmishing a little while with them, they fled, three of them being killed, and more wounded, they having shot Humfrey Elkington thorow the thigh, and killed one of the horses that Surder Canne sent to guard our men; and Master Aldworthes horse likewise received a shot. The Nabob sent me word that the Vice-Roy would assault this day, and therefore sent Gogenozan to guard the Land; who came to the water-side and sent his sonne Mamod Jehad aboard to see mee, with a Caveleer, called Kemagee, the sonne of Leckdarsee, Raspooso of Guigomar, or Castelletto (who maintained warre with the Mogore and Portugall together a long time) they entreated leave to see and partake in the fight: who seeing no attempt that day given, stayed aboard all night; and the Raspoose seeing the backwardnesse of the enemy, went the next day ashoare: but the other desirous to see the issue thereof, stayed two or three dayes longer aboard; and then seeing nothing would bee done by the enemy, he departed.

*Policie of the  
Portugalls.*

The eight in the fore-noone, we received more Indico aboard. In the after-noone all the Frigats, with the two Junckes and two Gallies, came driving up with the flood, making shew of some attempt at the instant, either by fire, (which I most doubted) or otherwise: whereupon we all weighed to goe nearer to them, who no sooner perceived it, but they altogether made away as fast as they might, and we came to an anchor not farre from our former place. This device was nothing but to make us think

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that those Fire-boats should come from the Northwards, that we might not mistrust their comming from the Northwards: and therefore the next day against night, they assembled both Junckes, Frigats, and Gallyes all together, a little without the sands, to take away all suspition of the North from us: which I well perceived, and did alwayes resolve, that that way was the place of most danger for us: And therefore gave a speciall charge of good looking out both wayes, but chiefly that way: which accordingly fell out; for that a little within night we did discern them (betweene us and a great light to the Westward, upon the Iland of Gogo) creeping to the Northwards upon the flood, and then upon the last quarter ebbe, about ten of the clocke in the dark of the night, before the rising of the Moone, there came driving downe two Fire-boats, being towed by Frigats, whom we discovered before they came neare us, and plyed at them both with our Ordnance and small shot, whereby wee beat off the Frigats that towed them, who durst adventure no further with them, but turned them off, who came driving with the tide a prettie distance from the other. The first drove cleere of the Gift, Hector and Salomon, and came thwart the Hopes Hause, and presently blew up, and with the blow much of their ungratious stuffe: but (blessed be God) to no harme to the Hope, for that by cutting her Cable, shee cleared her selfe. The latter came likewise upon the quarter of the Hope, and then flamed up, but did no harme, driving downe the ebbe, and came foule of us againe on the flood, the abundance of fewell continually burning, which our people in our Boats towed ashoare, and the former suncke downe neare us by day-light. This day I received a letter from Master Aldworth, who writes of the receipt of a letter from Thomas Kerridge, specifying that Nicholas Whittington is distracted, and out of his right sences, and that he writeth somewhat doubtfully of Richard Steele.

[I. iv. 510.]

*Firy  
stratagem  
prevented.*

The tenth at night, neare about the same time as before, there came two Fire-boats together, towed by foure or five

*Two Fire-  
boats more.*

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*Other Fire-  
boats.*

Frigats, which bore directly upon the Hector: but as soone as we discovered them, the Gift and the Hector let drive at them, both with great and small shot, that the Frigats which towed them, forsooke them, and forced the actors thereof to give fire sooner then they would, and so turned them adrift: who comming burning directly towards her (but the wind being stiffe, drove them to leeward of her) within halfe an houre after wee perceived a great many Boats driving right with the Hector, at whom they and we discharged, which againe made the Frigats forsake them, and also those appointed for to act it, sooner they they expected, whereby they gave fire only unto two of them, being foure of them chained together: but the Hector edging to windward (and it pleased God to send a stiffe gale of wind at present, which drove them to Leeward off her) our Gunner made a shot at one of the Boats unfired, and struck her, whereupon shee tooke fire, and the vehemencie of the flames reached unto the fourth, and set her a fire also, and so they drove ashoare hard by our landing place. My Pinnasse took three of the actors in a small Cannow, wherein they thought, the exploit being done, to have escaped. Two of them were brought aboard me, and the third was left aboard the Hector: and the Gelliwat returning aboard, found another which shee brought with her; one of them had his shoulder shot thorow. Thus it pleased God to disappoint all the malicious practises of our enemies against us.

The eleventh, the Vice-Roy seeing God crossing him in all his injurious attempts, set saile and fell downe into the Barre, where he anchored. The cause of his anchoring there, I was desirous to understand; I doubting it was for no other purpose, then to attempt the spoile of Surat: but I resolved, if he should so doe, to put out with my ships, and so to set upon his Fleet (which would make his enterprise against Surat to bee given over) being desirous to assist the place where wee had so great a stocke, and so many of our Merchants. But the Vice-Roy would not trust mee so much, as to unman his ships, lest I should

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come against him; and therefore sent all the Frigats at night into the River, with some to capitulate about a peace, whereof he had flat answere to the contrary, as aforesaid.

*Vice-Roy  
seeketh peace  
and is refused.*

The twelfth, Lacandas came downe, informing me from the Nabob (he being so assured by the Jesuits, with whom he alwayes kept faire weather for his better securitie, if wee should be put to the worse) that there were sixe or eight Frigats gone to the Northwards, with foure or five Fire-boats to be let drive among us in the night: and therefore wished carefully to looke out, for that it should be when we should least suspect. I allowed of his kinnesse, was glad of his carefull regard, although needing no such admonition, suspecting such practises as well when they were out of sight, and furthest from us, as when they rode hard by us.

*The Jesuits  
factors of  
State, and  
Merchandise  
affaires in the  
East-Indies.*

*Other Fire-  
boats.*

The thirteenth, for as much as Frigats or other vessels in the offing could not so well discerne the place of our ships, in the darke night, for the shadow of the shoare, though very low; therefore in the times of their hellish Gun-powder practises, they had lights for ayme given them ashoare, where fittest to come in. Now night by night we saw the like, in the like place as before; therefore esteeming some of their creatures againe to give ayme for their comming to like practises, though no vessels seene by day-light. And being formerly warned, as aforesaid, to looke out for like attempts, in hope to take hold of this Fire-man, at night I sent William Gurdin ashoare with twentie men, shot and pike, to incompasse and take the blaser of the said fire, supposing it to be some traytor inhabiting these nearest parts: who in his passage comming neare it, it would seeme presently out, and againe at an instant at another place contrary to their pursuit, and so playing in and out with them so long, that in the end they gave it over, esteeming it some delusion of the Devill, not knowing otherwise how to conjecture thereof. This present night the Vice-Roy set saile from the Barre, leaving in the River some twentie of his Frigats, which

*Craft and sub-  
tilties of devils  
and men, prove  
Ignis fatui &  
frustrate.*

*Vice-Roy  
departeth.*

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[I. iv. 511.] continued the place, shifting to relieve each other sometimes more, and sometimes lesse, and kept in the Mallabars Frigats, which were there in service for the defence of the Towne.

The fourteenth, the Nabob sent me a great man and a Souldier (whom in amitie hee named his brother) to visit me, who declared his opinion, that the Vice-Roy and all his Fleet were gone for Goa, but some Frigats to attend this River, and some to returne to Diu and Ormus: which opinion of his I see no reason for it, could not allow of; esteeming him rather gone some-whither to refresh his people, to strengthen them against our putting forth to sea, when no sands should hinder his greatest ships to encounter me. He also told me that the King had sent downe forces, both to take Damon, and all the Country along the Sea-side; in which I gave him courteous hearing, beleeving as I saw reason: and that they were more willing to give our Nation entertainment and trade, then ever they did the Portugals; the which I thought he might with very good reason speake, because the Portugall hath beene injurious alwayes, and hath exercised many vile things upon them. And yet unlesse we continue able to mate and withstand the Portugals forces; they will unsay that speech againe for their owne ease. After he had seene the ship, and viewed our Ordnance, and all our defencible preparations, hee desired leave to depart with his traine, which with all courtesie and our Boats, in best fashion was performed.

Now our daily endeavour is, and long since hath beene to the clearing and beginning to lade the Hope for England; which by the over-topping and threatning forces of the Vice-Roy formerly, with reason I could not resolve to doe, though time and libertie would for present have allowed the same: but by hastie snatches, as it came, ever we put it in confusedly (some into one ship, and some into another) not thinking fit in so casuall a time, to hazard all our Cargason in one ship. Besides, it was long before the Hopes burnt Mast was newly cured: and that



I resolved to send home the Hope, it was not altogether for that I esteemed her fittest of burthen for the stowing of our goods presently provided ; but withall, by the many impediments and disabilitie in the ship, in and by the Master and Carpenter daily complained of, as that the poste within the Rudder was unsheathed (a strange and dangerous neglect, and over-sight) and therefore fittest soonest to be returned, and the losse of our Quick-silver in her, which lyeth upon her Keele and Billages, another important cause.

The eighteenth, the Nabob sent Cogearson Allee, the Sabandar, and other Merchants of Surat, to intreat my stay for fifteene dayes, which in no sort I would grant : then they importuned me for ten dayes, which yet by no meanes would I yeeld unto, shewing how great prejudice to my Voyage my stay heere so long might be. The cause of their request, was their feare lest the Vice-Roy after my departure should come against Surat with all his forces. Wherefore I considering the weight of this businesse, and the prejudice it might be to our selves, and also being unwilling to send them backe with deniall, seeing them much discontented thereat as a disgrace unto them, and being loath at my departure to give the Nabob any distast therein, that have done to my uttermost hitherto to give them all content possible ; and knowing what future hindrance it might be to our businesse ashore : and last of all, seeing there was six dayes worke of the ten to be done in the Hope, before we could be possibly ready ; I at length (when they were altogether out of hope thereof, and upon departure) condescended to their request, whereat they were exceeding joyfull, and departed.

*Feare for  
Surat.*

The two and twentieth at night, I received a Letter from Surat, informing me of the Nabobs comming to see me the next day.

The three and twentieth, in the morning, came downe two Elephants and six Camels, bringing his Tents and other provisions.

The foure and twentieth, Master Aldworth came downe

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with the rest of the Merchants to finish all businesse with me.

*Interview of  
the Nabob and  
Gen.*

The five and twentieth in the morning, the Nabob came downe with a very great traine, and sixe Elephants more, and had beene two houres ashoare before I knew thereof : which when it was told me, being sorry for my neglect of him, I sent Master Aldworth, Master Elkington, and M. Dodsworth ashoare unto him, to hold him in discourse untill I came unto him, which was not long after ; I purposed to go unto him (as a sonne unto his father) in my doublet and hose, without any armes or great traines, according to custome, thereby to shew my trust and confidence that I reposed in him : but my friends perswaded me to the contrary, that I should rather goe well appointed and attended on with a sufficient guard, to continue the custome. Whereunto I consented (though in conclusion, it repented me that I had not taken mine owne course) and went ashoare with about one hundred and forty men, of pike and shot, who at my entrance into the Nabobs Tent gave me a Volly of shot. The Nabob entertained me very kindly, seeming very joyfull of my comming ashoare to him : we sitting a while under a very faire Tent, open on all sides round about, environed with many people, as well of mine, as of his attendants. At length hee brought me into a more private roome neare adjoyn-ing, having on his side onely Alle Canne, a great Persian Captaine, and the Banian Henie for his Interpreter ; and on my side, Master Aldworth, Master Elkington, and Master Dodsworth : where hee conferred both of the estate of this Countrey at present, and also of our affaires. At length I demanded of him if he would go aboard with me to see the shippe ; whereunto he very willingly consented. Then he presented me with his owne sword (accompanied with many good words, telling mee that it was the custome of their Countrey, to honour Captaines with armes, that had deserved well) which as he told mee was made in his owne house, the hilts thereof being of massie gold, and in lieu thereof I returned him my sute,

[I. iv. 512.]  
*Nabob gives  
his Sword.*

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being Sword, Dagger, Girdle and Hangers, by mee much esteemed of, and which made a great deale better shew, though of lesse value. We came both forth of the private Tent, and I walked downe to the water-side, there staying his comming; whither he sent mee a present of ten Cuttonee quilts, and twentie Topseells; and not long after came the Nabob himselfe, and then we tooke boat together and went aboard, where having shewed him the lying of our Ordnance, and all our war-like preparation for defence, I presented him with a very faire standing guilt cup with a cover, and certaine very faire knives, and a Rundlet of Muscadine, with some other toyes. Then he desired to see our Ordnance shoote off, and how farre they would carry their shot upon the water, and I gave him three. Then he would have taken leave, but I accompanied him to the shoare, and gave him at his departure eleven great shot. At our parting at the water-side, the Nabob gave me foure baskets of Grapes; he likewise gave the Gunners and Trumpeters between them two hundred Mamudies, and among the ships company five hundred Mamudies, and one hundred books of white Bastas, of two Mamudies a peece: and then after some complements we tooke leave one of the other, and departed. I rowed along the shoare for my better getting aboard, the tide running so swiftly, and saw Lacandas the Banian come running towards the Boat, being sent of the Nabob to know of me, if he should erect a Tombe over my sonne: I returned him many thanks, and willed Lacandas to tell him that I had alreadie begun it: then I returned aboard, and he went to Surat; and not long after his Tents were taken downe, and went after him with the rest of his carriages.

*He goeth  
aboard.*

The six and twentieth, the Nabobs sonne and sonne in law (a very ingenious yong man) came aboard to take their leaves of me: upon whom I bestowed some knives, and other things which I had left, which could not be much, having still had one great man or other to visite me, who seldome or never went away without some one

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present or other: so they viewed the shippe and departed.

*Two Antelops.* The seventeenth, there came aboard unto me the three sonnes of Allee Canne, the two yongest first, and after them came the eldest, called Guger Canne, who as yet had never been aboard: He presented me with two Antelops, male and female, whereat I was glad, since I had sent to enquire for some to send home to Sir Thomas Smith, but could not procure any. I presented him with foure Spanish pikes with heads, and some other things of my owne, and shewed him all the ship, with our warlike preparation for defence, as also all our Ordnance; and a little while after he tooke his leave, and at his departure I gave him eleven shot.

*March 3.* The third of March in the after-noone, upon the tide of ebbe, and a small gale came up Northerly, to give steering way to our ships, we seeing our friends the Mallabars (which had desired to go with us) not attempting to come forth, we hastened to get up our anchors, and to set saile to proceed on our journey: yet seeing comming in from the Westward another Fleete of Portugall Frigats, I was willing to shew my best, in the view of the Countrey people, to hinder their comming into the river of Surat; which was nothing, for that there was roome enough for them to passe by us every way out of the reach of our shot; yet we shot at the nearest of them, without hope to shoote neare them, but only to shew our good willes, and for encouragement to our friends on land; as also for those which went alongst the Coast (as I esteemed) to give knowledge to the Gallions of our comming, that they might report also that we shot at their fellowes going to Surat: that they might also expect that wee cared the lesse for their greater strength. In our passage this night, we had divers flawes of unconstant winds, for which we came to anchor for a while. Afterwards seeing it blew steadie, though faint, wee set saile, continuing our course South by East alongst the shoare. At that time the day-light began to discover to us all things neare us; we descried

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*The enemies  
forces descried.*

betweene us and the shoare our enemies forces of Gallions, and two Gallyes, all comming to saile presently after they saw us, and stood after us with a faint gale, we standing somewhat without our course with all our sailes, partly to gaine time to make our selves in perfect readinesse to fight, partly to refresh my people that had taken much paines the night past; as also the further I draw them off the Coast, the further they will be from fresh supplies to be sent them. But ere long, the tide of flood being come, and little wind to hold our owne, we came to an anchor, while the enemy resting his hopes in the wind, kept longer under saile to his greater disadvantage. But I not taking it for an error in them, but of purpose to doe us more harme, it brought mee into a new and great doubt, which drew all my powers to devise how to prevent. This was, that now we were at sea, they meant to return to Surat with al their strength, and there to worke their wills on our friends and goods, which I had no meanes to prevent, but by following them; knowing they durst not unarme, nor unfurnish their shippes while I was in sight of them. But the time now grew so late, that I doubted by the most hast that I could make, I should hardly get off the Coast before the foule weather came; which put me into some hope, that the Vice-Roy being so great a Souldier, and so discreet a Gentleman, would not expose himself, his people and ships to such great perils as the hastning winter did threaten. While these things floted in my mind, the tide of flood was spent, and time to worke if we make use of the ebbe, we (to my great content) saw the Vice-Roy his Fleete standing towards us with a fresh gale of wind. Wee likewise set saile, and stood away our owne course before him all that tide, and so spent the night to the best advantage, partly by sailing, and partly by stopping.

[I. iv. 513.]

The fifth in the morning, wee saw the enemy had gotten but little ground of us: This day also we spent, as before, in riding and sailing, as time served to our best advantage: and for that the Hector went best, and the

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Hope (logloaden) worst, I sent to the Hector to take in her Boat, and to prepare for the Hope. I sent to the Hope to give directions to hasten to the Hector, to be towed, and to the end she should have nothing to hinder her, I had her Boat to tow at my sterne, and so spent the night working for the best, the wind fresh wee had no cause to anchor. This night the Vice-Royes ships got much ground of us: by this I was gotten well off from the shoare, and also an ende to the Southwards, and by his working I recovered some assurance to my conceit, that these forces would not this yeare annoy Surat: and for my businesse for encountring the enemie, I had by good leasure well considered how to contrive it, and withall I had considered of the cases of either, and the difference betweene the Vice-roy and me, I meane in our severall satisfactions and contents: My comming hither was by the authoritie of my King, and to follow the designes of my Employers, which was in Merchants ships fitted for defence, and to endeavour by honest commerce, without striving to injury any, which God hath of his tender mercie and bountifull blessing so assisted me, that we have performed beyond my former conceit, and in most things hitherto God hath graunted me my hearts desire: and am now in a good way upon my way with the same: with which without further tempting of God, or presuming of Gods continuing mercies in further deliverances, if I by pride swarve from what is just, and before him to be allowed, whose mercies have been free, and without any cause in mee for his owne Name sake: therefore I hold it fit to proceede soberly, and attend upon the Enemies attempt, yet not in base manner, but in a warlike sort.

*Wise and sober  
course.*

*Thankfull con-  
sideration of  
Gods assisting  
our equitie  
and punishing  
the Portugall  
pride.*

On the other side, the unhappy Vice-roy a famous valiant man, therefore now sent by his Master the King of Spaine with Ships (the principall of India) with men (all the Gallants and principall Braggards of those neerer parts of India) what to doe? Not onely to disturbe or intercept the peaceable and quiet trade of the English

with the subjects of the Mogol, a great King in his owne Countrey, but to take or burne them: so little regard is had to the effusion of Christian blood; never looking towards the judgements of God, nor remembring that as men doe to others, they must expect to be done to. This Captaine was furnished with abundance of all things the Countrey might yeeld, and wanted nothing but an upright cause, fit for God to favour. He came to the place where he found what he sought, foure poore Merchants ships, a fewe men, and many of them sicke and dead; and those Braggards measured our minds by their owne, thought we would never stand out against so powerfull a force, as they esteemed they had; and the conceit of that, set those Coxcombs a madding to be doing mischief, to encrease their pride, which they intitle honour. I seeing the difference, and the cause I had to pray to God my onely refuge, whom it pleased to grant the request of me his poore and unworthy servant: in consideration whereof, I put forward the businesse, and as it were, baited my hooke, and the Fish presently ranne thereat as aforesaid.

They came three Ships, and thirtie or fortie Frigats, as I imagined; with a veaze laid the Hope aboard with the flowre of all their Gallants, where by the hand of God in their amazed carriage, they received such a blow, as few (and they by their extraordinary chance) escaped with safetie, and the three ships burnt. Thus it pleased God to crosse their first attempt, and never after, though they beleaguered us round about by sea, with all their sorts of shippes for many dayes together, our people still in action, and halfe tired with continuall labour, some receiving in goods; yet, Blessed be God, they could never get the advantage to winne from us the vallew of a louse, unlesse our Bullets which we lent them, his fire-boats failing, and nothing prospering; and once in foure and twentie houres, I sent him a defiance for many dayes together, to try his temper; all which must needs lie heavie on the stomacke of a Gentleman of so great

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courage. I esteeme now he will hazard much to recover some of his honour formerly lost (but craving pardon for this my digression, I will now returne and proceed with my former businesse.)

Wherefore the sixt in the morning betimes, I sent for my Master, and let him know that my purpose was, that when the Vice-roy should come up neere with us, that we would all at once cast about with him, and charge him first on the sudden, to strike an unexpected terror in the hearts of his people, who now are bragge, seeing us going away before them. And to that end I now went aboard every ship, to give them all directions; and more, that I would cause the Hector, with her Pinnasse and mine, to take in an hundred fardels of the Hopes goods to lighten her, and mend her going: which businesse (by reason of my Pinnasse to helpe) I stayed to see it done; so that it grew to be mid-day, neere which time, my ship which I left farre asterne for my better comming aboard, strooke saile, whereat (as wee imagined) the Vice-roy seeing the Admirall strike her sailes to fall a sterne, might take it of purpose to stay for him in contempt, he with his Consorts bore up with the shoare, and gave over the hope of their fortunes by further following of us: which course I like very well, since he is so patient; for there is nothing under his foot that can make amends for the losse of the worst mans finger I have. Besides, I wish no occasion to fight; for that which I have already paid for, I am already possest on, and I am so farre from the humour to fight for honour, unlesse for the Honour of my King or Countrey, that I had rather save the life or lives of one of my poorest people, then kill a thousand Enemies. Having now finished with the Vice-roy, I set my selfe to write Letters for the dispatch of the Hope, yet still thinking to have haled into the Bar of Goa, to proove if I could have left some Commendations there for the Vice-roy at his returne: this was my great desire that I long promised, yet so long trifled in dispatch of the

[I. iv. 514.]

*Rash fighting  
is rather  
humour then  
honour.*



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Hope, that wee were shot farre past it before wee had finished the same.

The rest of this Journall is \* wanting; for hee is also wanting which should have perfected it. But alas, this is the imperfection of Mans best perfections, Death lying in ambush to intrap, whom by open force (you see) he could not devoure. He dying in this Voyage, and following his sonne, hath left this glorious act, *Memoriæ Sacrum*, the Memorable Epitaph of his worth, savouring of a true Heroike disposition, Pietie and Valour being in him seasoned with Gravitie and Modestie. We will not with heathen Poets cry out of cruell immature Fates: for Death hath prevented unto him possibilitie of disastrous events (which as shadowes follow the bodies in greatest light) and leaving his living Memory here, hath lifted his lively part, and vertuous Spirit, to receive the applause, and praise, and reward of God and with God, to whom be glory for ever. Amen.

*\* Since this was written, I have obtayned M. Elkingtons Journall, wherein you may proceed with this worthy Captain to Bantam, and thence to his Grave: his History succeeding this, as himselfe did in the Generals place of command.*

### Chap. XII.

Relations of Master Elkington and Master Dods-worth, touching the former Voyage.

#### §. I.

Collections taken out of the Journall of Captaine Thomas Elkington, successour to Captaine Nicholas Downton in the Voyage aforesaid, written by himselfe.



He first of January 1613. the new ship built at Detford, was lanced and called the New-Yeaes-Gift. The third of March, we came to an anchor in the Downes. The thirtieth of June, we set saile from the Bay of Soldania. Heere at this time which is their dead of Winter, it was temperate, rather inclining to cold then heate. We had little refreshing but water and fish. The

*Soldania.*

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people are wretched, neither sow nor plant, dwell in small Cottages made of Hides, and so joyne many of them in a round Circle, having their Cattle in the midst. They are browne, but by greasing themselves become almost blacke, and in the wind unsavourie a doozen yards off, filching, trecherous, unworthy so good a Land, which in likelihood with culture would be very fertile.

*The cry of  
bloud.*

The sixth of August wee had sight of Saint Laurence. This night Robert Waters departed, a man long diseased in bodie, disturbed in minde by torment of conscience, for a man by him killed in Virginia, (cowardly comming behind him, and knocking him on the head) for which hee obtayned his pardon in the Court of men, but in the inward and spirituall was thus pursued to his death.

*S. Augustine.*

Here in the Bay of Saint Augustine we wooded and watered: Some went up the river and came to their houses or sheads, which were small things set up with Canes, and covered with a thing like a hurdle, made of the leaves of the Palme Tree. The people fled and left all, that is, nothing but a little Cotton spunne, or on the Distaves, with a few necessaries. The eleventh and twelfth, we bought Cattell in exchange of Silver Chaines, they taking the value of twentie pence, or two shillings in a Chaine for an Oxe, which in money would cost five or sixe shillings. They are very good, fed (it seemes) within the land, for we saw nothing but sand and wood without any grasse at all.

The ninth of September, we had sight of Socatora, and passing by Tamarind Bay, came to an anchor in Delisha.

*\*Of Occur-  
rents here,  
read the  
former and  
next following  
Discourse.*

The one and twentieth of October, we came into the Road of \*Swally. After the fight on the twentieth of January, in which three Portugall ships were burnt, and two Frigats sunke, and Timber procured for the Hopes maine Mast, which the Nabob caused to be done so warily, that it seemed he was afraid lest the Portugals might know it. On the foure and twentieth, came a

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Jesuite with another fellow from the Vice-roy to intreate of peace with Magribocan, who on the seven and twentieth, [I. iv. 515.] sent the Vice-Roy one hundred and fiftie Maunds Meale, one hundred sheepe, twentie five Maunds Conserves with Hens, &c. In the after-noone the Sabandar requested me to read a Letter from the Vice-Roy, which signified that whereas by the Padre hee was informed that the Nabob desired to make peace in his Masters name, and had appointed for treatie thereof the Sabandar, Isaac Beg, and Abduram, hee also had hearkened thereto and appointed three others to that businesse binding himselfe to performe their agreements.

On the one and thirtieth. The Sabandar came unto mee and told mee, that no peace could bee with the Portugals, they refusing to make any restitution for damages or goods taken, but rather required money of them: and that the Vice-roy had sent to all parts thereabouts for more forces. After their fire devices frustrated, they all set saile, both Ships, Junckes, Gallies and Frigats, and roade at the Barre of Surat. The Hector had taken one of their Frigats which was employed to tow the fire-boats and in her seven men; three slaine, foure living. Soone after they departed: and we also weighed the second of March.

On the fourth, we descryed the Portugall Fleet, which presently gave us chase, and the next day also. On the sixth, the Generall came aboard us, to wish us to make readie, he purposing to turne and give the on-set on them: but about noone the Portugals bore up the Helme, and stood in for the shoare, and within three houres after we lost sight of them. The tenth, at night the Hope departed from us. The fifteenth, we saw three Spouts of water not farre from us, one whereof very bigge continuing halfe an houre. The nineteenth, we doubled Cape Comorine. *Spouts of water.*

The tenth of May, the wind and current against us, A.D. 1615. the Generall went to a greene Iland to the North of the Salt-hill, and there came to an anchor in twentie fathome

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

good ground sandie. Wee sought fresh-water but found none: wee saw Pigges and Hogs on the Iland, and gathered good store of Coco Nuts. About this Iland is good riding, beeing twelve fathomes within a stones throw of the shoare. The Pinnasse fetched water at an Iland foure leagues off, which was brackish. We found water in the Iland beyond the burning one. The second of June, wee came to an anchor in Bantam Road.

*Masulipatan.* The third of July, we weighed Mace and received Silke for the furnishing of the Salomon, for Masulipatan, wherein we concluded to send for Merchants, George Chancie, Ralph Preston, Humphery Elkington, Timothy Mallory, George Savage, and Robert Savage.

The eighth of July, we laded Porcelane in her: and then came newes by a Juncke from the Moluccas, of the Thomasine being there, and of twelve saile of Hollanders at Ternate, which hindered all men they could from Trade. The eleventh, our old house escaped great danger of a fire neere it.

*Holland abuses of us at Macassar.* On the twentieth, Master Jordan received Letters from Master Ball at Macassar, of the violent courses which the Flemmings used with him, beating him from thence, as also that they purposed with their whole force to come to take Bantam, and to place the King of Motran in the Government.

The one and twentieth, Master Bennet set saile in the Salomon. The five and twentieth, the Advice and Attendance came into the Road, having beene out of England eight moneths. At the Cape they met with the Globe and James, to whom they spared eighteene men. They departed towards England, July the seventeenth, and they hither, the eighteenth, meeting with a shippe neere the Cape, which we judge to be the Samaritan or Hope from England.

*Generall Downton his death. By order in the Box M. Elkington succeeded.*

The fifth of August, I was aboard with the Generall then very ill, and the next day had word of his departure; whom followed on the eighth Master Evans the Preacher, and Master Hambden, as was supposed, by taking Loda-

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num, they both being well a little before. On the eleventh, the Advice was dispeeded for Japan, with twentie two persons brought out of England, five Blackes and Fernando the Spaniard.

*Advice goeth  
to Japan.*

The fourteenth, returned the Concord from Socodanna, and Macassar. That night was much Raine, Thunder and Lightning, the Church or Meskit of Bantam split in two with a Thunderbolt, and the chiefe Priest almost slaine, which the King and people tooke as an ill presage, and therefore determined to make peace with Jacatra.

*Tempest.*

The sixteenth, the Thomasines Boat came into Bantam, with twentie two English, and five Blackes, which told of the casting away of the Thomasine on certaine flats, twentie two leagues from Macassar the night before, Wilson the Master being carelesse, and all the company asleepe, saving he which was at the Helme. The money they saved and brought with them. Master Bailly signified also that the wracked company there enforced him to pay them their wages, which we caused them to restore.

*Thomasine  
lost.*

The nineteenth, the Flemmings put into the Bilbowes three Blackes, that Master Bailly brought with him from Celoar, pretending they tooke them climbing over their pales, also that they were taken from a place which they protected, and therefore would keepe them. We are many wayes most vily abused by them, nor is any way to right us except wee should goe together by the eares, this as we conceive being wrought of purpose, and the Blackes intised by them and willing to it, as being taken by force: which after that I knew, I was offended with Master Bailly, being a meanes that whereas heretofore wee have beene in all places well intreated, that wee should be hated as Men-robbers, which the Flemmings to disgrace us will not let to blaze abroad.

*Hollanders  
quarrels and  
abuses.*

*M. Bailies  
injustice.*

[I. iv. 516.]

The thirteenth of September, the watch espyed a fire in the thatch over Master Jordans lodging, which was soone quenched: it was throwne there purposely; we found the Cane wherein it was done, for which we suspected Francisco the Spaniard turned Javan. The same night

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the like happened in two or three places of the Towne, but all prevented.

*Puloway.* The second of October, Sophonee Cossock, Merchant, came in a small Pinnasse from Puloway, one of the Ilands of Banda, with an Orancaya, to conferre of trade.

*\*Quis tulerit Gracchos de seditione querentes: Call whore first, Dutch policie. Is it such a crime to be English?* The two and twentieth, I with Master Pring and Master Boile, went ashoare to conferre with the Flemish Generall, touching certaine idle complaints made by them of our Mariners: whom and the President I found very impatient, calling us insolent\* English, and with threats, telling us our pride would have a fall, with many other disgracefull words; this being the entertainment of that borish Generall, Garrat Reynes, in his owne house; shewing the like or worse to Master Ball, comming aboard him at Banda, and foure of our men entreating passage with him thence to Cambello, upon no cause he carried them thither in the Bilbowes.

*Letter from Banda, with offer of Trade, &c.* The third of November, I went ashoare: Captaine Jordan called together the Merchants, and sent for the Orancaya of Banda, having had his Letter translated, the effect whereof was, that in regard of the ancient friendship betweene the English and them, and especially with Captaine Keeling, withall being provoked by the cruelty of the Hollanders, their earnest desire was to trade only with the English for the Spices of Puloway, Pulerons and Nera: conditionally that the English would furnish them with Victuals, Munition and Ordnance, and helpe them to recover the Castle of Nera, and that some might bee sent to Banda, to conferre hereof with the Orancayas. To which was answered, that for helpe to recover Nera, we could not doe it without order from England; for Ordnance at present we were unprovided: what we could, we would, which was to furnish them with Victuals, and what other provisions we could, till further order out of England, and to trade with them for Spices, purposing to send a ship, and some to conferre with the Orancayas, how we should be secured, and whether they would permit us a Fort on shoare.

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The two and twentieth, were five Hollanders riding without; foure of which came from Mauritius Iland (having come out of Holland nineteene moneths past) where they found Generall Butt cast away with three ships, two utterly lost, the third men and goods saved, the fourth went home with a Jury Mast, in company of a small Pinnasse that came thither by chance. One of these shippes that was at the Mauritius came away before the rest, whom they found driving to and againe before the Straights mouth, having lost one hundred and sixty men, and left in her but eight.

The five and twentieth, by a letter from Priaman, we had newes of the death of Master Oxewike and Samuel Negus.

### §. II.

A Briefe of Memorialls observed and written by M. Edward Dodsworth, Merchant in the former Voyage, which returned in the Hope.

**T**He sixteenth of October, in the Bay of Surat, came aboard us Master Aldworth and Master Steele: and the next day in consultation it was demanded of Master Aldworth according to the Companies \* Commission, concerning Paul Canning, of his cariage and respect with the King: to which he answered, That was well, and this good, till the Jesuits had made knowne that he was a Merchant, and not immediatly sent from our King; after that, neglected, since which he \* dyed. Also he thought fit that some one of our Nation, of good respect, should remaine at Court, to right us in those wrongs which might bee offered. To this function Master Edwards was chosen as a man most answerable to the Companies Commission to go for Agra, some question being made whether he should proceed in name and profession of a Merchant (according to the strictnesse of the Commission) which Master Aldworth conceited would procure him disrespect with the King. After much

*\*This Commission had six questions, of which I take that which is fit for the publike.*

*\*Of his death you had before in N. W. his relations by poison, as was thought, from the Jesuits.  
T. Elk.*

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contesting, some way was given to Master Edwards, lest they should seeme contrary to each other in their proceedings, it being before by some given out, that he was the Kings Messenger.

All this while wee heard not from the Cheefe at Surat, nor had any encouragement, or so much as refreshing, whereupon I was sent with a letter to the Nabob, and doubting to get into the Citie, was forced to stay by the way, and lye in a poore Gonge, and the next day was courteously entertained: but having Nicholas Uphlet with me for Interpreter, a man knowne and hated by the Nabob, for employment in Captaine Hawkins debts and affaires; he departed discontent, leaving Coianozan with others, to receive my letter: I refused to deliver it to them; in the afternoone I was admitted, and he seemed much discontent at our want of refreshments, as not knowing it, promising reformation; and the next day went to talke with the Generall at Swally, who had come into that Road on the one and twentieth. Nevertheless, we had found nothing but delayes: and the nine and twentieth, hee sent the Sabander to acquaint us, that wee should looke for no trade or kindnesse, except wee would assist them against the Portugall: Which the Generall refusing, further then his Commission gave leave, he also desired leave by his letter, that his Merchants might come aboard with their goods, so to depart to some other place, where with safetie he might deliver his Majesties Letters and Present to the Mogoll. Master Elkington and Master Aldworth went with this Letter.\* But Magro Can would not so much as looke on us, but tooke it very scornefully, and went his way, and sent the Sabandar with answeere as before.

The second of November, we had sowre entertainment of him, telling us, if we would stay, we might; if we would go, we might go, either in Gods, or the Devills name; for our other demands referring us to Isaak Beg and the Sabandar, who would yeeld us nothing. The common people seemed well affected

*\*These words following, and some other I have heere inserted out of Master Elkingtons Journall.*



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to us, the greater to desire our roome rather then our company, but so that we thought none of them durst gaine-stand the Kings Firma: whereupon it was concluded that the goods should bee landed, which accordingly was done. But in the Alfandica wee could find no reasonable ratements on the goods, nor leave to carry away any thing, till the Nabob had seene them, and taken what he pleased (as hee had done in opening mens chests, neither Mariner nor Merchant escaping without trifles taken from them, no reason after given for it) searching to the very pillowes and pockets, not sparing Master Edwards himselfe; Customing the Cases, Bottels, Apparell, or what we brought for necessary use, as if they sought by foule usage to weary us.

*Harsh and  
barbarous  
dealing.*

The fifteenth, Magro Can himselfe came to the Alphandica, and sealed up the Kings Presents, which he was desirous to see, although he had promised that they should passe without opening. He desired to have all the Pictures and Combe-cases, which we said were to go for Agra, that the King might have his choise. Whereupon (notwithstanding he was offered part of them) he fell into great choler, and objected Sir Henry Middleton his proceedings in the Red-sea, wishing Master Aldworth to write to the King for satisfaction: which was answered to have beene already ended by Captaine Best, as the Articles manifest. He concluded yet with faire promises, but the effect was (defect and) delay, wee being not permitted to carry away the Kings Presents. The Pictures by lying in the Sunne, were broken and warped in vile manner, wee also in danger to lose the Monson, and the Kings Present, with Muskets and Fowling-peece taken from our men, were carried to his house: and nothing permitted us, except he might first see the Kings Present, which we at last yeelded unto, and Magro Can as much as he could disgraced, boasting of his respect with the King. And thus had we leave to remove them.

The foure and twentieth, came a Firma from the Mogoll, which the Nabob (according to their custome)

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met in state two miles out of the Citie, with sixe hundred horse. And the next day we were kindly entertained, and he gave Master Edwards eight hundred and fiftie Mamudies, thirty peeces of Topseell, ten of fine Calicoes, &c. the money to cary up the Presents, (the King not willing to charge them that bring them) the Stuffles and Calicoes for such as should accompany them. To the Merchants also he gave fifteene peeces of Topseels (five to each) with his chop for our departure, and kind promises; all in the sight of him which brought the Firma. The thirtieth, Master Edwards and we set forwards towards Amadavar.

The second of December, we came to Baroche: from whence the Governour sent a guard of Souldiers with us to Demylode, and there had a new convoy of fiftie horse and foot to Charmondo: whence we departed on the seventh, with five and twentie souldiers, all notorious theeves (as we after found). With these we went 10 c. and pitched in a plaine, where wee baracadoed our selves, as formerly we used, with our carts; at supper time wee had beene assaulted with fiftie horse-men, which came close upon us, had they not found us well provided, the charge wee carried being certainly knowne thorow all the Countrey as we travelled.

The eight, we came to Brodera, and gave the Governour a Present, which he accepted kindly, but requested a further kindnesse to see our Mastiffe dogge. This Citie stands in a plaine which seemed fertile, and is well watered, a thing not so common in those parts. Wee departed hence with one hundred horse and foot, which voluntarily offered that service (in regard especially of the Kings Present, employed by the Governour) not without charge to us, and came to Arras, a Towne inhabited for the most part with Banians, where their superstition of not killing any thing, caused us bad entertainment.

On the thirteenth, we came to Amadavas. Hence we gave commission to Richard Steele, and John Crowther

*A Mastiffe  
dogge in  
request.*

*Arras a  
Towne of  
Banians.  
Amadavas.  
Steel and  
Crowther  
their Journall  
following.*

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for their Persian journey. And hence the second of January, Master Edwards departed from us for Agra.

All this while finding the Merchants heere, in hope of Peace with the Portugals, to inhaunce the prices of their Indico, we resolved to go to Sarques to make triall with the Countrie people, who are the makers of it: which on the seventh we did, and found good employment, in foure dayes packing up foure hundred fardles; and Master Aldworth returning to Amadavas, found them now more tractable. Sarques is thence 3 c. distant, the Towne not bigge, but counted the best soile for Indico in those parts, the triall thereof chiefly by water, as at Amadavas Jambrozerch by fire, all of them ready to put trickes on us by mingling or otherwise. At Sarques are two of the most auncient Monuments in those parts; one of a chiefe Prophet there intombed, to which many Pilgrims resort from farre; the other of their ancient Kings. To the North of the Towne is the place, where Can Canna first put the Guzerates (the auncient inhabitants) to flight, the rest of the Kingdome being shortly after conquered by Ecbar this Kings Father. This place of the victory is strongly walled with bricke, some mile and halfe in circuit, planted with fruits and watered pleasantly, and a costly house called Victory erected, in which he resided for a time, but now in Bramport.

The foure and twentieth, we went to the Governour for his leave to depart, which he granted; but hearing of divers robbed and murdered that night close by the Citie, order was given that we should stay till a sufficient guard were made readie for us. The next morning we had Letters from M. Elkington of the arrivall of the Portugal Vice-roy, with a strong force to drive us out of the Countrey.

The Generall to procure some weakening of their strength, caused the Hope to fall downe to the Southermost sand, thinking in eager pursuit some of them would be driven aground. Presently three of the smallest ships, and thirtie sixe Frigats were sent to boord her, hoping

*Sarques.*

[I. iv. 518.]

*Monuments & Pilgrimage.*

*The fight betwixt the English and Portugals.*

*See of it more in my Pilgrimage, l. 5. c. 7. §. 4. out of the relation of divers of the Hopes company at that time: as also Captaine Downtons owne Voyage. Tempora mutantur & nos mutamur in illis.*

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to tow her away. Thrice the enemie entred, and was thrice repulsed, and forced at last to leape over-board, thinking in their Frigats to save themselves, who received such hot discourse from the other ships, that they could not relieue them, so that many were swallowed by the Sea, others slaine aboard, to the number, as is reported, of three hundred at least. The Shippes which had boarded the Hope, were now (in despaire, and out of all hope) cut from her, and seized instantly by the two desperate, hopelesse, mercilesse Elements, Fire and the Sea, recommending some bones or ashes of their burnt Carkasses to the ground and shoare.

The sixe and twentieth, we departed with fortie cart-loads of Indico and other goods, and came the seven and twentieth to Mundevas, where the Gates were shut upon us by Sardar Cans command, which putting us in much doubt, we procured one to speake with the Governour, who told him of Letters that he had received from Mocrib Can, of our Generalls proceedings at Swally, and the safetie of Surat by the English, wishing him by no meanes to suffer us to returne without a sufficient guard, which the next day should be ready for our safe departure. The twentie ninth, we departed. At Brodera, Sarder Cans men took up more souldiours to assist them, many robberies and murthers beeing daily committed, and divers companies of Rashbootes lying in the way to intercept.

The second of February, above three hundred Rash-boots assaulted us in a narrow lane, inclosed on both sides with thicke hedges, where we could not hurt them, as they did our Caffila, with their arrowes and Shot. We therefore made what haste we could for the Plaine: meane while, they cut off two of our Coaches. But having gotten the Plaine, we made a stand, where they betooke them to their hedges againe, and left us to looke to their prey, least one thiefe might rob another. Many of our company were hurt, whereof Humphrey Elkinton for one. The next day we got to Baroche, and on the

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fifth to Surat, and thanked Mocrib Can for his care; and hearing of an assault the Portugals would next day give us, with his professed love and leave went the next day to Swally, and came aboard: but the Portugals deceived our expectation.

The ninth, the poore inhabitants of Swally brought us word of two fire-boats, to be sent with the next Ebbe to fire our ships, which endangered more then endamaged the Hope. The night following, they attempted the like with foure other chained together, which with the advantage of the Tyde, and attendance of smaller boats came, but frustrate in their successe save to themselves, foure of their Companie taken, and their Boats burned to the Keele. The Captives confessed this the last of the Vice-royes designs for this yeare, hee beeing enforced for want of water and victualls to returne for Goa.

The Examination of Domingo Francisco, taken  
in Swally Roade, aboard the Gift. February  
20. 1614.

**H**E saith, That he was borne in Lisboa, beeing the sonne of a Marriner, and served Nuna d'Acuna in the fight against Captaine Best, in one of the foure Gallions, and afterwards went for Macao upon the borders of China, and returned againe to Goa, where hee hath remained ten Moneths, and was two Moneths since commanded to come in a Gallion called the S. Anthonie, in this Expedition for the Port of Swally, where the eighth of this Moneth hee was taken. The Vice-roy Don Jeronimo de Savedo, came (as this Examinee further saith) to the destruction of the English at Surat with these forces. His owne ship called the All-Saints, of eight hundred Tunnes burthen, had three hundred men, and twenty eight pieces of Ordnance. Michael de Soozo Captaine of the S. Bennet of seven hundred Tunnes, had one hundred and fiftie men, and twenty Peeeces. John Cayatho, Captaine of the S. Laurence

*The Vice-roy,  
and his forces  
and purpose.  
Gallions sixe.  
Their Cap-  
taines, bur-  
then, men, and  
munition.*

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[I. iv. 519.]

of sixe hundred Tunnes, had one hundred and sixtie men, eightene Peeces. Francisco Henriques Captaine of the S. Christopher, so much burthen, had one hundred and fiftie nine men, and Ordnance as the former. Francisco de Mirande, Captaine of the S. Jeronymo of five hundred Tunnes, had one hundred and eightie men, sixteene Peeces. Gaspar de Meall Captaine of the S. Anthonio of foure hundred Tunnes, had an hundred and fortie men, foureteene Peeces.

*Three ships.*

The ships were the S. Peter of two hundred Tunnes, Captaine Francisco Cavaco, men one hundred and fiftie, Peeces eight. The S. Paul of two hundred Tunnes, Captaine Don John de Mescarena, one hundred fiftie men, eight Peeces. The Pinnasse one hundred twenty Tunnes, Captaine Andrea de Quellio, eightie men, foure Peeces.

*Two Gallies.*

*Frigats.*

Lewes de Bruto, Captaine of one Gally, Diego de Suro, of the other, in each fiftie men. Of the Frigats there were sixtie, having twentie souldiours a piece, and eightene oares on a side. The supply which came after, was two ships of two hundred Tunnes a piece, two India Junkes, and eight small Boates employed to fire us. The Admirals Ordnance were all of Brasse; of the other five Gallions, halfe of Brasse, halfe of Yron; against all which, the Almightye (blessed be his Name) protected us.

The five and twentieth, the Nabob visited the Generall both ashoare and aboard. And the Generall thought fit with consent of the rest, that I should returne with the Hope for England. The third of March, we weighed from Swally road, the next day had sight of the Portugall fleete. The sixth, we expected they would have fought, and prepared our fights; but at noone they bare up for Goa. On the eleventh, we parted from the Generall, they bound for Achen and Bantam, we for England. On the twelfth, we held our course by the North end of the Maldivas, where by experience we found many shoalds and Ilands, laid in the plats most falsly, as may seeme of purpose, that these Seas might seeme more dangerous then they are.

*False plats.*

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The seventeenth of June, 1615. we arrived at Saldania Bay, where wee found a fleet of foure saile English bound for Surat, under the command of Captaine Keeling, which after consultation holden, and newes of the state there, departed. On the twentieth, I met with Crosse and his Companie, there left to make a discovery, and intreated some of them to acquaint Coree with my comming, which by the way were set upon by the Savages and wounded, and thereupon foure Muskets delivered Crosse at his request, who procured Coree to come downe with his whole family, and after that some Cattell. He told of the discords amongst the Savages, whereby the Mountainers sometimes robbed them. The sixe and twentieth wee departed, leaving our long Boat to Crosse, with powder, shot, and provision.

*Of Crosse and  
his Company  
of condemned  
persons set on  
shoare here,  
see after in  
Peytons  
Voyage.*

In twenty nine degrees North, we met with a Holland ship come from the Mauritius, set forth thither to cut wood, which seemed a Bastard Ebony; where contrary to their expectation, they found the lamentable wracke of foure ships come from Bantam and the Moluccas, broken on the rockes, the goods and men of two of them lost; of the third most of the goods saved, and with part thereof this ship laden; the fourth driven to sea by a storme, returned with a jury maine mast. The Master promised us company, but finding us a hinderance, after tenne dayes left us, without so much kindnesse as a farewell, or carriage of a letter, which I imputed to their inbred boorish disposition. Ill weather followed, and we were much weakened, yet I thank God without the losse of any, till my arrivall in Ireland, thwart of the River of Limerike. The seven and twentieth of October, 1615. there also entertained with a storme, till a Scottish Barke crossed with contrary winds, was hired to pilot us into Harbour: where also a remainder of Captaine M. his ungodly crue, which lately had obtained their pardon, put mee in feare, till Sir Henrie Foliot secured us with a supply of men; and I dispeeded Letters to London.

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

### Chap. XIII.

A Journall of the Journey of Richard Steel and John Crowther, from Azmere in India, the place of the Great Mogols residence, to Spahan the Royall Seat of the King of Persia, in the affaires of the East-Indian Society. Ann. 1615. 1616.

March 17.  
1614.

*Richard Still  
or Steele.*



He seventeenth of March, 1614. after we had been detained in Azmere from February, M. Edwards having received a Letter from the Mogol unto our King, delivered a Copy thereof together with his Letters unto Richard Steele, and tooke leave, promising to procure the

Kings Firman for our safetie and speed, and to send it after us to Agra, where he willed us to stay for it. Wee went that night two courses to Mandill; we had foure servants, two horses, and a Camel. The eighteenth, to Bandersandree a small Aldea twelve course. The nineteenth, ten course to Mosobade. The twentieth, to Pipelo 13 c. The one and twentieth, to Chadfoole a Towne 7 c. The two & twentieth, to Lalscotte, 13 c. The three and twentieth, to Mogol Serac, 12 c. The foure and twentieth, to Hendowne, 14 c. The five and twentieth, to Bramobad, 12 c. The sixe and twentieth, to Fetipore, 12 c. This hath beene a faire Citie, built by Echabar, and hath within it a goodly house belonging to the King. It is walled round with a faire wall, and both within and round about, hath many spacious Gardens and places of pleasure. Now it goes to ruine, and much ground within the walls is sowne with corne, the King carrying much of the fairest stone to Agra his new Citie.

[I. iv. 520.]

The seven and twentieth, to Agra, 12 c. In the English house at Agra, we found one Richard Barber



## RICHARD STEEL AND JOHN CROWTHER

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an Apothecary, which came over with Sir Robert Sherley. Hee was sent by M. Kerridge, to looke to Nicholas Withington.

Within two dayes journey of Agra, we passed by the Country and Citie of Biana, where the finest Indico is made. The best was then worth sixe and thirtie Rupias the Maun at Agra; but in the Countrey much cheaper. The third of Aprill, perceiving the Firman came not, and the heat of the yeare comming on, we departed, leaving order with Richard Barber to send it after us. We came that night to a Seræ called Boutta, 6 c. The fourth, to a Towne called Multra, 14 c. and lay in a faire Seræ: there we received the Firman. The fifth, to a Seræ called Chatta, 12 c. The sixth to a Seræ built by Chan Azam, 9 c. The seventh to a Sera built by Shec Ferreede called Purwell, 11 c. The eighth, to another goodly Sera by the same Founder, 10 c. The ninth, to Dillee a Citie, 9 c. which is great and ancient, in times past the Seat of the Kings, where many of them lie buried. At this time many great men have their Gardens, and houses of pleasure there, and there are buried, whereby it is beautified with goodly buildings; the inhabitants (for the most part Banians) poore and beggerly, by reason of the Kings long absence. The tenth, to Bunira, 10 c. The eleventh to Cullvower 12 c. The twelfth, to Pampette, 12 c. a prety small Citie, where are made divers sorts of Girdles, Shashes, and great store of linnen cloth, and they have store of handicrafts. The thirteenth, to Carnall, 12 c. The foureteenth, to Tanisera, 14 c. The fifteenth, to Shavade, 10 c. The sixteenth, to Mogoll Sera, or Gaurgur, 15 c. The seventeenth, to Sinan an auncient Citie, where is made store of linnen, 14 c. The eighteenth, to Duratia, 15 c. The nineteenth, to Pullower, 11 c. We passed this day a great River by Boat, called Sietmege, very broad, but full of shoalds, and runneth West into Sinda. The twentieth to Nicouder a small Towne, 11 c. The one and twentieth, to Sultanpoare an old Towne, having a River running to the North, and a bridge with

*Biana, the  
place of finest  
Indico.*

*Divers Seræes  
built by great  
men, faire  
buildings to  
entertaine  
travellers.*

*Dely or Dillee  
an auncient  
Citie.*

*Pampette.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

sixe arches: here is store of linnen cloath made: foure course from it we passed another small River. The two and twentieth, to Chiurmul, 11 c. This day by Boat we passed a River as broad as the Thames at Gravesend, called Vian, running Westward into Sinda: upon the bankes whereof was pitched Chan Allom, the Kings Embassadour into Persia, whose Campe seemed a little Citie. The three and twentieth, to Chan Channa Sera, 17 c. The foure and twentieth, to Lahoare, 7 c.

*Lahor.  
Fertilitie of  
the Countrey.*

All the Countrey betwixt Agra and Lahore, is exceeding well tilled and manured, being the best of India, and plentifull of all things. It yeelds great store of poudred Sugar, the best being worth betwixt two Rupias three quarters, and two and an halfe, the great Maund of fortie. Here all the way is set on both sides with trees, the most of them bearing a kind of Mulbery. It is dangerous in the night for Theeves, but in the day secure. Every five or sixe Course, there are Seraes built by the King or some great men, very faire for the beautifying of the way, memory of their names, and entertainment of Travellers. In these you shall have a Chamber and place to tye your Horses, also store of Horsemeat. But in many of them but little good to be had for men, by reason of the Banians. When a man hath taken up his lodging, no other may dispossesse him.

*Seraes what,  
and wherefore  
built.*

In the morning about day breake, all men make readie to depart together, and then are the gates opened. Before, no man is suffered to depart for feare of Theeves. This was a tedious travaile: for within two houres after the Sunne-rising, wee were scarcely able to endure the heate.

*Lahore.*

Lahore is a goodly great Citie, and one of the fairest and ancientest of India. It stands on the River Indus or Sinda; and from this place came the Treasure of the Portugals Trade when they had peace, as being the Centre of all Indian Traffique. And here they embarked the same downe the River for Tatta, whence they were transported for Ormus and Persia. The

*Tatta.*

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Merchants also passing that way betwixt Persia and India, payd them freight. They did likewise drive a great Trade up this River for Pepper and Spices, furnishing these parts of India therewith. At this present the Merchants of India assemble at Lahore, and invest a great part of their monies in Commodities, and joyne themselves in Caravans to passe the Mountaines of Candahar into Persia, by which way is generally reported to passe twelve or fourteene thousand Camels lading, whereas heretofore scarsly passed three thousand, the rest going by the way of Ormus. These Merchants are put to great charges betwixt Lahore and Spahan, (besides great cold in Winter and heate in Summer, and the badnesse of the way, spending six or seven moneths betwixt those two places) they are said to reckon every Camels lading to stand them in one hundred and twentie, or one hundred and thirtie Rupias. Persia is that way furnished with Pepper and Spices from Masulipatan over land. In Lahore wee stayed from the foure and twentieth of Aprill, untill the thirteenth of May, to refresh our selves and our tyred beasts, and to provide Servants and necessaries for the way. Wee also here procured Letters from an Embassadour of the Persian King.

The thirteenth of May, we departed with intent to overtake a Caravan which was gone two moneths before, and went that day to Chacksunder a small Towne 11 c. The fourteenth, to Nonserae, 15 c. The fifteenth, to Mutteray, 8 c. The sixteenth, to Quemal Chan, 19 c. The seventeenth, to Herpae, 16 c. The eighteenth, to Alicasava, 12 c. The nineteenth, to Trumba, 12 c. This day we overtooke a small Caravan which went from Lahor eight dayes before us. The twentieth, to Sedousehall, 14 c. The one and twentieth, to Callixeokebaudi, 15 c. The two and twentieth, to Multan, 12 c. This is a great and ancient Citie. Within three Course of it Indus runneth. It yeeldeth white Linnen and Diaper. All Caravans are constrayned to stay at this River eight, ten, or twelve dayes before they can get leave of the

[I. iv. 521.]

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Governour to passe, to the end that the Citie being poore may get some-what. We were stayed five dayes, and then were faine to make way with a Present.

The eight and twentieth, we passed the River and went to Pettoallee a small Village 20 c. The nine and twentieth, we passed another great River by Boate, and the same night came to a small River called Lacca, where we found the Caravan aforesaid: we presented the Caravan Basha with a Looking-glasse and Knife, who wished us to pitch our Tent neere to his, that wee might have no wrong offered us. The Caravan had beene heere ten dayes, and stayed till the second of June, to procure a Convoy of Horsemen to conduct them to Chatcza a small Fort in the Mountaines, having heard of the Mountainers injury to a former Caravan.

The second of June, we dislodged and entred that night into the Mountaines 12 c. where wee were distressed for want of fresh water, the water being brackish. The third and fourth, we travelled all night climbing high Mountaines, and following water Courses with divers windings twelve Course, but in direct Line not above sixe. The fift, we followed the Course of a River ful of great Pebles 8 c. The sixth we rested. The seventh, we went 4 c. still crossing the said River. The eight, 8 c. The ninth, twelve. The tenth, three, and came to *Chatcza*. Chatcza, which is a little Fort, the wals built of mud, enclosed with a Ditch, where the Mogoll maintayneth eightie, or one hundred Horsemen to secure the way from Theeves. But they themselves are as very Theeves as any, where they find opportunitie.

The Captain of the Castle exacted upon every Camel of the Caravan two Abacees, although nothing be due by reason he & his have wages of the King. In all this way betwixt Lacca & Chatcza, we found not any sustenance for man or beast, except in some places a little grasse: & therefore we were constrained at Lacca to make provision, hyring an Oxe for that purpose to carrie Barley for our Horses. The Agwans (so they call the

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Mountaine-people) came downe to us every day where we lodged, rather to espy what they could steale, then to buy, as they pretended.

The twelfth, in the evening having made provision for three dayes, we went thence 14 c. that night. The thirteenth, 10 c. The fourteenth, 10 c. This day the people came downe to us and brought sheepe, Goates, Meale, Butter and Barley in great abundance, sufficient for our selves and our Cattle, at reasonable prices. And from this place forwards the people daily did the like, sometimes also bringing Felts and course Carpets striped. The fifteenth, we went 6 c. The sixteenth, 4 c. The seventeenth, tenne. The eighteenth, 9 c. The nineteenth, 9 c. to a little Towne of the Agwans, called Duckee, where the Mogore maintayneth a Garrison, with a little square Fort, the wals built of mud a good height, distant a mile from the Towne. Heere wee stayed three dayes, because the Caravan could not agree with the Captaine of the Castle, who pretended a dutie on every Camell: which at last they payd, one Abacee and a halfe on each. The three and twentieth, we went 6 c. The foure and twentieth, wee past by a place called Secota, or three Castles, because of three Villages triangle-wise scituate on the side of a hill neere together. Wee went 8 c. The five and twentieth, wee rested by reason of foule weather. The sixe and twentieth, 10 c. The seven and twentieth, 14 c. This day wee passed the Durues, or Gates of the Mountaines, being narrow straits, having Rockes on both sides very high, whence with stones a few may stop the passage of a multitude: and divers Caravans have beene in these places cut off. This night where we lodged we suffered divers insolencies from the Agwans, and on the morrow they exacted of us as wee passed by a small Village called Coasta, two Abacees and a halfe on each Camell. The eight and twentieth, 5 c. The nine and twentieth, by Abdun a Village 8 c. The thirtieth, 6 c.

*Durues or  
straits of the  
hills.*

The first of July, 7 c. to a place called Pesinga, a small *Pesinga.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Fort much like unto Duckee, where are store of Souldiers for securing the way. The Captaine exacted halfe an Abacee upon a Camell. The third we left the Caravan and went forwards 6 c. The fourth, wee past a mightie Mountaine, and descended into the Plaines 14 c. The fifth, 20 c. we were distressed for want of graine for our Cattell. The sixth, in the like distresse for them and our selves, 12 c. The seventh, to Candahar, 8 c.

*Candahar, the  
Mountaynes.*

These Mountaines of Candahar, are inhabited by a fierce people called Agwans or Potans, very strong of bodie, somewhat whiter then the Indians, great Robbers, accustomed to cut off whole Caravans. But at present partly for feare of the Mogoll, and partly through sweet found by commerce (in venting their graine, sheepe and Goats, of which they have great store, and buying of course Linnen and other necessities) they are become more civill. Yet if they can take any stragling by themselves or staying behind, they will sell them above in the Mountaines, and hoxe them to prevent running away, and put them to grind graine with Hand-mills, and other servile drudgerie.

[I. iv. 522.]

*The Citie.*

The Citie of Candahar is ancient, the Inhabitants anciently Banians: there now resideth the Governour of the Countrey, and a Garrison maintayned by the Mogoll, of twelve or fiftene thousand Horsemen, in regard of the Persians neighborhood to the North. And West-ward it is environed with a mightie steepe, craggie Rocke; and to the South and to the East with a strong wall. By reason of frequent passage of Caravans it is much enlarged lately, that the Suburbs are bigger then the Citie. For within this two yeare, that the way of Ormus is stopped up by the wars betwixt the Persians and Portugals, all Caravans which passe betwixt India and Persia, must of necessitie goe by this place. And here they doe hire Camels to go into India, and at their returne for Persia. They cannot returne also without the Governours leave, which causeth them to stay a moneth, and when least, sixteene or twentie dayes:

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whereby it is much inhabited with lewd people, as all such places of resort commonly are. Provision of victuals is there in great abundance for man and beast, yet deare by so great concourse. Trade it yeelds not of it selfe, but accidentally by the meeting of Indian, Persian and Turkie Merchants, which are not willing to travell further at twentie per Cento profit. At this place the Caravans which goe to India, do joyne for greater strength in passing the Mountaines of Candahar: and those which come from thence heere breake into smaller Companies: for in many places greater would not find provision.

For all Persia, especially betwixt this and Spahan, is barren, where sometime in two or three dayes travell, there is no greene thing to be seene; only some water, and that also often brackish, stinking and naught. Wee stayed heere foureteene dayes, partly to refresh our bodies weakened with heate and travaile (John Crowther being so weake that hee feared hee should not bee able to travell further) and partly for company.

*Barrenesse of  
the borders of  
the Mogoll and  
Persian.*

The three and twentieth of July, wee departed Candahar in company of three Armenians, and a doozen Persian Merchants, and went 10 c. to a Village called Seriabe. The foure and twentieth, 12 c. to Deabage a small Dea or Village. The five and twentieth, 8 c. to Cushecunna a small Castle, where the Mogor hath a Garison in the utmost confines of his Dominions.

The sixe and twentieth, 17 c. and lay by a Rivers side in the open fields. The seven and twentieth, 4 c. to a Castle called Greece the first of the King of Persias. Here we delivered the Embassadors Letter received at Lahore, to the Governour, and presented him with a Looking-glasse and three Knives. He would take nothing of us for our Camels, whereas others paid five Abacees upon a Camell. He promised to safe-conduct us, and to send a company of Horse to carrie us to the next Government. But we saw none, neither were we sorrie for it: for that hee is little better then a Rebell, and all his people Theeves. The eight and twentieth, at

*The Persians  
Countray.*

2.5  
1.2  
A.D.  
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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Farsings*  
(*Parasange* of  
60. *Furlongs*.)

night wee departed and lodged neere unto a Dea called Malgee; two farsings. Every farsing is two Indian Courses and a halfe. The nine and twentieth, ten farsings, and lodged in the open fields, where was nothing to be had but water. The thirtieth, five farsings to Gazichan a small Castle. The one and thirtieth, five farsings to an olde ruined Fort, where was nothing to be had but water, and that stinking.

*Farra.*  
*Sun-dryed*  
*Brickes.*

The first of August, five farsings to an old Fort, called De Laram, where wee paid an Abacee and halfe on a Camell, and stayed one day to refresh our cattell, which is called making of Mochoane. The third, to Bacon, an old Castle, seven farsings. The fourth, in the open fields, nothing but water, foure farsings. The fifth, foure farsings. The sixth to Farra five farsings: This is a little Towne walled with a high wall of brickes about, dried in the Sunne (as are all the Castles, and most of the buildings of those parts) foure square, a mile about; having a pretty Bazar vaulted over-head to keepe from raine, wherein all necessaries are sold. It stands in a good soile, and hath plenty of water, without which in this Countrey nothing is be had: and it is strange to see, where there is any good spot of ground (which is heere but little) with what labour and industry they bring water to it, in some places three or foure miles together by trenches under ground. At this Towne all Merchants which go into Persia, are forced to stay seven, or eight, or ten daies together, where the Kings Treasurer seeth the weight of all their packets, and esteemes them at so much the Maune, as he thinkes fit, and takes three per cento custome.

*Water how*  
*precious.*

At their comming into Persia, they are used with great favour: for they feare lest complaints should be made to the King, which will have Merchants kindly entreated.

But at their going into India they use all extremitie, searching them to the skinne for gold, which to transport, or any coyne of silver out of Persia, but the Kings, is death.



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Likewise they looke narrowly for horses and slaves, which the King will not have transported. Heere we stayed two dayes for certaine Armenians, with whom we went, leaving our former company. The ninth, one farsing to a River. The tenth, in the open fields, seven farsings. The eleventh, foure farsings to a small Village, where we had store of provision. The twelfth, foure farsings, where we digged for water. The thirteenth, eight farsings. The fourteenth, to Draw, a Village, five farsings, where we stayed a day, which is the custome once in foure dayes, for such as travell with laden Camels, to rest. The sixteenth, three farsings. The seventeenth, foure farsings. The eighteenth, to Zaidebasha, five farsings, where are good store of Carpets to be bought. [I. iv. 523.] The nineteenth, to Mude a Village, where are also Carpets. The twentieth, to Birchen, five farsings, where are store of fine Felt, Carpets of Camels haire, made, from two to five Abacees the Maune, heere we stayed a day. The two and twentieth, to Dezaide, where they pretend all to be religious, and have store of Carpets to sell at cheape rates. The three and twentieth, three farsings. The foure and twentieth, five farsings to Choore, an old ruined towne. The five and twentieth, three farsings. The six and twentieth, seven farsings, the water brackish and stinking. The seven and twentieth, to Dehuge, where is a prettie streame of hot water, which being put into any vessell, becomes coole and health-some. The eight and twentieth, seven farsings to Dea Curma. The nine and twentieth, to Tobaz five farsings, we payed *Tobaz.* halfe an Abacee a Camell. At Tobaz all Caravans doe rest at least foure or five dayes, the better to be able to passe the salt Desert adjoyning, being foure long *Salt Desert.* dayes journey, wherein many miscary. We found there a small Caravan of one hundred Camels, which went the next day. Heere, and in the former Village, are store of Dates, and three thousand Maune yearly of the finest Silke in Persia, whch is carried to Yades, a faire Citie, *Yades.* where they have the like, and is made into Taffatas,

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Sattens and Damaskes. The King will not suffer it to be transported, especially into Turkie, but the Portugalls carried it into Portugall. Yades is about twelve dayes journey from Spahan, and twelve farsings out of the way of India. The thirtieth, we went nine farsings over the Desert, lay in the fields, and sent our beasts three miles out of the way for water, it being exceeding salt. The one and thirtieth, ten farsings, where the water was not all so brackish.

The first of September, five farsings, where we went two miles for water. The second, to a small Castle nine farsings, little provision. The third, five farsings, lay in the fields, sent farre for water. The fourth, to Seagan ten farsings. The fifth, foure farsings. The sixt, to Irabad, a Castle, ten farsings, where we payed halfe an Abacee on a Camell. The seventh, six farsings. The eight, to Ardecan eight farsings, where we stayed till the tenth. Then went to Sellef foure farsings. The eleventh, to Agea Gaurume, a small Castle, three farsings. The twelfth, nine farsings to a spring in the fields. The thirteenth, to Beavas three farsings. The fourteenth, to Goolabad foure farsings, from whence Richard Steele rode before to Spahan. The fifteenth, to Morea Shavade five farsings. The sixteenth, to Coopa five farsings. The seventeenth, to Dea Sabs five farsings. The eighteenth, foure farsings, and lay in the fields. The nineteenth, three farsings, and came to Spahan. Richard Steele reached thither the fifteenth at noone, and found Sir Robert Sherley dispatched from the Persian King, in Embassage to the King of Spaine, with him his Lady, and for his Chaplaine, a Frier of the Bare-foot Order, with five and fiftie Portugall prisoners, and his owne followers, both Persians and Armenians, speeding for Ormus, to imbarke for Lisbon. The purpose is, that seeing the Portugalls are not able to stand, the Spaniards may be brought in, six Friers remaining in hostage till his returne, at Spahan, whom otherwise the King hath vowed to cut in pieces; which he is likely enough to

## RICHARD STEEL AND JOHN CROWTHER

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doe, who hath done to death his owne sonne, and committed a thousand other severities. Richard Steele delivered his Letters to Sir Robert, who durst scarcely reade them, but now and then by stealth, fearing the Portugalls should know of them. Hee after said it was too late to look after that businesse for our Nation, and seemed discontent with the company, and the Master and Merchants which landed him. But at last said he was an Englishman, and promised to effect our desires, and (the Friers being absent) caried both on the nineteenth to the Master of the Ceremonies or Maimondare, and took us with him to the Great Vizier, Sarek Hoge, who presently called his Scrivans, & made draughts of what we desired: viz. three Firmans, one which John Crowther hath for Surat, one for Richard Steele, to carry into England; the third sent to Jasques, to the Governour. All are sealed with the Kings great Seale, and to this effect, That all Governours of Sea-ports within his Majesties Dominions, shall kindly entertaine the English shipping, &c. The same day that these Firmans were ended, departed Sir Robert Sherley, being the last of September, towards Siras, with great pompe and much honour, &c.

*Of Sir Robert  
Sherley his  
landing, reade  
Peytons first  
Voyage: and  
of the rest of  
his Journey,  
his second.*

Your Worships at Command,

RICHARD STEELE.

Your Worships servant ever to be Commended

JOHN CROWTHER.

The chiefe Commodities of Persia are Raw-silke, of which it yeelds, according to the Kings bookes, yearly seven thousand and seven hundred Batmans. Rubarb growes in Corasan, where Worme-seed growes also: Carpets of all sorts, Silke and Gold, Silke and Silver, halfe Silke halfe Cotton, &c. Their moneyes in Persia of Silver, are the Abacee, the Mahomedee, Shahee and Biftee: the rest of Copper, like the Tangas and Pisos of India. The Abacee weigheth two Metficcalls; the

*Commodities of  
Persia.*

*Their  
Moneyes.*

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[I. iv. 524.] Mahomedee is halfe an Abacee; the Shahee halfe a Mahomedee: in the Riall of eight are thirteene Shahees. In a Shahee are two Biftees and a halfe, or ten Casbegs. One Biftee is foure Casbegs or two Tangs. The weights differ in divers places: two Mahans of Tauris make one of Spahan, and likewise the Batman. The measure of Silkes, &c. is the same with the Pike of Aleppo, which we judge seven and twenty inches.

*Their  
measure.*

*Richard  
Steeles journey  
by land thorow  
Persia and  
Turkie.*

John Crowther returned into India. Richard Steele to England by the way of Turkie. From Spahan the second of December, five farsings to a Sarail. The third, eight farsings to another Sarail. The fourth, to a Village sixe farsings. The fifth, to Dreag seven farsings. The sixth, to a Sarail seven farsings. The seventh, to Golpigan eight farsings. The eighth, to Curouon seven farsings. The ninth, to Showgot seven farsings. The tenth, to Saro six farsings. The eleventh, to Dissabod eight farsings. The twelfth, two Manfields to a faire Towne Tossarkhan, twelve farsings, and rested that day, because of the deepe Snow. The fifteenth, to Kindanor six farsings. The sixteenth, to Sano eight farsings. The seventeenth, to Shar Nuove, where I was stayed by the Daiga, but shewing Letters from the Vizier, hee bade me depart in the name of God and Alle. The eighteenth, passed by a bridge, where all men are to give account what they are, and pay two Shahees a Camell. The nineteenth, to Kassamkhan, the last of the Persian Governments, and gave a Present to the Governour for a guard against the Turke-men: which hee not onely did, but gave mee licence to feed on his Villages without paying, which yet I would not. The one and twentieth, I began my journey over the high mountaines, which part the two Countries, being dangerous, and the two and twentieth arrived at a Village, eight farsings. The three and twentieth, seven farsings, lay under a rocke. The foure and twentieth, to Mando, a Towne under the Turkes, eight farsings. The five and twentieth, to Emomester eight farsings. The sixe and twentieth, to

## RICHARD STEEL AND JOHN CROWTHER

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Boroh, passed over a River by Boat, and that night arrived at Bagdat, eight farsings, where I was searched and examined for letters, which I had hid under my saddle, whither one also was prying, but by a signe which I made, gave over, and followed mee to my lodging for his expected reward. I escaped better then an old Spaniard, which a fortnight before was imprisoned and chained in the Castle, his letters read by a Malteza Renegado. I met with a Portugall which arrived heere (from Goa and Ormus) two daies before mee. The Basha made us stay heere twenty dayes, to stay for a Sabandar of his.

The sixteenth of January, we passed Tygris, and lay on the Desert side. The seventeenth, we went five Agatza (leagues or farsings) the eighteenth, met with Euphrates at Tlulquy, where Merchants disembarcke for Bagdat, or (after five per Cento custome paid) passe the Tigris for the Persian Gulfe. And after a tedious passage, partly by the River, partly by Deserts, partly by Sea, the fifteenth of Aprill 1616. he arrived at Marsiles, and the tenth of May at Dover, &c.

Your Worships to command in all obedience,

RICHARD STEELE.

The Copie of the King of Persias Firman, Translated out of the Persian.

**F**Orman or Command given unto all our Subjects, from the greatest, unto what degree soever, unto the Souf-basha or Constable of our Country, to kindly receive and entertaine the English Frankes or Nation, at what time any of their ships or shipping shall arrive at Jasques, or any other of the Ports in our Kingdome: to conduct them and their Merchandize to what place or places they themselves desire: and that you shall see them safely defended about our Coasts, from any other Frank or Franks whatsoever.

*Frankes, a name given in the East to all Western Christians, since the Expedition into the Holy Land: the French being chiefe therein, and a French Councell at Claremont cause thereof.*

A.D.  
1614.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Thus I will and command you so to doe, as you shall answere to the contrary. Given at our Royall Citie, the twelfth of this Mon Ramassan (October) in the yeare of Our Tareag 1024. A.D. 1615.

### Chap. XIII.

Memorials of a Voyage, wherein were employed three shippes, the Samaritan, Thomas and Thomasine 1614. written by \*John Milward Merchant, who went in the Thomas.

*\*The Journall  
had not the  
Authors name,  
but I find him  
thus named by  
Captaine Pay-  
ton, as Chiefe  
at Tecoo.  
Soldania in  
thirty three  
degrees, fiftie  
minutes South.*



[I. iv. 525.]

He tenth of May 1614. we anchored at Gore-end. The third of October in the Bay of Soldania, where we bought one hundred and fortie sheep, and ten Oxen, and more might have done. These people are most miserable, destitute of Religion in any kind, so farre as we can perceive, and of all civility; their speech a chattering rather then language; naked, save a short cloake of skinne on their shoulders, and a Fox-skinne before their privities: have but one stone, naturally or ceremoniously I know not; eate that which dogges would hardly digest. They demanded unreasonably for their Cattell, which we thought proceeded from Cories, who had been in England, and (as we suppose) acquainted them with our little esteeme of Yron and Copper, asking peices as big as their cloakes, and had for their Cattell Skillets, Basons, and Scummers. One seemed to be chiefe, whom the Generall kindly entertained in his Tent, and wee after that bought more freely. Their Sheep like our Goats, with small hornes, their Oxen larger then ours, the flesh white like our Muttons, the fat yellow as the yolk of an egge, wilde, and of one stone most of them like themselves. October is with them, as Aprill with us, the weather temperate, but hot and parching at noone, the aire wholesome, our men presently recovering, some desperately sicke, they

## JOHN MILWARD

A.D.  
1614.

of the Scurvy using a red Berry as big as a Goose-berry.

The twentieth of December, the Generall caused the Masters and Masters-mates to come aboard, supposing that we were shot one hundred and fiftie leagues more then reckoning to the East, in eightene degrees fortie minutes. The nine and twentieth, we discried land, but knew not well in what height we were, resolved that it was Java, but knew not what part of it, supposed it the South-side, and that we were fallen on it by keeping too Easterly a course. And though the plats make it to lie betwixt eleven and twelve degrees, and our latitude, at that time, was but eight degrees forty minutes; yet it is questionable whether it hath been discovered. But howsoever, or wheresoever we were, it is certaine that we were fallen to Lee-ward of the straits of Sunda, by two or three degrees, and into the North-west Monsons, which blow thereabouts from September to the last of March. All the Masters were of opinion, to goe back into thirteene or foureteene degrees South-ward, to fetch the South-east wind, which is a trade wind betweene twentie eight and eleven degrees, and so to shape our course more Northerly. Others were of opinion, to goe round about the Iland, and to fetch Bantam, as certaine Dutchmen had done heretofore on like occasion, and accomplished it in sixe weekes space. But the first opinion tooke place. The land hereabouts is very high, and neere the sea full of great Trees, the aire noysome by stinke from the shoare, subject to much lightning, thunder, and raine, with sudden gusts. The next day noone, we had a good observation in the latitude of eight degrees thirty five minutes. The Generall was resolved to beat up and downe, to see if we could get any thing to the West: he charged M. Wilson for author of the error; betwixt whom also and the Captaine, passed both words and blowes, which the Generall reduced into amitie the eleventh of January. On the eighteenth, we had land in seven degrees tenne minutes, being by likelihood not farre

*The Copie of this Voyage was so hurt with wet, that I could not in some places read it, and therefore have delivered it more imperfectly. They know not where they are.*

*Trade wind.*

*Wilson accused, as also for the losse of the Thomazine afterwards.*

A.D.  
1614.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Strong Current.*

West from our first land, notwithstanding that we had runne from it by our course neere one hundred leagues to the West, by reason of a violent current to the East.

*Inforced Bay.*

*\*Indian fig tree, or Arbore de rais, which Goropius conceived to be the tree of Adams sin. See my Pilgr. l. 5. c. 13. §. 2.*

The Land to the sea is low and leuell, within high mountaines: wee anchored at the entry of the Bay, where we found calmes, the Current setting strong East South-east, that in a calme it would carry a ship foure leagues a watch. There is store of Wood and Water from the Rocks, but brackish. We found neere to the shoare continuall calme, (the wind still blowing two or three leagues off at Sea) be it never so great a storme. In this place, which I may well call Inforced Bay, we saw no people, the shoare very thicke of Wood, Cocos, Palmes, and a hundred other kinds of trees, some growing in a number of rootes,\* which descend from the toppe of the branches, where are fortie or fiftie foot high, and take root againe, so that the Tree sheweth like a Woodstacke. I suppose that never Christian had been there, nor will againe, if he can avoide it: yet the Generall in one of the trees set up his name and armes. We were not past two leagues from our anchoring place, from whence we had scant wind enough to bring us, but there rose so great a gust of wind and raine, that we were forced to take in all our top-sailes, and strike our maine saile.

*Voluntary Bay.*

*Middleton Bay.*

On the three and twentieth, after much consultation and subscription for the Generalls discharge, we bore in with the land, and anchored in a Bay which I may terme Voluntary, where we found a Dutch-man at anchor, whom we had formerly met at Sestos. The next day we went ashoare, and found a Towne and people, not blacke, but tawney, their houses built of Canes, cloathed some from the Waste, other wholly; they respected nothing that wee had, nor afforded us any thing to speake of; their weapons pipes and cryses. The Dutch-man named this place Middleton Bay: it is a good Harbour, hath a River and an Iland, and lieth some fiftie leagues to the East of the North end of Java, as the



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Dutch-man informed us, who coasted it all along. It is in seven degrees thirtie five minutes.

The second of February, we were in tenne degrees twelve minutes. We saw the next day a small Iland, *An Iland.*

fortie leagues to the South of Java major, in tenne degrees, about five leagues broad, eight long. The fourth at Sun-setting, we had three degrees tenne minutes to the West variation. It is an infallible rule, that from the Cape of Good Hope to Java, the variation increaseth to the West, the further East we runne, till it come to about seventeene degrees, and then as we runne to the East decreaseth, till we come to the straights of Sunda, where it is three degrees and a halfe variation, and is holden the best guide for Easting and Westing, though not observing exact proportion. On the fifth, we had nine degrees sixteen minutes, and three degrees forty eight minutes variation West. The declination of the Crosiers is twenty eight degrees and a halfe. On the thirteenth, we were in the straights of Sunda, having on our Larboord Sumatra, and Java on our Starboord. The *Rule of variation.*

fourteenth at night, we anchored within three leagues of Bantam Road. The next morning came to us, M. Baily Merchant, and M. Samon Master of the Globe, who told us that the Globe was then laden for England, and that the Trades-increase beeing brought on ground on Pulo penjohn, all her men died in the careening of her; and afterwards it stood them in five hundred ryalls of eight a day to hire Javans, of whom five hundred died in the worke, before they could sheath one side; so that they could hire no more men, and therefore were inforced to leave her imperfect, where shee was sunke in the Sea, and after set on fire by the Javans. The Chineses also reported, that the Devill appeared on Pulo penjohn Iland, signifying his offence, that the Chineses would undertake such a businesse on his ground, and give him nothing (for they were the workemen) whereupon one of the chiefe Chinese Carpenters came to Sir Henry Middleton, and reported it, desiring to have a Buffolo *[I. iv. 526.]*

*Bantam.*

*The Trades-increase.*

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for sacrifice, who denyed, yea forbad him when hee would have done it at his owne charge, esteming the want thereof cause of their evils.

*\*Where is the evidence?* The Globe departed from Bantam the one and twentieth of February. The foure and twentieth, the Thomasine departed for the Molluccas, M. Baily Cape Merchant, and M. Wilson Master. Our Generall sent word to the King of Bantam, that the Spaniards would invade him, and take away his Towne; who answered, that if all the Caffars (so they call all not Mahumetans) in the world should come against him, he had a god \* that would defend him.

*No trade without the King of Achens Letter at Priaman and Teco.* The foureteenth of March, we departed in the Thomas for the Coast of Sumatra. The twelfth of May, we arrived at Priaman, but were denied trade. The next day, we rode to Tecoo, along by the Sea-side, which I thinke in this place, hath the greatest source of any in the world, occasioned by the many shoales and breaches on this coast, whereby the dangers of sailing are unknowne.

*Achen.* On the seventeenth, we weighed for Achen, where the twentieth of June we arrived. On all this coast when there is no raine, although it bee calme, the Sea goeth very high; and in raine though the wind blow much, the Sea is smooth. The King sent us his Chop. On the eight and twentieth, he sent an Elephant to carry the Kings Letter in State. We carried for a Present, a great piece of Ordnance, with the carriages, twenty Bullets, a Ladle, Skowrer, and two barrels of Powder, twelve fowling peeces, tenne Swords, sixe fine Baftas, all wrapped in the Kings colours. He sate in great Sate with the King of Jor, and gave to my selfe, M. Nicols, and M. Yate three Vests (contrary to his custome) and was very merry.

*The Kings Women and Pompe.* The second of July, he came by the waters side upon an Elephant in great state, with divers Elephants before him, and twelve other Elephants having Castles (as they tearme them) on their backs, full of his Women, having multitudes of Women and Eunuches attending, all other

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people being beaten out of the way, and not daring to be seen; our selves having our house neere the Waters side, were commanded to shut our doores and windowes. The Sabandar by a Parable taught us to know him, telling us, That if a man will sow a piece of Cloth, let the Needle go through, and the thred will follow of it selfe; insinuating that a Bribe must usher our designes. The King offered us to settle a Factory here, paying custome as other Nations did, which was seven in the hundred, and we accepted it, whereat the Dutch were angry.

*Factory at  
Achen.*

The sixth, the Hector set saile for Teco, having lost at Achen twenty six men, principally occasioned by distemper in Aracke houses. The eleventh, the Captaine of the Dutch house protested he had not a Mase to buy victualls, and besides was indebted; whereupon I lent him seventy taile of Gold, to be paid at Bantam. Perceiving the Gold of this place base, I refused to sell but for Silver. On the sixteenth, we went to the Court (without a Present, presence is not tolerated there) to see a Cock-fighting, but the King spake nothing of any businesse, and except he beginne, no man else may. The next day, I attended all day in vaine, whiles he was solacing himselfe with his Women. On the eighteenth, his Gallies came from Malacca. On the nineteenth, he sent them for Pedir, and so for Malacca. Twelve of them were very faire, with twenty eight and thirtie oares on a side. The Admirall had a Turret built in the Poope, covered with Massie plate of Gold, and curiously wrought. It is reported, that in each of his great Gallies he would carry one thousand men, and in his fleet (beeing three hundred great and little) one hundred thousand. He forced a Guzerate Junke of foure hundred Tunnes, with the Commander, to goe with him: yet it was thought he meant not to goe himselfe, but gave it out to further his businesse; and that Orencay Maraga should be Generall, a man whom he most feareth, as of auncient Nobilitie, a good Souldiour, and popular, yet circumspect. The King beeing going, word was brought that for the

*Death by  
distemper.*

*Dutch  
relieved.*

*King of Achens  
Gallies.*

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rest of his debt, I must take pepper at eight tayle the Bahar, which I refused; yet was it weighed, choose whether I would take it, or nothing. Orencay Laxaman demanded for better conditions, a Cable, Anchor, great piece, barrell of powder, twentie shot; and for himselfe sixty tayles of Gold, for other Officers thirtie: so should we settle at Teco, and Priaman for two yeares. At length, for so much Gold, and twentie taile more, he undertooke to procure our dispatch, but at last the other also were demaunded.

*Dutch  
rejected.*

[I. iv. 527.]

On the thirtieth, came in two Dutch ships from Masulipatan, the Admirall the White Lyon, wherein was the Visador and the Ragusa. The Visador sent the King a great peece, with other things for a Present, which were rejected as of too little value. They demanded Sr. Isaac, Captaine of the Dutch house at Achen, as indebted to the Company, whom the King had appointed for Malacca, and held as his slave, and said, That if the Dutch tooke him, they should have no trade in his Countrey. He demanded one of their ships with him to Malacca, alleading an ancient promise of such a kindnesse by a former Embassadour some twentie yeares agoe, but they excused, and he said, They were an unjust Nation, and denied them his Chop, that they might not goe on shoare for seven or eight dayes, so much as to fill water: and three or foure daies after, they turned their Admirall ashoare, and gave her to the King, willing to give him content, and withall to avoid that desperate Voyage.

*Current  
deceiveth.*

The seventeenth of August, the Thomas set saile from Achen. The twentie ninth of September, we had a Spout. At our first comming from Achen, we stood off to the West, for avoiding of rocks and shoales about sixtie leagues, wherein being deceived in the Current, we were off one hundred and fiftie leagues, whereby we brought our selves open to the Bay of Bengala, and so into a strong Current, which kept us very long from our Port. The seven and twentieth of October, we anchored in Teco road, and the next day presented the King of

*Teco.*

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Achens letters for two yeeres Factory. The thirteenth of November, the Thomas departed for Bantam, I, George Piborne, John Perce, and my man Peter staying. We had much adoe with these rude people, but bare our selves stiffely on the King of Achens Letters. The ninth of May, 1616. a man of Achen being reviled by a Woman, did beat her, and thereupon grew a great uproare; for the Tecoans having fined him at foure Tailles, he denyed to pay any, and the next day an hundred men came to take him, but all the Acheners joyning, they were repulsed, one slaine, and sixe hurt: and they beeing two hundred, fortified the neather Towne, intending to stand it out to the utmost, affirming that if they should suffer themselves to be over-borne by the Country people, the King of Achen would cut off their legs. The King by this policie (his Officers being all Acheners which will suffer no abuse) holding them in awe. But the matter was ended, Lose Gee the Achener paying a summe of Money. Three moneths before this time, the small pockes were rife here, whereof many died. This moneth also was very unwholesome and faint, many dying with a swelling: our selves were sicke round about the house.

*Hatred  
betwixt the  
Tecoans and  
Acheners.*

*Unwholesome-  
ness of Tecoo.*

The eleventh of June, arrived the Expedition at Priaman. The second of July, there was a Malem that lost both his hands for stealing, who in the execution was not seene once to stirre. The thirteenth, Captaine Payton sent me word, that he feared his men would mutiny, and runne away with the ship, as they had formerly attempted, at Bantam, and therefore desired me to receive some of them ashoare, so to disperse their knot. The sixe and twentieth, the Dragon and Pepper-corne anchored at the Offing, Captaine Will. Keeling Generall in the Dragon, and Captaine Harris in the other. They had been with the King, who had graunted them trade at Teco for two yeares, after which time he would have no Nation to trade but at Achen. Hee left M. Nichols principall at Achen.

*Knot of  
knaves.*

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*Ramdam or  
Lent.*

*Corruption of  
Officers, by  
corruption  
only to be  
amended.*

The eight and twentieth of August, arrived Addicke Raja Pongola Corcon from Achen, who had the Kings goods to sell, and power to receive all the Kings customes past and to come. Hee came in nature of an Informer, and therefore all men stood in feare of him. The first of September began their Randam, at the first of sight of the new Moone: all that Moneth following, they eate nothing but in the night, and that temperately. The fifteenth, wee begunne to buy Pepper, but were forced to promise Addicke Raja one hundred Royals, before we could have any trade. The next day I excepted against the waight, whereupon Raja tooke it away to examine it, whereat the Polimo was much afraid, having in that kind much abused our Nation. The Pongelo came to the English house to reforme the weights, but beeing presently to weigh, gave us a weight lesse then that we had. The next day, I sent him fiftie Ryals for a Present, which he returned, saying, He scorned to be fed like a Boy. The one and twentieth, Captaine Harris being ashoare, seemed to take so much upon him, that Raja Addick sent to him to borrow three hundred Rialls of eight to buy him a Wench, and prest the matter so instantly, that I was forced afterward to send him an hundred.

*Hector sunke.*

*Spanish fleet  
feared.*

The third of October, I spoke at his instance also unto Captaine Harris, to spare his Carpenters two or three daies to mend his Prow, which he refused to doe. The sixth, came the Speedwell sent by the Generall from Bantam, in the charge of John Clare, Boteswaine of the Hector, sunke at Bantam in the Carining. Newes of five ships from England, foure for Surat, & the Swan for Bantam. The Thomas gone for Japan, the Concord for Socodania, the Attendant for Jambo: from Maccassar also, that the Spaniards are there bound for the Moluccas, twenty seven saile of Ships, Gallies, and Frigats, that we doubted much their comming to Bantam. On the foureteenth, arrived a Java Junke with five Hollanders, which had been cast away in the Æolus, five degrees

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South, and desired our releefe. We graunted them the Speedwell to goe to the Iland Engano, where they had laid their goods and money ashoare, whether they set saile on the three and twentieth.

*Dutch  
releved.*

The people complaine, that when they sell their Pepper to the King, they loose a fourth part, by reason they take so much more then when they dealt with the English. Reliqua desiderantur.

### Chap. XV.

[I. iv. 528.]

The second Voyage of Captaine Walter Peyton into the East-Indies, in the Expedition, which was set forth by the East-India Company, together with the Dragon, Lyon, and Pepper-Corne, in January 1614. gathered out of his large Journall.

#### §. I.

Occurents at Soldania, Mohelia, Socotora, Surat, with divers other Intelligences.



Anuary the foure and twentieth, 1614. wee set saile from Gravesend. The second of February, Sir Thomas Roe Embassadour from his Majestie to the Great Mogoll, repayed aboard the Lyon with fiftene followers. And Master Humpherey Boughton aboard the Pepper-corne, (recommended to the Company by his Majestie) to passe into India. Wee carryed with us in the Fleete eleven Japonezas brought into England by the Clove, divided proportionably amongst the shippes: likewise fourteene Guzerats brought by the Dragon: also nineteene condemned persons out of Newgate, to be left for discoverie of unknowne places, the Company having obtayned the Kings Pardon for them to this purpose.

*Sir T. Roe.*

*Japonezes  
Guzerats, and  
condemned  
persons.*

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On the twentieth, some of the Dragons men, the Newgate-Birds amongst, attempted to run away with their Pinnasse, which then was prevented. But one of those condemned with two of the Pepper-cornes company carried away her Pinnasse next night; two of my ships company having conspired to carrie away the Boate, but were discovered. The three and twentieth, wee set saile out of the Downes.

*Anno 1615.  
Maps false in  
Cape Boya-  
dore, and  
Marpequena.*

On the sixt of March, lost sight of the Lizard. And on the sixe and twentieth, had sight of land which we supposed the Westermost part of Forteventura, and proved part of Barbarie, one of the land points entering the River Marpequena, beeing misgraduated one whole degree more Northerly then it should be. Likewise Cape Boyadore is misgraded one degree as we then found by experience, escaping great danger caused by that errour in our plats. The sixe and twentieth, the Generall wind began.

The tenth of May, being by reckoning distant from the Cape of Good Hope, bearing East a quarter South, sixe hundred and twentie leagues, wee saw many Pintados, Mangareludas and other fowles; whereof I have not heard the like.

*Soldania.*

*Corey a  
Savage which  
had bin in  
England.*

The fift of June, we anchored in the Bay of Soldania, having not buried above three or foure in the whole Fleete, about thirtie being now sicke. Wee built five Tents. Corey came downe and welcommed us after his manner, by whose meanes the people were nothing so fearefull as at other times, nor so theevish. They brought us cattell in great abundance, which wee bought for Copper shreds. Corey shewed some of our people his house, wife and children, at a Towne thence distant five English miles, contayning about one hundred houses. Most of them can say Sir Thomas Smith, English ships, which they often with great glorie repeat. Their wives and children came often downe to us, to whom we gave great content with Bugles and the like. And two or three desired to goe for England, seeing Corey had sped



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so well, and returned so rich with his Copper Sute, which he yet keepeth in his house very charily. Corey also determined to returne, and to carry one of his sonnes when our ships are thence bound home-wards. On the East-side of the Table is another Cottage of ten small houses, built round like Bee-hives, covered with Mats made of Bents woven together.

*Their houses.*

The sixteenth, we set on shoare by consultation tenne condemned persons, to remayne at the Cape, viz. John Crosse, Henry Cocket, Clerke, Brand, Bouth, Hunnyard, Brigs, Pets, Metcalfe, Skilligall. We gave each man something for his owne defence against wild beasts and men, weapons and victuals. They consented Crosse should be their head; The people desire Brasse, and set not so much by Copper; they desire pieces of a foot or more square. Iron hoops they care little for. We caught seven or eight hundred fishes in the River with Saynes.

*Ten condemned persons set on shoare.*

The Countrey people brought us downe of the Root Ningin, whereof wee bought one handfull for a piece of Copper an inch and halfe broad, and two inches and halfe in length. Our men got some, but not so full, nor ripe, this being not the season, which in the full perfection is as tender and sweet as Annis-seeds. On the twentieth, wee set saile. On the five and twentieth, we had sight of land in thirtie foure degrees twentie eight minutes. It is the land to the West of Cape de Arcife, misgraduated twentie seven minutes in Daniels Plats more Northerly then it should be.

*Ningin, a medicinable root much prized in Japan, somewhat like a Skirret.*

[I. iv. 529.]

Likewise, on the sixt of July, we should have seene land of Saint Laurence, by most of our reckonings according to the Plats of Daniel, (of Mercators projection) which prooved false about seventie leagues in distance of longitude betwixt the land of Æthiopia, Cape Bona Speranza, and the Ile of Saint Laurence, as the same protracted into Plano of Tottens making doe manifest.

*False plats.*

The two and twentieth, all foure ships anchored at Mohelia. Wee had water out of Wels, we digged a little above the high water marke close by the rootes

*Mohelia. Plentifull refreshing.*

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*Strange Current.*

of Trees, eight or nine foote deepe. Doman is the chiefe Towne where the Sultan abides, to whom we gave a double locked piece and a Sword. Wee had plentifull provision for little Money, Hennes, Goates, Bullockes, Limons, Oranges, Limes, Tamera, Coco-nuts, Pines, Sugar-Canes, with other fruits. There are amongst them Arabians, Turkes, Moores, many of which speake reasonable Portuguse. These told me of a strange course of the Current which ranne fifteene dayes Westerly, fifteene dayes Easterly, and fifteene dayes no way: of which somewhat I observed.

For at our first comming the Current set Westerly: and on the eight and twentieth, it set Easterly, and so continued while we stayed (sixe dayes) but we went away before perfect triall could be made. I learned of them that the King of Juanni was here King, and gave the Government to this Sultan.

*Tree-cloth.*

*C. Rowles lost  
out of the  
Unitie.*

The nine and twentieth, a ship arrived at Doman from Gangamora, in Saint Laurence, and I was wished by the Generall to see their Commodities, which were Rice and a kind of cloth made of Barkes of Trees whence they make coole garments. I enquired of the Pilot who spake Portuguse well, touching Captaine Rowles and the Englishmen betrayed in that Iland, of whom they could say nothing, but that two or three yeares past, an English Boy was at Gangamora in the custodie of Portugals, whom they thought now to be dead, neither knew how he came thither. This Towne of Doman hath in it one hundred houses of lime and stone strong built, the Inhabitants orderly and civill. They have traffique on the Coast of Melinde, Magadoxo, Mombassa, Arabia and Saint Laurence: they carrie Slaves taken in warres, which they sell for nine or ten Rials of eight, and are sold againe in Portugall for one hundred. At Momboza and Magadoxo I understood of great Trade for Elephants Teeth and Drugges, and it was concluded to advise the Honourable Companie thereof touching sending a Pinnasse yearely thither. Wee bought in Mohelia two

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or three Bullockes for a Barre of Iron, weighing betwixt twentie and five and twentie pound. Wee bought there two hundred head of cattell, fortie Goates, Hennes, Fruits, &c.

The second of August, wee set saile from Mohelia: The seventeenth, wee had sight of Cape Guardafui, where the Countrey people were fearefull of us. The twentieth, wee anchored in the Road of Galencia in Socotora, where the fiercenesse of the wind made the Sea in a breach round about us, and with the Sprie of the Sea, which the winde blew about us like raine, our ship and tackling were all over white like a hoarie Frost or white Salt. *Ship white with Salt.*

The three and twentieth, we anchored at Tamarine the Kings Towne, and the foure and twentieth at Delisha. Here, we were demanded thirtie Rials of eight the Kintall of Aloes Socatrina, which made us buy the lesse: (for Captaine Downton, the Faiking said, had bought one hundred Kintals) it was liquid by reason of the newnesse or heat of the Sunne, and readie to run out of the skinnes. Each Kintall contayned by our Beame one hundred, three pounds and a halfe. It is made of the leaves of Sempervive, the tops and roots cut away, and the juice of the rest pressed out and boiled to a certain height, after put up in earthen Pots, stopped closed, so standing eight monethes, and lastly, put in small skinnes to sell. *Aloes Socatrina.*

The North part of Socotora or Socatra, lyeth in twelve degrees thirtie five minutes, and the bodie is one hundred and twentie degrees, twenty five minutes. It is fourteene leagues thence to Abbadelcuria, and as much from thence to Cape Guardafui. And I should wish those that saile to Socatra to touch at the Cape, thence to saile the next morning a little before breake of day, to lose no day-light, which is precious there by reason of the thicke and obscure night, with boysterous winds (and fogges) this moneth and a part of September: from thence to Abbadelcuria, and anchor on the West side thereof in seven or eight fathome water under the low land, or if *Caveat for sailing to Socatra.*

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they get no anchorage, to keepe close by a winde to the Southward in the night, lest the windes and Northerly current put them too much to lee-ward before day-light. The winds blow not steddie, notwithstanding the Monson, sometimes South by West, and South South-west, but seldome to the East of the South. On the one and thirtieth, we set saile from Socatra.

The tenth of September, we had Quailes, Hernes and other Land-fowles blowne from land, unable to returne.

On the fourteenth, we had sight of Diu, and on the sixteenth of Doman, inhabited with Portugals, and strongly fortified.

*Arrive at  
Swally.  
[I. iv. 530.]*

On the eighteenth, we passed by the Barre of Surat, and anchored against Swally Barre. The next day we sent a messenger ashoare, and our Boat returned the same night with M. William Biddulph. He told us of affaires in the Countrey, and that Zulpher Car Chan was Governour at Surat. Here we had sheepe for halfe a Riall of eight a piece, and twentie Hennes for a Riall of eight.

*Vile prices,  
base custome at  
Surat.*

The two and twentieth day, Master Barber and other Merchants were sent to Surat, to provide furniture for Sir Thomas Roe the Lord Embassadors house, who were there narrowly searched, their pockets and other parts according to the base manner of the Countrey, where a man must pay custome for a Riall of eight in his Purse, or a good Knife in his pocket: and if any raritie appeare, the Governour under pretence of buying, takes it away.

*Embassador  
landed.*

The five and twentieth, the Lord Embassadour landed, accompanied with the Generall, Captaine and Merchants, and eightie men in Armes with shot and Pike in order, fortie eight Pieces of Ordnance discharged from the Fleet, the shippes also fitted in their holy-day Sutes of waste clothes, Streamers, Ensignes, Flagges, Pendants. The chiefe men of Surat attended in their Tent, and there welcommed him. Much adoe there was about the barbarous search, which they would have executed on

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his followers, which the Embassador wholly disclaymed, till at the last he and three or foure of his chiefe Followers were exempted, the rest they would onely imbrace for fashions sake. Much passed also betwixt the Governour and Him about like barbarous exactions, he justly challenging the honour and immunitie of an Embassadour from a free King; they willing to make no difference betwixt him and others of that ranke in those parts, and of our owne also which had assumed that name. Once their barbarous usage not only then perplexed him, and detainnd him long till from the Court he had order, but all his time (as hereafter out of his owne Journall shall follow) held him busie more then enough. Neither did they easily acknowledge difference betwixt this Embassadour and Master Edwards, who was so stiled amongst them.

The first of October, Master Barwickes man (which *Fugitives.* beeing inveigled by a Fugitive from Captaine Best, and since turned Moore, had runne away) was brought backe from Surat. Others after did the like, and wrote from Damon to perswade others. The second, came aboard two Hollanders which had come thither by land from Petapoli. The tenth, the Governours brother came aboard with faire words and had a Present given him: also we had newes of Master Aldworths death. The Governour impudently urgeth Presents, having had three alreadie, but findeth fault with them, and nominates what he would, begger and chooser both.

The fifth of November, we had newes from Brampore of the Lord Embassadors falling sicke there, and of Master Boughtons death.

The current Coine at Surat is Rials of eight, whereof the old with the plaine crosse is esteemed best, worth five Mamudies a piece, the new with Flower-delices at the ends of the crosse at foure Mamudies three quarters, if they be not light. The Mamudie is a silver Coyne, course, contayning thirtie Pice, which is a Copper Coyne; twelve drammes make one Pice. The English shilling, *Coyne and wares at Surat.*

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if weight, will yeeld thirtie three Pice and halfe. Larines are much about the worth of Mamudies. Rupies are of sundry sorts; some worth halfe a Riall of eight, other lesse, by which a man may easily be deceived.

Their trading is by Banian Brokers, who are subtile and deceitfull both to the buyer and seller, if not prevented. In their Weights each Citie differeth from other. The Commodities are infinite: the chiefe, Indicoes of two sorts, Checques the courser, and Lahor the finer; Cloth made of Cotton-wooll, as Callicoes white and coloured, contayning fourteene yards the Booke, from two to one hundred Mamudies the piece, Pintados, Chints and Chadors, Shashes and Girdles, Cannakens, Treckanees, Serrabaffs, Aleiaes, Patollas, Sellas, Quilts, Carpets; Greene Ginger, Suckets, Lignum Aloes, Opium, Salarmoniacke and abundance of other Drugs. Commodities vendible are Knives, Glasses, Pictures and such like toyes; English cloth; China wares, Silke and Porcelane; all manner of Spices. The Guzerats lade their great ships of nine, twelve or fiteene hundred tunnes at Goga, and steale out unknowne to the Portugals.

*Indus falsly set  
in Maps.*

Chiefe Cities for Trade on the River Sinde or Indus, are Tatta, (on a River which fals into it) Duilsinde, Multan, Lahore. At Duilsinde the Expedition in her former Voyage had delivered Sir Robert Sherley the Persian Ambassadour, of whom I thought good to adde this (which I learned by inquiry of some of his Followers to Agra) as an appendix to that relation in my former Journall. Being weary of Duilsinde by the Governours evill intreatie and suffering the Portugals to molest him, seeking also to cut him off, for which purpose twelve Portugals came from Ormus; He sought libertie to goe to Tatta, but the Governour not permitting (as was thought of evill purpose) he went without leave, and was by the way to passe a River, where none durst carrie him or his, being prohibited on paine of death by the said Governour. They therefore made rafts of boords

*Of Sir Robert  
Sherley.*

*Tatta.*

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and Timbers, on which the Embassadour shipped himselfe with Nazerbeg one of his Followers to helpe him over: and were no sooner put off, but twentie or thirtie Horsemen came from the Governour in great haste to stay them. Thus were they brought backe, men swimming to the raft, which Nazerbeg was not able to guide against the tyde, and they narrowly escaped drowning. His Followers disdainning this rude dealing, one Master John Ward shot off his Pistoll in their faces, and was instantly slaine by another shot, and the rest carryed away Prisoners to Duilsinde, being pillaged by the way of the Souldiers. After some time of imprisonment, the Governour permitted their departure to Tatta, where they were friendly entertained of the Governour being a Persian. Sir Thomas Powell, and Master Francis Bub, were then dead before in Duilsinde. He remayned at Tatta till fit opportunitie for Agra, the way long and in danger of Theeves: whither he went in company of a great man which had a strong Convoy, for whom he waited also two moneths.

*Ward slaine.*  
[I. iv. 531.]

*Sir T. Powells  
death and his  
Ladies.*

The Ladie Powell in this space was delivered of a Sonne, but shee and it together with Master Michael Powell, Brother to Sir Thomas, lost their lives in this tedious expectation, in Boats, for that great man aforesaid. At his comming to Agra the Mogoll gave him favourable entertainment, and upon his complaint sent for the Banian Governour of Duilsinde, to answere at the Court, promising him his owne revenge, if he would stay. But hee hasting to the Persian, after many Presents from the Mogoll, with a Convoy and necessaries for his journey, departed for Persia, not having one Englishman with him. Master Richard Barber his Apothecarie returned to Surat, and John Heriot dyed at Agra. There remayned with him of his old Followers only his Ladie, and her Woman, two Persians, the old Armenian and the Chircassian: His Dutch Jeweller came from Agra to Surat, with Master Edwards.

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### §. II.

Prizes taken, Factorie at Callicut, Observations of divers places of Sumatra: the English shippes miscarrie. Dutch Abuses, Factories in India.

*Samorine or  
King of  
Calecut.*

**T**He nine and twentieth of February, we tooke a Portugall prize. The third of March, we riding at an anchor in the Road of Callicut, the Great Samorines Deputie came aboard many Boats attending him, signifying his Masters joy of our comming, and his earnest desire to have conference with our Nation, and therefore earnestly perswaded us to stay a day or two, till he might send to the Samorine, then at Crangalor, besieging a Castle of the Portugals. We had here store of provision brought aboard at reasonable rates. Callicut hath latitude eleven degrees ten minutes, variation fifteene degrees fortie minutes. The same evening came a Pilot by order from the Samorine to intreate us to ride two or three dayes before Crangalor.

*Crangalor in  
10. deg. 15.  
min.*

The fifth, we anchored all foure ships before Crangalor, two leagues from the shoare. About noone the Samorine sent to the Generall to request his company ashoare, which was not thought fit without a pledge, and Master George Barkley went. But the Samorine refused to reveale his minde to any but the Generall, and seemed discontent at his stay.

*Offers of the  
Samorines to  
the English.*

The eight, he went and spake with the Samorine, whose businesse was to stablish a Factorie in his Dominion, profering a faire house rent-free, freedome from Customes or any other Taxations, for whatsoever goods brought thither or carryed thence, with protestation of his affection to our Nation. Answer was made of our present disabilitie, having left most of our goods at Surat, and now going to Bantam. He replied, that for present leaving goods it was no matter, only that we would leave two or three English there which should want nothing, and the next yeere we might make supply of men, and



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goods, hereby he being assured of our returne: otherwise his care and hopes should be frustrated. He told also of a shippes lading of Pepper there to be had yearly, and of the vent of our Commodities. Whereupon it was concluded to leave a Factorie there, which with Merchandise were sent ashoare on the ninth. The men were George Woolman chiefe, Peter Needham and Roger Hares under-factors, Edward Peake, a Boy, and Richard Stamford. The Boy was to learne the Language. The Kings name is Pendre Quone Samorine. A Minion and a Barrell of Powder was given him for a Present. He promised that if hee recovered the fort of Crangalor from the Portugals, the English should possesse it.

*Factory at  
Crangalor.*

The tenth, the King sent his Letter of agreement touching the said Priviledges with many protestations of love. This day we set saile. We came before Cochín and might behold the forme of it. The next day we had sight of Coulan Castle, and Towne, and a ship riding at anchor under the Castle which we boorded and brought forth, the people being fled without hurt of shot from the Castle. It was a Portugall ship of foure or five hundred Tunnes lately arrived from Bengala and Pegu, laden with Rice, Graine, Bengala clothing, Butter, Sugar, Gummelacke, hard Waxe, Drugges and other provisions.

*Cochin.*

*Coulan, a  
second prize  
taken.*

The twelfth, we espyed another ship which by mid-night we fetched up; shee yeelded at the first shot. I sent for her chiefe men aboard my ship (the rest being three or foure miles off), and set some of mine aboard charging them to hurt no person. There were eighteene or twentie Portugals, and about eightie slaves, men, women and children: her chiefe lading Rice, Butter, Sugar, Gummelacke, Drugges, Bengala Stuffe. Wee offered these our first price with victuals to carrie them ashoare, which they refused fearing to become a prey to the Malabars, a Fleete of whom consisting of fourteene saile they lately had with difficultie escaped. The next day wee landed them where they desired and suffered them to depart unsearched for Plate, Jewels, Money

*A third prize,  
in part of  
satisfaction for  
their unjust  
vexation and  
hurt at Surat,  
&c.*

[L. iv. 532.]

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and the like. We had three English ships, and three prices.

*Brinion.*

The fourteenth, we arrived at Brinion where we took out of the first prize what we pleased and set her a drift. Brinion is in latitude eight degrees thirtie minutes, variation fifteen. It hath a small Town in a little round Bay, is to be known by a long white beach to the North, and to the South is all high land: and two leagues to the South, a red Cliffe neere the Sea. From thence to Cape Camorine is sixteene leagues: the course South-east by South bold and free Coast. The Inhabitants of Brinion are no way subject to the Portugals.

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The first of Aprill, the bodie of Zeilon did beare East by South seven leagues off.

*Note for Cape  
Comorine.*

The tenth, the Pike Adam bare North. I tooke my leave of the Generall, the Dragon and Pepper-Corne they being bound for Achen, and I in the Expedition for Priaman, Tecoo, and Bantam. It is good to ride till the end of March in Brinion, and not to double the Cape by reason of calmes, the Southerly Current setting off to the Maldivæ: but then the Easterly Monson ends.

*The Advice  
& Hosiander  
at Japon.*

I would wish all that come from the West to Priaman or Tecco, to dispose that they may have day-light enough for the comming in betwixt Nimptan and the other Ilands adjacent. The best is on the North-side. On the thirtieth, I met the Advice going for Tecoo, but at my request shee returned to Bantam whence she was sent for Japon.

The first of May, I arrived at Bantam, where I found the Hosiander newly returned from Japon, and the Attendance from Jambe, most of the men sicke or dead. Here I heard of the death of Captaine Downton, and of the arrivall of Captaine Samuel Castleton with the Clove and Defence, which with the Thomas and Concord were gone for the Moluccas: The Thomas appointed to proceed from thence to Japon.

The nineteenth, I set saile for Tecoo. The tenth

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of June, I put into Priaman, and the eighteenth arrived at Tecoo. The third of July, I brought my ship on Careene to sheath her. The double sheathing of ships which goe for Surat is of great purpose: for though the outermost sheathing be eaten like a Honey-combe with wormes, yet the inner is nothing perished. It were also requisite that the Rudders were sheathed with thinne Copper, to prevent the Wormes eating off the edges thereof; which causeth great defect in the steering, not easily to bee remedied being so deepe under water. The Inhabitants here are barbarous, deceitfull, expecting bribes, and sometimes I have beene in danger to be murthered, one hundred of them drawing their Crises upon us, because they might not have their will to take our goods upon trust or otherwise at their pleasures. The twentieth, Thomas Bonner Master of the Expedition dyed, John Row succeeded, the third Master in this ship this Voyage.

*Strange  
wormes in the  
Surat Sea.*

The sixe and twentieth, arrived the Dragon and Pepper-Corne from Achen. They had bought there Pepper carryed thither from Tecoo in great Junckes and Prawes which saile to and fro, but never out of sight of land.

The King of Achen commands those of Tecoo to bring thither their Pepper, which none may buy but he, who puts off his Surat Commodities in trucke at what rates he pleaseth. Oft times he sends his Commodities to Priaman and Tecoo, enforcing them to buy them at his rates, none being suffered to buy or sell with other till his bee vented: This makes our trade with them the better.

*King of Achen  
his playing the  
Merchant.*

Jambe is on the East-side of Sumatra. It yeeldeth like great-grained Pepper as Priaman, but is not subject to the King of Achen, as are Baruse, Passaman, Tecoo, Priaman, Cottatinga, and other places on the West-side. Baruse is to the North of Passaman, and yeelds store of Benjamin, Cottatinga Gold, the other places Pepper. The Generall brought the King of Achens Letter to them which the great men received with great submission,

*Jambe.*

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each kissing and laying it on his head, promising us to performe the contents, but failed. And it were fit in these Letters of the King, to procure him to expresse the manner and particulars of our Trade. The eleventh of September, I set saile from Tecoo for Bantam.

*Passaman best  
Gold and  
Pepper.*

*Gold, and good  
constitution of  
bodie or mind,  
not agreeing.*

The best Gold and most plenty is had at the great high hill of Passamam, where also is greatest quantitie of Pepper, the fairest and best cheape: but the evill constitution of the aire is so pestilent and infectious, that there is no going thither for our Nation without mortalitie of men: neither needs for the Pepper, Surat Commodities at Tecoo being sufficient attractive. Many of the Natives I have observed full of contagious diseases, the limbes of some ready to droppe off with rottennesse, others having huge swellings (Wennes) under their throat as bigge as a two peny loafe, which they impute to the bad water. They are very ignorant to cure their diseases. The people of Tecoo are base, theevish, subtill, embracing gaine at any price by fraud, or (as farre as they dare) by force, mis-reckoning, false weights, yea attempting to poison our meates and drinckes as they are dressing, creesing also our horses. Better order may be hoped by the King of Achens procurement. There were but five left in the Factory. Our two Portugall prizes wee made away at Achen, sharing (according to the custome of the sea) one sixt part to the shippes companies, the rest for our employers, &c.

*Tecoo bar-  
barous.*

[I. iv. 533.]  
*Observations  
for going into  
Priaman Road.  
Hee men-  
tioneth many  
other shoalds  
not heere  
expressed, but  
knowne to our  
Country men  
by experience.*

Betwixt Priaman and Tecoo there lyeth a dangerous shoald North-west by West, from the South-west Ile of Priaman, a mile and a quarter in length, and in breadth a quarter, of which care is to be had, lest the Current setting Southerly put you on it. This and other shoalds hereabouts being white Corall, are easily discerned. When the South-west Ile doth beare South South-east from you, then are you past danger, provided the Northermost Ile of the foure by Priaman shoare beare East by North, so may you steere in for the Road, East, and East by South, and East South-east, leaving two Ilands

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on the Starboord, and two on the Larboord side. Latitude of Tecoo is South thirtie minutes, variation West foure degrees, thirty minutes : latitude of Priaman is also South betwixt eight and forty degrees, fifty minutes.

Many of our men were sicke, whereof the cause seemeth their immoderate drinking of Arack and strong drinkes. At Bantam were at my last being there (October 1616.) foure English ships there and at Jackatra, and five Flemmish ships, which raised the price of Pepper, and the rather by the Hollanders boasts of bringing this yeare sixteene hundred thousand Rialls of eight, readie money, which it is likely they reported to out-brave our Nation. The last Fleet of theirs, sixe in number, tooke two or three Portugall ships, whereof they made great bravado's. They seeke by all abuses to depresse our Nation, in unchristian manner through the Indies : even in Bantam (where they acknowledge our equall right) they threaten to pull our people out of the Factory by the eares ; sometime quarrell with them in the streets, other times imprison them ; and when themselves have caused an uproare, they complaine to the King of Bantam of our unquietnesse, and bribe him to command us to be quiet, who receiveth their money, and tells us of their dealing, himselfe taking advantage to pole both parts, by this disagreement.

*Huge summes  
transported by  
Hollanders.*

*Their pride  
and abuses of  
the English.*

Also at Puloway, an Iland freely given his Majestie, they abused our people, putting halters about their neckes, and leading them thorow the Towne with an houre-glasse before them, publishing that they should be hanged so soone as the glasse was runne : and although they did not effect that honorable designe, yet did they imprison them, and keepe them three or foure dayes in irons, afterwards sending them aboard the Concord and Thomasine upon a counterfeit composition never to returne (these things are reported to bee very true.) Likewise at the returne of the Hosiander from Japan, shee brought thirtie tunnes of wood, free of freight and

*Insolencies at  
Puloway.*

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charges, for the Hollanders; who notwithstanding reported that shee had returned empty but for their wood: which they might have said as well of my bringing one and thirtie Churles of Indico, and a Chist of Pistolls freight-free for them from Surat to Bantam.

*Captaine  
Castleton to  
the Moluccas  
with foure  
ships.*

Captaine Castleton went to the Moluccas with foure ships, the Cloave, Defence, Thomas and Concord, to be better able to defend themselves against the Hollanders: but being threatned by eleven saile of theirs, they returned without doing any great matter, onely a few Cloaves laded in the Cloave: the Captaine himselfe dying there of the fluxe, to whom the fault is imputed with other things laid to him.

*Decay or losse  
of English  
ships.  
Trades  
Increase.  
Darling.*

The Trades-Increase was fired twice by the Javans, and by our people quenched: but the third time fired in so many places at once, that industry could not save her.

The Darling (that I may adde such ships as were lost and laid up at my departure from Bantam) was laid up at Patania, in June 1615. by Master Larkine and the Factory, and could not be repaired: Herrold the Master was reported to have intended to runne away with her to the Portugals, which being prevented, he yet went himselfe.

*Thomasine.*

The Thomasine was cast away, comming from the Moluccas, upon a shoald in the night, in September 1615. they lost their goods, which were not much, but saved their money, two thousand Rialls of eight, with their provisions, living fourteene dayes in a desolate Iland, where they fitted their Boat, which brought them and their money to Bantam, leaving the rest behind; the King of Macasser seizing on them, who would not make restitution. This shoald lyeth eighteene leagues West from Macasser.

*Hector.*

The Hector failed at Jacatra in careening, the upper workes not fitted (as is reported) and the seames opening, and receiving so much water, that shee suncke in three fathom, the keele exceedingly worme-eaten.

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The Concord is there also laid up, rotten and leake, that they were forced to take out her provisions, and let her sinke close to the shoare. *Concord.*

The Hosiander was appointed to set saile for the Coast of Coromandel, the fifteenth of October, 1616.

The Factories which I could heare of settled for the Company in the East-Indies are these : Bantam (wherein were George Barkley Chiefe, John Jordan, George Ball, Ralph Copendale, with divers others both Factors and Attendants) Jacatra, Surat, Amadavas, Agra and Azmiro, Brampore, Calecut, Masulipatan, Petapoli, Patania, Siam, Beniarmasse, Socodania, Macasser, Achen, Jambe, Tecoo, Ferando in Japan, Japar, Banda. *English Factories.*

The commodity which ariseth from the Factory at Achen is to sollicite for our better proceeding at Priaman and Tecoo, the place is unholesome, especially for such as stufte themselves with hot and fiery drinkes, as Aracke and Aracape, which bring many unto untimely ends; whence ariseth an imputation to the Voyage. How unruly the common sort are abroad, cannot be imagined at home, many never thinking themselves well, longer then whiles their braines are a crowing with drinke. The King of Achen is said to have a strange straine of drinking drunke, when the English resort to him, thereby to shew his love; to whom it seemeth dishonour, not to conforme in sitting in the water with him, and other his rites. He is very cruell to his subjects, daily cutting off their hands, armes or legges, upon small or no occasions; causing them to bee throwne before Elephants, himselfe commanding the (understanding) Elephant to tosse the partie so oft and so high, either to bruise or kill him, as he fancieth. He hath prohibited any, which arrive at his Port, without his Chop to come on shoare, which a Dutch Merchant neglecting, caused a Dutch General there arriving to come on land, professing his great favour with the King: who comming to the Court-gate, where they must demand another Chop: the King finding the chiefe Leeger cause of that pre-

*Aracke a wine  
distilled out of  
Rice steeped in  
liquor taken  
out of the  
Coco-tree.  
[I. iv. 534.]  
King of Achen.*

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*Cause of dis-  
gust betwixt  
the Achener  
and Hollan-  
der.*

sumption, sent for him, and laid him before the Elephant, which tossed him three times (without much bruising) to teach him how to neglect the commands of Kings another time; the Dutch Generall standing by, and fearing his owne share, whom yet the King cleared as ignorant of his Law. The King after sent for the Merchant to prie into his patience, who for feare of worse, soothed him, and acknowledged it a fatherly chastisement, yet closely fled at the departure of the ships; the rest following were brought backe, and the King hath placed us in their house.

### §. III.

A briefe Declaration of the Ports, Cities and Townes, inhabited and traded unto by the Portugall, betwixt the Cape of Good Hope and Japan, as I could learne by diligent enquiry.

*Places of Por-  
tugall trade.  
Quame or  
Cuamo.*

**T**He River Quame in South latitude one and twenty degrees, fifty minutes, heere is reported to be Gold, Elephants-teeth, Ambergreese and Slaves, for which they trade yearely.

*Mosambique.*

Mosambique is an Iland where they trade for Gold, Ambergreese and Slaves.

*Mombassa.*

Mombassa in South latitude three degrees, thirty minutes, where they yearely trade for Gold, Ambergreese, Elephants-teeth, and Slaves, in trucke of Iron, Lead, Tinne, and Cambaya Commodities.

*Magadoxa.*

Magadoxo hath two degrees, five and twenty minutes, store of Elephants-teeth, some Ambergreese, and divers sorts of Drugges. From these places they drive their annuall trade into Cambaya, the Red-sea, and other places, observing the Monsons, which blow West in Aprill, May, June, July, August, and part of September, and the East Monson the rest of the yeare, the space betwixt both, being various or calme, but in few dayes

*The Monsons  
course.*



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hold course, except to the East of Sumatra, where they keepe five moneths East, and five West, two variable.

Ormuz in the Gulfe of Persia, whence they trade into Persia, Arabia, Diulsinde, &c. they fetch much Pearle from Balsora, and with Persian Commodities lade a shippe or two for Diulsinde, where in the end of August, or middle of September they arrive; they bring with them also great store of Rialls of eight. Ormuz is their best place, but Goa, which they have in the Indies.

Muskat: they have small trade heere, and a Fort, where they awe the Natives by land and sea, not suffering them to trade but by their licence, what, and how much, under paine of confiscation, which they practise thorow all the Indies, where they are strong.

Sinde or Duilsinde, in the Mogolls Dominion, in foure and twenty degrees, eight and thirty minutes: variation West, sixe degrees, five and forty minutes. Diu, where they have a strong Castle.

Damon is a Citie inhabited by them, where they have a Castle, and by report one hundred Villages.

Serra de Bazien, is a little South from Damon, and bordereth upon the Decans Countrey, betwixt which and Chaul they have three Ports, Gazien, Banda and Maia. Chaul is a great Citie with a Castle. Dobul hath a Factory, but no Fort.

Goa is their Metropolitan Citie of India, built on a small Iland, the anchoring place of their Carickes, the Seat of their Vice-Roy.

Onor hath a small Fort. Barcolor hath a Castle and Towne, it yeeldeth Pepper, Ginger, and many sorts of Drugges.

Mangalor hath a Towne and Castle. Cananor is a Citie, and hath a Castle, Merchandize as before. From Calicut they are thrust out by the Samorine, as he seeketh also at Crangalor, where they have a Fort.

Cochin hath a strong City and Castle, pleasantly situated by the Sea side in a good ayre, with a faire River for ships to ride.

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[I. iv. 535.]

*Cowlan.*

*Saint*

*Laurence.*

*Quilaon.*

*Tuckatra.*

*Maner.*

*Columbo.*

*Negapatan.*

*Saint Thomas.*

*Ganges.*

*Pegu.*

*Aracon.*

*Junsalao.*

*Malacca.*

*Japan.*

Cowlan, heere they have a Towne and strong Castle. Saint Laurence is a small Village, inhabited by Friers and Jesuits.

Quilaon, is a small Citie with a Castle. Tuckatra, a Towne with a Castle, the people most part Christians.

Maner, is on the Iland Zelon, betwixt Cape Comorine and Punto de Galle, a Towne inhabited by Portugals. There also they have Columbo, and many other small habitations, having almost conquered the Iland: it yeelds Sinamom and Drugges.

Negapatan, is a City of great trade: heere they have only a Factory. Saint Thomas, alias Maliapor, is a walled City, inhabited with Portugalls, in thirteene degrees, twenty minutes. Up the River Ganges, they have many small habitations, some Factories, and a Towne at Bengala.

In Pegu, they have a Factory, and likewise in Aracon, and in the River of Martaban.

At Junsalao, they have a great Factory, from whence they lade much Tinne for the Coast of Malabar.

Malacca, is a strong city and castle, the Centre of a great trade in those parts, whence the King of Achen seekes to roote them out, having burnt and spoiled some of their ships this yeare.

At Macao, an Iland upon the Coast of China, they have a Citie with a Castle, reported to be of great trade with the Chineses.

In Japan, they have a Factory, but neither Towne nor Fort. They trade also on the Coast of China, in the time of fitting Monson to and from Japan and other parts: whereof the Hollanders are said to make good pillage, and of all Heathen Nations, Chineses and others, being all fish that comes to net.

The first of November, we set saile. The fifth of January, I was not able to weigh the anchor (the wind over-blowing) to follow the Dragon to Pengwin Iland. My advise for ships comming about the Cape at this time of the yeare, is, not to anchor short of Soldania Road,

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but rather to put romer for Pengwin Iland, and there to anchor with two at once till the wind serve.

In December, January and February, the South South-east winds are there very furious, from the new Moone to the ful. I hold it dangerous neverthelesse to neglect this place in hope of Saint Helena (a certainty for uncertainty) the Sunnes and Moones often obscuritie and thicke mists at this time of the yeare, may frustrate the best Artists to the losse of shippe and men. Cory came downe with three sheepe, and promised more: but hasted away to his wife and children, which he said now dwelt further. It seemeth that the Hollanders have frighted them, by their going up into the Countrey with one hundred men at a time. Our best refreshing heere was fresh-fish. *Note.*

The ninth of Aprill 1617. wee passed much weeds, called the Seragasso, which lye in long ridges or rankes a pretty distance one from another alongst with the wind, with which they alter and shift. It hath a leafe like Samper, but not so thicke, and a yellow berry very small. It reacheth from two and twenty degrees, three minutes North latitude, unto two and thirty degrees North latitude. The nine and twentieth of May we anchored in the Downes. *Seragasso.*

[Chap. XVI.]

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

### Chap. XVI.

Observations collected out of the Journall of Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, Lord Embassadour from His Majestie of Great Britaine, to the Great Mogol: Of matters occurring worthy memory in the way, and in the Mogols Court. His Customes, Cities, Countryes, Subjects, and other Indian Affaires.

#### §. I.

Occurrents and observations, in, and touching the Voyage to Surat.

*Uncertainty of  
the Variation.*



He fifth of June, we anchored in the roade of Soldania. Though the Variation be an excellent evidence in the whole course of veering land, yet it delivereth no other certaintie, but warning to look out; for it lessens not in the same proportion neere land, but by a much slower: for which I could give a perspicuous reason, but too large for this place, nor can any judgement at all be made to twenty leagues thereby (that shall be infallible) the magneticall amplitude beeing so difficult to observe truely by the Ships motion, and the Needles quicknesse, that a degree is scarce an error. This consideration made me confident, that we should see no land untill the fifth day early in the morning.

*Soldania.*

[I. iv. 536.] Soldania, is as I suppose, an Iland in the South end whereof is the Cape of Good Hope, divided from the maine by a deepe Bay on the South-East side, and due East by a River, which wee discern upon the table. The land is fruitfull, bearing short thicke grasse, the maine is divided with most high and steepe rocky Mountaines covered with snow, and inaccessible, except it be

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searched by the River of Dulce, which doubtlesse is very great, falling into the Bay on the East side: there is on the Iland five or sixe hundred people, the most barbarous in the world, eating Carrion, wearing the guts of sheepe about their necks for health, and rubbing their heads (curled like Negroes) with dung of beasts and durt: they have no other clothing then beasts skinnnes wrapt on their shoulders, the skin next the body in heat, in cold the hairy side; their houses are but one mat, concaved like an Oven, into which they creepe, and turne them about as the wind changes: for they have no doores to keepe it out. They have left their stealing by trading with us, and by signes make shew their heart is good: they know no kind of God or Religion. The aire, and water is very good and wholesome, and both of them subtile and searching. There is on the Iland, Bulls, Cowes, Antelops, Baboones, Moules of great bignesse, Feasants, Partridges, Larks, Wild-geese, Ducks, Passerflannugos, and many others. On Penguin there is a fowle so called, that goes upright, his wings without feathers, hanging downe like sleeves faced with white: they fly not, but walke in pathes and keep their divisions and quarters orderly; they are a strange fowle, or rather a miscellaneous creature, of Beast, Bird, and Fish, but most of Bird, confuting that definition of man to be Animal bipes implume, which is nearer to a description of this creature. The commodities here are, first reasonable refreshing with Cattell (so that a season be chosen when they are not leane, a Moneth after the Sunne is departed from them Northward) Maugin rootes, Arras, if our Merchants be not deceived; and I doe strongly suppose, that I found out a Rocke yeelding Quick-silver and Vermillion, the stone being spotted all without, with a most pure red colour, equall to any painting, and that will come off upon Paper, or other fit matter: by the description of John Acosta it cannot faile to be the same; it is also very heavy, full of Marquisat and minerall appearances. The Table, or high Rocke so called, by a straight line

*Penguin  
Iland.*

*The height of  
the Table.*

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from the water side, is 11853 foot high: the Bay is full of Whales and Seales. The Dutch have fished on Penguin for them: the latitude is, thirtie three degrees fortie five minutes: the longitude twentie eight degrees thirtie minutes from the Lisard, the variation doubtfull, whether to the East or West; but my opinion is, that the variation is West thirty minutes: the cause of variation beeing in the maine, as appeares evidently by the many lines, and changes towards the Cape F. and after Westerly: if any shipping, having time enough, fall but one hundred leagues more to the North with the maine, which may be done with safety, no winds forbidding it, I assure my selfe they shall have good trade for Cattell, and other Commodities, and may by leaving some men discover the land, and perhaps get knowledge of the people that trade with the Spaniards on the East side in one and twenty degrees for Gold, after the manner of the Moores in Barbary to Gago. These left at the Cape will goe no further, but attend opportunity of passage, and there can doe no great good being among the basest banished people, that know nothing savouring of man, nor are no other way men, but as they speake and walke like men.

*Molalia.*

Molalia is one of the foure Ilands of Comory, Angazesia, Juanny, and Mayotta beeing the other three. They lie East and West neere in a parallel one off another, except Angazesia, which lieth somewhat more North. Molalia is in twelve degrees twentie minutes South latitude, in the same Meridian with Cape Augustine, the variation being sixteene degrees fortie minutes.

*Angazesia.*

Angazesia beares from it by the Compasse North by West, seven leagues off, the further-most end in eleven degrees fiftie five minutes, extending it selfe North eleven degrees sixe minutes, as I observed within five leagues thereof, bearing South from me; it is the highest land I ever saw, inhabited by Moores trading with the Maine, and the other three Easterne Ilands with their Cattell and fruits, for Callicoes, or other linnen to cover them. It is

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governed by tenne petty Kings, and is sufficiently fruitfull of Kine, faire Goates, Cocos, Orenge and Limons: they made us fires as we passed by, being desirous of trade at the first hand which now they fetch by Canoes at Molalia where our ships ride. They are held a false and an unfaithfull people, having betraied some of Sir James Lancasters men long since; but now having experience of us at other Ilands, I doubt not they would regaine their credits.

Juanny lies from Molalia East, and Mayotta in the same course, the coast betweene them is every way bold. These three Islands are very full of very good refreshings, but principally Mayotta, as I was informed by the Arabs trading in Molalia, and the Dutch stop there. The next in goodnesse is Juanny, where lives an old Woman Sultannesse of them all, to whom they repaire for Justice, both in Civill and Criminall causes.

*Juanny, and  
Mayotta.*

Molalia hath in it three Sub-Sultans, children of the old woman, two men one daughter, who governe severall parts of the Iland. The Sultan in whose quarter we anchored hath such authoritie, that his subjects dare not sell a Nut untill leave obtained: to which end, Captaine Keeling sent foure boats to his Towne desiring libertie to trade, where they were received by a Governour, or rather an Admirall or Commander of the port, lying some foure leagues to the Eastward of our Road, where having obtained leave to come ashoare, we landed some fortie men with Captaine Newport: the Governour they found sitting upon a Mat of straw, under the side of a Junke which was a building, accompanied with about fiftie men, his apparrell was a Mantle of blue and red linnen, wrapt about him to his knees, his legges and feet bare, on his head a close Cap of checker worke, the Interpreters were certaine Magadoxians, that spake Arabique and broken Portuguese. Captain Newport presenting him with a Peece and a Sword blade from Capt. Keeling, received a welcome, and commanded foure Bullocks to be returned in requittall, and with gravitie enough intertained

*The govern-  
ment of  
Molalia.*

[I. iv. 537.]

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them, giving free libertie to buy and sell, and signifying so much by a Messenger to the Inhabitants round about, and promised to send downe his owne Cattell, but professed he had no power to compell or make price for others, but left the trade open to every mans will. He sent for Coco Nuts to give the Company, himselfe chewing Bittle, and lime of Burnt Oyster-shells with a kernell of a Nut called Arracca, like an akorne, it bites in the mouth, avoids rheume, cooles the head, strengthens the teeth, and is all their Phisick: it makes one unused to it giddie, and makes a mans spittle red, and in time colours the teeth, which is esteemed a beautie: this is used by all men hourelly. From the Governour they were led to a Carpenters house, a chiefe man of that towne; the house built of lime and stone, plaistered with mortar or white lime, low and little Rooft, with Rafters of wood covered with leaves, the out-sides walled with Canes: they are kept cleanly, and their poore houshold-stuffe still neate, their Gardens paled with Canes, inclosing some Tobacco, and Plantan trees. For Dinner, a boord was set upon Tressels covered with a fine new Mat, benches of stone about it likewise covered, on which they sat: first water was brought to every man in a Coco-shell poured out into a wooden platter, and instead of a Towell, the rinds of Cocos. Then was set boyld Rice, and roasted Plantans upon the Rice, quarters of Hennes, and pieces of Goat broild. After grace said, they fell to their meat, with bread made of Cuscus beaten, and mingled with honey, and so fryed, and Palmet wine, and Coco milke for drinke. I sent a Gentleman and my Chaplin to see the Sultan himselfe, who lives three miles up in the land from Fambone the towne of the Governour, but they found him by chance there: he used them courteously and made them dine with him, differing little from the former intertainment, only the Governour and all other gave him much respect, kissing his hand, his name is Sultan Amar-Adel, a kinne to Mahomet, not unlike to be descended of such an imposterous race, his clothes not



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unlike the Governour, but somewhat better stuffe, his manners differing much, beeing with lesse gravitie and State, somewhat a light foole, and very hastie to be drunke with wine carried by the English. The other Vice-Sultan his brother, in whose quarter we were not, I saw beeing come downe to our Road with three slaves to trade: he brought a Certificate from Captaine Sayers, that he had used the English well in his Dominions, he is as well Xeriffe as Sultan, which is high Priest: he kept a kind of State in place, but otherwise a poore bare-footed roague: he offered to trade for Quick-silver, and beeing asked what quantitie hee would buy, replied to foure or five Rialls of eight, when this merchandize failed him, hee fell to begging of shooes. Then I left him.

All the people are strict Mahometans, observing much of the old law, and at this time being the preparation to their Randam or Lent, unwilling to drinke wine: they are very jealous to let the Women or Moschees to be seene, of which we had experience by an alarme of one of their Priests, who espied one of ours comming to a Village, who shut up all the Women, and cryed out if we came neere them or their Church, they would kill us; but by the authoritie of the Xeriffe, the Priest was appeased, and suffered it with more patience. Many of them speake and write the Arabique in a faire Character, and some few Portiguise, trading to Mosambique in Junkes of fortie Tunnes made of Cocos sowed, in stead of Pinnes caucked, tackled, and wholly fitted, victualed, and fraughted with that universall tree.

Here our fleet refreshed with Oxen and Cowes, small as two yeereling, but good flesh, with Goats very fat and large, Arabian sheepe, Hennes, Cocos, Orenge, Limons, Limes in great abundance, which we bought for Callicoes, Hollands, or other linnens, Sword-blades, and Rialls of eight, and their fruits for Glasses, Knives and trifles: whatsoever is bought for money is bought dearest.

Here was in trade a Junke of Madagascar with slaves: the Pilote of the Junke called Malim Abrinme spake

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Portuguese, and told me on the South-side of S. Laurence there was store of Amber-greece, and Cocos of the Sea; hee was skilfull in the coast, and in the lying and bearing of lands, both in course and distance. He had a great parchment Card, lined and graduated orderly, which I sent to see: he found fault with many things in my Card at sight, which I mended by his direction, and with reason, as the distance from Socatra from the Maine, and rasing quite out certaine Ilands to the Southward of Melalia, affirming there are none such: his countrey lyes from one degree fiftie minutes, to foure degrees, the Port in two degrees tenne minutes North latitude, governed by one King: he assured me of trade enough at his port to load one ship with Marsill, Amber, and Tinta Roxa: he promised to bring me his Plot and soundings, and a sample of Tinta Roxa, but some other cause diverted him, that he would come no more at me, notwithstanding I dealt liberally with him in present and in promises. To the South of Magadoxa, all the Ports are governed by Moorish petty Kings, even to Mosambique: he perswaded me that wee might in many places trade for Gold and Silver; that in Magadoxa the houses roofes were gilt, that they had gold in sand, and mingled with earth, which they esteeme not: of the Inland hee knew little, onely naming some places or Regions betweene Magadoxa and Prester John, as Odola Mahesa, Rohamy and Gala, of which Odela and Gala, are Chaphares which signifieth mis-beleevvers; I know not whether he meanes Gentiles or Christians, using the same promiscuously aswel to Prester John as to other Gentiles. Of Prester John, he knoweth no more, then that hee is a great Prince and a Caphar: from Magadoxo to Cambaya, hee was expert, his brother who came with him to me, was in fight against the Hope in a Portugall ship, pressed from Damon, in which fortie five were slaine, more he knew not, but that three ships were burned, and the rest run away; he said the King of Dabul tooke courage on this victorie and surprised Chaul, Damon, & other the Portugals Port Townes, was march-

*Chaul,  
Damon.*

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ing to Goa, that the Portugall was in great distresse of victuals. I hoped to have stored my selfe with more discourse from him, but I was, I know not how, prevented: it were time well bestowed to see this Coast, and I spake to some of it, but it fared the worse for the Father.

The Road of Molalia lyes in twelve degrees ten minutes, and for the first sixe dayes the Current sets two leagues a watch South-west, the Moone increasing at the ful, we woond up North-east the other way but very easily, for the most part riding upon the Current. The Magadoxians made some absurdly beleeeve, that the Current set fiftene dayes one way, and fiftene another, and fiftene dayes still: which because of the first sixe dayes it set South-west, and after wee woond up North-east, it begot the opinion of a wonder, but the Current sets constantly South-west, and before the full of the Moone, it had such power on the ebbe and floud that wee never woond, but at the full Moone and Spring-tydes we roade upon the floud against the Current it running under, and the tyde above, highing sixtene foote water, and the ebbe winding backe with the Current, so that the supposed chance of the Current, was on the strong tydes, at the full Moone overcomming it above: for at Sea when the spring was past, I found the same Current, and though we were set to the Eastward the first day we weighed, unto the Westward the next, the cause was the Eddies of Juanny one day, and Angazesia the other, but being cleere of them it set his due course, that I raised little, and did West-ward much.

The fourteenth of August, in the morning we saw the Coast of Magadoxia in foure degrees of North latitude foure leagues off sounding, had eightene fathome of low land, white sandie bankes. Then wee stood off East North-east, the difference of longitude betweene the Maine and Molalia in Mercators projection, agreeing with our account. And also by course having found the longitude of Cape Saint Augustine and Molalia to be

*Magadoxia.*

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one: I conclude that Saint Laurence ought to be laid to the East thirtie nine or fortie leagues according to my first opinion, and all the Coast of the Maine being broader then it is land in the Card, must be also set in proportion to the East-ward, because the distance of longitude is right from one to the other, though all their longitude false in themselves: from Malalia, to fall with Cape de Bussos, North North-east one quarter East way is the best course, it being necessary to see the Mayne about the latitude in this course since we lost the Westerly Current at Angazesia, I found none or very little contrary to all Journals, our Mariners in this course are of as many opinions as points in the Compasse, both for Currents, distances and bearings according to Compasse or Variation: but I observed the truth in the latter end of this South-west Monson, which, I confesse, may alter in the heart of a contrary Monson, the settlednesse of the wind causing much change in the Currents, of which no rule can be given.

*Abdalacora, or  
Abbadelcuria.  
They lost  
divers Cables  
& Anchors.*

The two and twentieth, at Abdalacora and the high lands of Socatra, the windes powred downe with such impetuousnesse, and the ground so rockie, that I advise all to forbear to anchor under them, for if they be put from their anchors in the night, they shall fall so farre to leeward, that they cannot recover the Iland, but must lose company: but if night or weather force them to anchor, let them chuse to ride where some lower land breakes the violence of the wind from the hils. Wee rode in the second quarter of the increasing Moone, which rose then above the Horizon about twelve at noone, and set at midnight, at which time these winds begun to rage so long as she is under the earth, and rising againe it becomes temperate, the Moone is a great Ladie of weather in these parts and requires much observation.

*Tamara.*

The three and twentieth, we weighed together and came to anchor afore Tamara, the Kings Towne, bringing the low point to the East of the high sandie hill without it East by North in ten fathome water a mile from the

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Towne: here the Sultan sent us word, the winds were from the hils so forcible that we should hardly ride, but advised us to goe to Baia Delicia, two leagues to the East where he would meete us: it is a very good Road deserving the name of delightfull for the peaceablenesse thereof in respect of others: it is a Valley of much lower hils; betweene the water and the raggie Mountaines of Tamera, you may bring the two little Homocks that lye on the low point without the high land to the East-ward South-east, and the low land that was East by North in Tamera Road North-west by West, and ride in ten fathome within three quarters of a mile of the shoare, latitude in thirteene degrees five minutes, the variation eighteene degrees twentie minutes, the ground is white sand, but rockie so that you must coatch or boy your Cables. *Delicia.*

Socatra is an Iland in the mouth of the Red Sea, called [I. iv. 539.]  
anciently Dioscuria or Dioscorida, standing in twelve *Socatra, or  
Socattora.* degrees fiftie five minutes, governed by a Sultan called Amar-Ben-Seid borne in the Iland, the Sonne of the King Fartaque in Arabia Fœlix called Sultan-Seid-Ben-Seid, who was Sultan of Socatra, in the time of his Grand-father, as this shall be King after his Father of Fartaque, and his sonne left at Socatra (the Kingdome of Fartaque lyes from fiteene degrees to eighteene degrees along the Coast of Arabia, and to the North to the Mountaines, he is at peace with the Turke, (who holds all Arabia in Tribute, except this Countrey) on this condition to send five thousand men in ayd of the Turke, if he require it to bee paid by the Turke, without other acknowledgement. There lyes neere the Sea a pettie King about Dosar, with whom he dares not meddle, being in the Grand Seigniors protection. This is the relation of Amar-Ben-Seid of Socatra. The Sultan of Socatra met our Fleet with three hundred or thereabouts, having set up a Tent at Baia Delecia: he rode upon a Horse, and three of his chiefe Servants on two Horses and one Camell, the people marching before and behind him, shouting after the Turkish manner, with two Guards,

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one of Souldiers, which are his Countrey men, and twelve of private Guard, hired Guzerats, some with Turkish Bowes, some with Pistols, some with Muskets, all with good Swords, he had a few Kettle Drummes, and one Trumpet. When the Generall went ashoare, he received him with state and courtesie: he is a subtile man of good understanding, as appeares by his Government and divers Answeres: hee raignes so absolutely that no man can sell any thing but himselfe, his people sit about him with great respect, his Officers standing by, who take account of Trade, and receive and pay: his clothes are of Surat Stuffs, after the Arabs manner with a Cassock of wrought Velvet red and white, and another the ground Gold, a very good Turbant, but bare-footed, every night at Sun-set they stand or kneele all towards the Sunne and pray, the Xeriff throwing water on their heads: their Religion is Mahometan: the Kings Towne of Tamara, is built of lime and stone whited over, battelled and pinnacled, the houses being flat at the top it shewes faire in the Road, but when one is there is but poore; Master Boughton borrowed the Kings horse, and obtayned leave to see his house, the King sending a Sheck with him, he found it not answerable to the appearances, yet such as an ordinary Gentleman might make a shift with in England, his lower roomes were used as Ware-houses, one as a Wardrope, where hung a long the wals some changes of Robes, and twentie five Bookes of their Law, Religion, Storie, and Saints lives, of which I could obtayne none, but above no man may come to see his Wives which are three, nor other women, but the ordinary are scene in the Townes, with their eares full of silver Rings; in the Church the Priest was at service, but seeing Master Boughton take out his Watch, hee soone finished and came and wondred. There was provided three Hennes for their dinner with Rice, and for drinke water and

*Cohu.*

Cohu, blacke liquor taken as hot as may be endured: at his returne, the King in complement said, hee had scene a poore place, but desired him to accept it.









S. THOMAS ROE. Sic Embassador to the Great Moord.  
Grand Signior, Kings of Poland, Sweden & Denmark, the Emperor  
Princes of Germany at Ratisbon, Chancellor of England & Privy Secretary.

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There is a Castle foure square on a hill, a mile from Tamara, but he could not get licence to see it. The people are of foure sorts, Arabs his Countrymen, who it seemes are his strength, and such as are not the ancient Inhabitants, but come in with the Conquest of his Ancestors, and those obey him, and dare not speake without licence, as appeared, when one seemed of qualitie to speake, he asked him how hee durst open his mouth in his presence, but approching kisse his hand. A second sort are of Slaves, who when they come to him kisse his foot, and these doe all his worke and make his Aloes. A third sort, as I suppose, the olde Inhabitants of the Countrey, but not the eldest, called Bedwines, the same which other Historians have called Jacobits Christians, that have long dwelt there, with these he hath had a warre, as the Arabs report, and dwell in the Mountaines very populous but are now at peace, on condition to live quietly, and to breed their children Mahometans, which I perceive they doe not, having no manner of conversation with the Arabs. The reason why I take them to be the old Jacobite Christians, mentioned by Maginas, Purchas and others, is, because Master Boughton saw an old Church of theirs in the way to Tamara, left desolate, the doore shut, but onely tyed, being desirous to enter it, the Sheck his guide told him it was full of Spirits, yet he adventured in and found an Altar with Images, and a crosse upon it, which he brought out, then the Shecke told him they were a people of another Religion, but very loth to have them much enquired after, as I suspect, knowing them to be a kind of Christians, doubting we would either wish them better, or not suffer them to bee oppressed. The fourth sort are a savage people, poore, leane, naked, with long haire, eating nothing but Roots, hiding in bushes, conversing with none, afraid of all, without houses, and almost as savage as beasts, and by conjecture, the true ancient Naturals of this Iland.

*Bedwines.*

The Iland is very mountainous and barren: having

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some Beeves, Goates and Sheepe, a few Dates and Oranges, a little Rice and nothing else for sustenance, of commoditie they have Aloes, which is the juyce of a leafe like Semperviva, they make a poore cloth of their Wooll for their slaves.

[I. iv. 540.] The King had Sanguis Draconis, and Indico of Lahor, but held it deare: many small Civit Cats and Civit: all is either the Kings, or passes his hands and price. He hath a handsome Galley and Juncke of Surat, with Mariners, that serve him to transport his goods for wages by the yeare. The King hath some knowledge of Prester John; confessing him the greatest Prince in the World, above the Turke and Persian, giving faire reasons for his opinion: he hath among his slaves divers Abbassines. Hearing our hoy-boyes in the Generals boat, hee asked if they were the Psalmes of David? and being answered yes: hee replied, it was the invention of the Devill, who did invent it: for King David, who before prayesd God with his lips and heart in devotion, but after it was left to sencelesse Instruments. They bury their dead all in Tombes, and have in great reverence the Monuments of their Saints, whereof there have been many: But of most account Serdy Hachim, buried at Tamara, who being slaine one hundred yeares since by the Portugalls once inhabiting heere, appears to them, and warnes them of dangers to ensue. They impute the violence of winds to his walking, and have him in wonderfull reverence. I never went ashoare, not knowing what entertainment I should find, in respect of the quality I beare, but gleane up the most probable reports. If I had gone my selfe, and conferred with the King, or could have spoken with any of his people of understanding, I had enquired further to satisfie the curious: But all the Interpreters followed the Generall, that I had no oportunity.

*Advice not to  
stay outwards  
at Socatra.*

I give my advice that the Fleet stop not at all outwards bound at Socatra: But from Molalia, having made Cape Guardafui, and there rested a convenient time for refreshing, or attending the latter end of the Monson,

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if it be soone in the yeare, shape their course right for Surat. If it be objected, that they shall want their usuall refreshings: I answer, at Socatra the victualls is both carrion, and as deare as in England, goodnesse considered, the water farre to fetch and dangerous, so that every Fleet hath lost some men in rowling it downe a streame full of deepe holes. At Cape Guarda-fui you shall ride at ease, and without doubt trade plentifully and cheape, and fish at pleasure: and though we made no experience of trade, yet wee saw people in Turbants and cloathed, who assuredly, if we had stayed, might have been drawne to bring downe cattell: for not farre to the West of that place, Sir Henry Middleton, and some other ships had excellent Goats and sheepe for trifles, as both his Journall, and Master Barret of his owne experience have enformed mee.

### §. II.

His journey to the Court, and entertainment there, and Customes thereof.

**T**He six and twentieth of September, I landed, *September 26.*  
accompanied with the Generall and principall *Visitation of*  
Merchants: Captaine Harris was sent to make me *Sultan Parvis.*  
a Court of guard, with one hundred shot, and the ships in their best equipage, giving mee their Ordnance as I passed. (The passages betwixt the Embassador and those of Surat I omit; their barbarous customes and actions holding so ill correspondence with his honorable condition, and civill conditions, that even heere also it would be harsh to the Reader: we will therefore find him removing from them in his way toward the Court.)

The fifteenth of November, I arrived at Brampore, being by my conjecture two hundred twenty three miles from Surat, and the course wholly East, a miserable and barren Countrey, the Townes and Villages all built of mudde, so that there is not a house for a man to rest in. This day at Batherport, a Village two mile short

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of Brampore is their Store-house of Ordnance. I saw divers of brasse, but generally too short, and too wide bored. Betweene that and Brampore I was met by the Cutwall, well accompanied, and sixteene Colours caried before them: he brought mee to the Saralia, where I was appointed to lodge, where at the gate hee tooke his leave, being a handsome front of stone: but when I entered, I had foure chambers allotted me, like Ovens, no bigger, round at the top, made of bricke in a wall-side; this troubled mee, but my Tents were my refuge, and I sent the Cutwall word I would depart the Towne, scorning so meane usage: hee desired me to be content untill morning. Heere lives Sultan Pervies, the Kings second sonne, holding the State and custome of his Father; and the Channa Channa being the greatest subject of the Mogoll, Generall of his Armies, whereof fortie thousand horse are with him: The Prince hath the name and state, but the Chan governes all.

The eighteenth, for many considerations, as well to see the fashions of the Court, as to content the Prince, who desired it, and I was loath to distaste him, because there was some purpose of erecting a Factory in the Towne; and I found by experience Sword-blades were well sold in the Armie; I went to visite the Prince, and carried him a Present. I was brought in by the Cutwall: at the outward Court were about one hundred horsemen armed, being Gentlemen that attend the Princes setting out to salute him, making a lane of each side: in the inner Court hee sate high in a Gallery that went round, with a Canopy over him, and a Carpet before him, in great, but barbarous State. Comming toward him thorow a lane of people, an Officer came and brought me word I must touch the ground with my head, and my hat off: I answered, I came in honour to see the Prince, and was free from the custome of Servants. So I passed on, till I came to a place railed in, right under him, with an ascent of three steps, where I made him reverence, and he bowed his body, and so went within it, where stood

[I. iv. 541]

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round by the sides all the great men of the Towne, with their hands before them like Slaves; the place was covered over-head with a rich Canopie, and underneath, all Carpets. To describe it rightly, it was like a great Stage, and the Prince sate above as the Mock-Kings doe there. When I was entered, I knew not where to be placed, but went right, and stood before him, where there is an ascent of three steppes, upon which stands his Secretary, to deliver what is said or given briefly. I told him, being an Ambassador from the King of England to his father, and passing by, I could not but in honour visite him: he replied I was very welcome, and asked me many questions of the King, to which I replied as I thought fit: but standing in that manner below, I demanded licence to come up and stand by him. He answered, If the King of Persia or the Great Turke were there, it might not be admitted. I replied that I must bee excused, for I doubted not hee would come downe and meete them at his gate; but I desired no more priviledge, then the Embassadors of such Princes had, to whom I held my selfe equall: he protested I had that, and should in all things. Then I demanded a Chaire, but I was answered no man ever sate in that place: but I was desired, as a courtesie, to ease my selfe against a pillar, covered above with silver, that held up his Canopie. Then I moved him for his favour for an English Factory to be resident in the Towne, which hee willingly granted, and gave present order to the Buxy, to draw a Firma both for their comming up, and for their residence. I also desired his authoritie for cariages for the Kings Presents, which he gave in charge to the Cutwall. Then I gave him my Presents, which hee tooke in good part, and after some other questions, he said to give me content, although I might not come up where he sate, he would go into another place, where I should come unto him; but one of my Presents was a Case of Bottells, which tooke him up by the way, and after I

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had stayed a while, I heard he was drunke, and one of his Officers came to mee in his name, with an excuse, desiring mee to goe home, and to take some other time to returne to visite him: this night I tooke my feaver.

The sixt of December, we lodged in a wood, not farre from the Kings famous Castle of Mandoa which stands on a steepe hill, walled round in circuit fourteene Course: the Castle is faire, and of wonderfull greatnesse.

*Master  
Edwards.  
Thomas  
Coryat.  
Cytor.*

The two and twentieth, Master Edwards met me, accompanied with Thomas Coryat, who had passed into India on foote five Course to Cytor an ancient Citie ruined on a hill, but so that it appeares a Tombe of wonderfull magnificence: there stands above one hundred Churches, all of carved stone, many faire Towers and Lanthornes cut thorow many pillars, and innumerable houses, but no one Inhabitant: there is but one ascent to the hill, it being precipitious, sloaping up, cut out of the Rocke, having foure gates in the ascent, before one arrive at the City gate, which is magnificent: the hill is incompassed at the top about eight Course, and at the South-west end a goodly old castle: I lodged by a poore Village at the foot of the hill. This Citie stands in the countrey of one Ranna, a Prince newly subdued by this King, or rather bought to confesse Tribute. The Citie was wonne by Ecbarsha, father to this Mogoll. Ranna is rightly descended from Porus, that valiant Indian, overcome by Alexander: so that I take this Citie to have been one of the ancient Seats of Porus, though Dely much further North be reported to have been the chieftest, famous now only in ruines. Neare that stands a pillar, erected by Alexander the Conqueror, with a great inscription. The present Mogoll and his Ancestors, descendants of Tamberlane, have brought all the ancient Cities to ruine, having dispeopled them, and forbidden reparation, I know not out of what reason, unlesse they would have nothing remembred of greatnesse beyond their beginnings, as if their Family and the world were equalls.

*Ranna.*



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The three and twentieth, I arrived at Adsmeeere, two hundred and nine Courses from Brampore, foure hundred and eightene English miles, the Courses being longer then toward the Sea. I kept my bed.

The tenth of January, I went to Court at foure in *January 10.* the evening to the Durbar, which is the place where the Mogoll sits out daily, to entertaine strangers, to receive Petitions and Presents, to give commands, to see and to be seene. To digresse a little from my reception, and declare the customes of the Court, will enlighten my future discourse. The King hath no man but Eunuches that comes within the lodgings or retyring roomes of his house: his women watch within, and guard him with manly weapons; they doe justice one upon another for offences. Hee comes every morning to a window called the Jarneo, looking into a Plaine before his gate, and shewes himselfe to the common people. At noone he returnes thither, and sits some houres to see the fight of Elephants and wilde beasts. Under him within a raile attend the men of rancke: from whence he retyres to sleep among his women. At after-noone he returnes to the Durbar before mentioned. At eight after supper he comes downe to the Guzelcan, a faire Court, wherein in the middest is a Throne erected of free-stone, wherein he sits, but sometimes below in a chaire, to which are none admitted but of great quality, and few of these without leave, where hee discourses of all matters with much affabilitie. There is no businesse done with him concerning the State, Government, disposition of War or peace, but at one of these two last places where it is publikey propounded and resolved, and so registred, which if it were worth the curiositie, might be scene for two shillings: but the common base people knew as much as the Councell, and the newes every day, is the Kings new [I iv. 542.] resolutions, tossed and censured by every rascall. This course is unchangeable, except sicknesse or drinke prevent it, which must be knowne: for as all his Subjects are

*Eunuches only  
and women,  
his household  
Courtiers.*

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*Necessitie of  
the Kings pre-  
sence.*

slaves, so is hee in a kind of reciprocall bondage, for hee is tyed to observe these houres and customs so precisely, that if he were unseene one day, and no sufficient reason rendred, the people would mutinie; two dayes no reason can excuse, but that he must consent to open his doores, and be seene by some, to satisfie others. On Tuesday at the Jarrneo he sits in Judgement, never refusing the poorest mans complaint: where he heares with patience both parts, and sometimes sees, with too much delight in blood, the execution done by his Elephants. Illi mervere, sed quid tu ut adesses?

*His coming  
to the King.*

At the Durbar I was led right before him: at the entrance of an outward raile, where met mee two principall Noble Slaves to conduct me nearer. I had required before my going, leave to use the customes of my Countrey, which was freely granted, so that I would performe them punctually. When I entered within the first raile, I made a reverence; entring in the inward raile, another; and when I came under the King, a third. The place is a great Court, whither resort all sorts of people. The King sits in a little Gallery over-head; Ambassadors, the great men and strangers of quality within the inner-most raile under him, raised from the ground, covered with Canopies of Velvet and Silke; under-foote laid with good Carpets: the meaner men representing Gentry, within the first raile: the people without, in a base Court, but so that all may see the King. This sitting out hath so much affinity with a Theatre, the manner of the King in his Gallery; the great men lifted on a Stage, as Actors; the Vulgar below gazing on, that an easie description will enforme of the place and fashion. The King prevented my dull Interpreter, bidding me welcome, as to the Brother of my Master. I delivered his Majesties Letter translated; and after, my Commission, whereon he looked curiously; after, my Presents, which were well received. He asked some questions; and with a seeming care of my health, offered me his Physitions, and advising me

*Face of the  
Presence like a  
Theatre.*

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to keepe my house till I had recovered strength, and if in the interim I needed any thing, I should freely send to him, and obtaine my desires. He dismissed me with more favour and outward grace, if by the Christians I were not flattered, then ever was shoven to any Ambassador either of the Turke or Persian, or other whatsoever.

The fourteenth, I sent to the Prince Sultan Coronne, *Sultan Coronne.* his third sonne by birth, but first in favour, that I determined to visite him, not doubting he would use me with due respect: for I was enformed he was enemy to all Christians, and therefore feared some affront. Hee answered I should be welcome, and receive the same content I had from his father. He is Lord of Surat our chiefe residence, and his favour important for us.

The two and twentieth, I visited the Prince, who at *His conditions.* nine in the morning sits out in the same manner (as his Father) to dispatch his businesse, and to be seene of his followers. He is proud naturally, and I feared my entertainment. But on some occasion he not resolving to come out, when he heard of my arrivall, sent a principall Officer to meete me, who conducted mee into a good roome (never before done to any) and entertaine mee with discourse of our owne businesse halfe an houre, untill the Prince was ready, who came abroad on purpose, and used mee better then his promise. I delivered him a Present, such as I had, but not in the name of his Majestie, it being too meane; but excused it, that the King could not take knowledge of his being Lord of Surat so lately conferred on him, but hereafter I doubted not his Majesty would send to him according to his worth. This was the respect of the Merchants, who humbly commended themselves to his favour and protection. He received all in very good part: and after opening of some grievances and injuries suffered at Surat by us from his Governours, of which for respect to him I had forborne to complaine to the King, hee promised mee speedie and effectuell

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Justice, and to confirme our securitie by any propositions I should offer, professing to be ignorant of any thing past, but what he had received by Asaph Chan, delivered by mee; especially of any command to dismisse us, which the Governour had falsely coyned, and for which hee should dearely answere. So he dismissed me, full of hope to rectifie the decayed estate of our reputation, with promise of a Firman for Surat effectually.

*His second  
hearing.*

The foure and twentieth, I went to the Durbar to visite the King, who seeing me a farre off, beckned with his hand, giving signe I should not stay the ceremony of asking leave, but come up to him, where he appointed me a place above all other men, which I after thought fit to maintaine: I gave him a small Present; it being the custome, when any body hath businesse, to give somewhat, and those that cannot come neare to speake, send in, or hold up their gift; which he excepts, be it but a Rupie, and demands their businesse. The same course he held with mee, having looked curiously, and asked many questions of my Present, he demanded what I required of him: I answered Justice; that on the assurance of his Majesties Firman sent into England, the King my Master had not only given leave to many of his Subjects to come a dangerous Voyage with their goods, but had sent me to congratulate the amity so happily begun betweene two so mighty Nations, and to confirme the same: but that I found the English, seated at Amadavas, injured by the Governour in their persons and goods, fined, exacted upon, and kept as prisoners, that at every Towne new Customes were taken of our goods, passing to the Port, contrary to all

[I. iv. 543.]

*Two Firmans  
granted to the  
English.*

Justice and the former Articles of Trade. To which he answered he was sorry, it should be amended, and presently gave order for two Firmans, very effectually, according to my desire to be signed, one to the Governour of Amadavas, to restore money exacted from Master Kerridge, and to use the English with all favour: the other to release all customes required on any pretence

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on the way; or if any had been taken, to repay it of his owne accord: wishing mee, that if these gave not speedy remedy, I should renue my complaint against the disobeyer, and he should be sent for to answer there: and so he dismissed me.

The first of March, I rode to see a house of pleasure of the Kings, given him by Asaph Chan, two miles from Adsmee, but betweene two mightie Rockes, so defended from the Sunne, that it scarce any way sees it; the foundation cut out of them, and some roomes, the rest of free-stone, a handsome little Garden with fine fountaines, two great Tankes, one thirty steps above another; the way to it is inaccessible, but for one or two in front, and that very steepe and stony, a place of much melancholy delight and securitie, onely beeing accompanied with wild Peacocks, Turtles, fowle, and Munkeyes, that inhabite the Rockes hanging every way over it.

*March 1.  
A house of  
pleasure.*

The second, the Norose began in the evening. It is a custome of solemnizing the new yeare, yet the Cere-monie begins the first new Moone after it, which this yeare fell together: it is kept in imitation of the Persians feast, and signifies in that language Nine dayes, for that anciently it endured no longer, but now it is doubled. The manner is, there is erected a throne foure foote from the ground, in the Durbar Court, from the backe whereof to the place where the King comes out a square of fiftie sixe paces long, and fortie three broad was rayled in, and covered over with faire Semianes or Canopies of Cloth of Gold, Silke, or Velvet joyned together, and sustained with Canes so covered: at the upper end West, were set out the Pictures of the King of England, the Queene, the Lady Elizabeth, the Countesses of Somerset and Salisbury, and of a Citizens wife of London; below them an other of Sir Thomas Smith, Governour of the East-India Companie: under foot it is laid with good Persian Carpets of great largenesse, into which place come all the men of qualitie to attend the King, except some few that are within a little rayle

*The Norose is a  
solemn Feast,  
and Rites  
thereof.*

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right before the Throne, to receive his Commands, within this square there were set out for shew many little houses, one of Silver, and some other curiosities of price. The Prince, Sultan Coronne had at the left side a Pavilion, the supporters whereof were covered with Silver, as were some of those also neere the Kings Throne: the former thereof was square, the matter wood, inlayed with mother of Pearle, borne up with foure pillers, and covered with cloth of Gold about the edge over-head like a valence, was a net fringe of good Pearle, upon which hung downe Pomgranats, Apples, Peares, and such fruits of Gold, but hollow; within that the King sate on Cushions, very rich in Pearles, in Jewels round about the Court; before the Throne the Principall men had erected Tents, which encompassed the Court, and lined them with Velvet, Damaske, and Taffatae ordinarily, some few with cloth of Gold, wherein they retired, and set to shew all their wealth: for anciently the Kings were used to goe to every Tent, and there take what pleased them; but now it is changed, the King sitting to receive what New-yeeres gifts are brought to him. Hee comes abroad at the usuall houre of the Durbar, and retires with the same: here are offered to him by all sorts great gifts, though not equall to report, yet incredible enough: and at the end of this Feast the King in recompence of the Presents received, advanceth some, and addeth to their entertainment some horse at his pleasure.

The twelfth, I went to visit the King, and was brought right before him, expecting a present which I delivered to his extraordinary content; so he appointed I should be directed within the raile to stand by him, but I beeing not suffered to step up upon the rising, on which the Throne stood, could see little, the rayle beeing high, and doubled with Carpets, but I had leisure to view the inward roome, and the beauty thereof, which I confesse was rich, but of so divers pieces, and so unsutable, that it was rather patched then glorious, as if it seemed

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to strive to shewe all, like a Lady that with her Plate, set on a Cupboord her imbroydered Slippers. This Evening was the sonne of Ranna his new Tributary brought before him with much ceremonie, kneeling three times, and knocking his head on the ground: he was sent by his Father with a Present, and was brought within the little raile, the King embracing him by the head; his gift was an Indian voyder full of Silver, upon that a carved Silver dish full of Gold; so he was lead toward the Prince. Some Elephants were shewed, and some Whoores did sing and dance: Sic transit gloria Mundi.

The thirteenth at night, I went to the Gussell Chan, where is best opportunitie to doe businesse, and tooke with me the Italian, determining to walke no longer in darknesse, but to proove the King, being in all other wayes delayed and refused; I was sent for in with my old Broaker, but my Interpreter was kept out: Asaph Chan mistrusting I would utter more then he was willing to heare. When I came to the King, he appointed me a place to stand just before him, and sent to aske mee many questions about the King of England, and of the Present I gave the day before: to some of which I answered; but at last I said, my Interpretor was kept out, I could speake no Portugall, and so wanted meanes to satisfie his Majestie, whereat (much against Asaph Chans desire) he was admitted. I bad him tell the King, I desired to speake to him; he answered, willingly: whereat Asaph Chans sonne in law, pulled him by force away, and that faction hedged the King so, that I could scarce see him, nor the other approach him. So I commanded the Italian to speake aloud, that I craved audience of the King, whereat the King called me, and they made me way. Asaph Chan stood on one side of my Interpreter, and I on the other: I to enforme him in mine owne cause, he to awe him with winking and jogging. I bad him say, that I now had been here two Moneths, whereof more then one was passed in sicknesse, the other in Comple-

*Passages  
remarkable.*

[I. iv. 544.]

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ments, and nothing effected toward the ende for which my Master had employed mee, which was to conclude a firme and constant love and peace betweene their Majesties, and to establish a faire and secure Trade and residence for my Countrey-men. He answered, that was already granted. I replied it was true, but it depended yet on so light a thred, on so weake conditions, that being of such importance, it required an agreement cleare in all points, and a more formall and authentique confirmation, then it had by ordinary Firmans, which were temporary commands, and respected accordingly. He asked me what Presents we would bring him. I answered, the League was yet new, and very weake: that many Curiosities were to bee found in our Countrey of rare price and estimation, which the King would send, and the Merchants seeke out in all parts of the world, if they were once made secure of a quiet trade and protection on honourable Conditions, having been heretofore many wayes wronged.

He asked what kind of curiosities those were I mentioned, whether I meant Jewels and rich stones. I answered, No: that we did not thinke them fit Presents to send backe, which were brought first from these parts, whereof he was chiefe Lord; that we esteemed them common here, and of much more price with us: but that we sought to finde such things for his Majestie, as were rare here, and unseene, as excellent artifices in painting, carving, cutting, enamelling, figures in Brasse, Copper, or Stone, rich embroyderies, stufes of Gold and Silver. He said it was very well: but that hee desired an English horse: I answered, it was impossible by Sea, and by Land the Turke would not suffer passage. He replied, that hee thought it not impossible by Sea. I told him, the dangers of stormes, and varietie of weather would proove it. Hee answered, if sixe were put into a ship, one might live; and though it came leane, he would fat it. I replied, I was confident it could not be in so long a Voyage, but that for his Majesties satisfaction, I would write to advise of

*An English  
horse much  
desired.*



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his request. So he asked, what was it then I demanded? I said, that hee would bee pleased to signe certaine reasonable conditions, which I had conceived for the confirmation of the League, and for the securitie of our Nation, and their quiet trade, for that they had beene often wronged, and could not continue on such tearmes, which I forbore to complaine of, hoping by faire meanes to procure amendment. At this word, Asaph Chan offered to pull my Interpreter; but I held him, suffering him onely to winke and make unprofitable signes.

The King hereat grew suddenly into choller, pressing to know who had wronged us, with such shew of fury, that I was loath to follow it, and speaking in broken Spanish to my Interpreter, to answer, That with what was past I would not trouble his Majestie, but would seeke Justice of his Sonne, the Prince, of whose favour I doubted not. The King not attending my Interpreter, but hearing his Sonnes name, conceived I had accused him, saying, Mio Filio, Mio Filio, and called for him; who came in great feare, humbling himselfe: Asaph Chan trembled, and all of them were amazed. The King chid the Prince roundly, and he excused himselfe, but I perceiving the Kings error, made him (by meanes of a Persian Prince, offering himselfe to interpret, because my Italian spake better Turkish then Persian) and the Prince both understand the mistaking, and so appeased him, saying, I did no way accuse the Prince, but would in causes past in his Governement, appeale to him for Justice, which the King commanded hee should doe effectually. The Prince for his justification, told the King he had offered me a Firman, and that I had refused it: demanding the reason: I answered, I humbly thanked him, but he knew it contained a condition which I would not accept of; and that further I did desire to propound our owne demands, wherein I would containe all the desires of my Master at once, that I might not daily trouble them with complaints, and wherein I would reciprocally bind my Sovereigne to

*The King  
angry with his  
Sonne.*

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*Mochreb Chan  
back-friend to  
the English.*

mutuall offices of friendship; and his Subjects to any such conditions, as his Majesty would reasonably propound, whereof I would make an offer, which beeing drawne Tripartite, his Majesty (I hoped) would signe the one, the Prince the other, and in my Masters behalfe I would firme the third. The King pressed to know the Conditions I refused in the Princes Firman, which I recited, and so we fell into earnest dispute, and some heate. Mochreb Chan enterposing, said, he was the Portugals advocate; speaking slightly of us, that the King should never signe any Article against them. I answered, I propound none against them, but in our owne just defence; and I did not take him for such a friend to them: the Jesuite and all the Portugals side fell in, in so much that I explained my selfe fully concerning them; and as I offered a conditionall peace, so I set their friendship at a mean rate, and their hatred or force at lesse. The King answered, my demands were just, resolution noble, and bad me propound. Asaph Chan that stood mute all this discourse, and desired to end it, least it breake out againe (for we were very warme) enterposed, that if wee talked all night it would come to this issue, that I should draw my demands in writing, and present them, and if they were found reasonable, the King would firme them; to which the King replied, yes; and I desired his Sonne would doe the like, who answered he would: [I. iv. 545.] so the King rose. But I calling to him, he turned about, and I bad my Interpreter say, That I came the day before to see his Majestie, and his greatnesse, and the Ceremonies of this Feast, that I was placed behind him, I confessed with honour, but I could not see abroad; and that therefore I desired his Majestie to licence me to stand up by his Throne; whereat he commanded Asaph Chan to let mee choose my owne place.

The foureteenth in the morning, I sent a Messenger to Asaph Chan, least hee or the Prince might mistake me by the Kings mistakings, that I had complained against them, which as I did not, so it was not yet in my

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purpose: onely I was willing to let them see, I did not so depend on Asaph Chan, by whose mouth I used to doe my businesse; but that if he continued his manner of never delivering what I said, but what he pleased; I would find another way. My message was to cleare any such doubt, if it remained; or if not, to entreat him that he would soften the Prince in my demands concerning Surat. He answered, Neither the Prince nor hee had any reason to suspect, my purpose was to complaine of them: that the error was evident enough, for his part he had ever had the love of the English, and would endeavour to continue it.

The sixe and twentieth of Aprill, I received intelligence, that the Prince caused one of his Servants at the Durbar, to aske the King why he used so good countenance to the English, that for their cause the Portugals were barred the Port of Surat, who brought more profit to the King, as many Ballaces, Pearles, and Jewels, whereas the English came onely to seeke profit, with Cloth, Swords, and Knives of little estimation. The King answered onely, it was true, but who could mend it. Hereby the Princes good affection was manifest, and I had faire warning to bee watchfull, and to study to preserve our selves in the Kings grace, in which onely wee were safe: but I resolved to take notice of this, and to make prooffe if I could settle a better opinion in the Prince of our Nation.

The two and twentieth of May, I went to the Durbar to visit the King, and to desire his authoritie to have one Jones a youth, that was runne away from mee to an Italian, and protected himselfe under the name of the King to the infamy of our Nation. The King gave order for his deliverie, but the Prince who ever waited opportunitie to disgrace our Nation for the cause of his Favorite Zulpheckarcon with whom I was newly broken off from conference, and had sent the Prince word I would no longer forbear opening my cause to the King, mooved the King in private to send for the youth first, which

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at the Gusel Chan hee did: and the Prince giving him countenance, he railed to my face with most virulent malice, desiring the King to save his life, so the King resolved not to deliver him to me, but to send him Prisoner to Surat, but the Prince to brave me, begged him for his servant, the fellow having quite renounced his Countrey, the King gave him to the Prince, notwithstanding any reasons I could alledge: so the Prince presently gave him one hundred and fiftie Rupias, and the pay of two Horse, and forbade mee to meddle with him.

The three and twentieth, at night my man came and fell at my feet, asking pardon for his lying and madnesse, and offered to submit himselfe in any kind. I told him I would not now keepe him Prisoner he was the Princes servant, but that before I could give him any answere he should make me publike satisfaction as farre as he was able.

The foure and twentieth, Jones made meanes to come to the Gusel Chan, and there asked pardon of the King for his lyes, denying every word hee had spoken, and to have been done to protect himselfe from me, whom he had offended, desiring the King to send for me that he might there aske my pardon: the King was well pleased. But the Prince fell into a great rage.

The five and twentieth, I went to the Guzelcan, where after many protestations of the King, that he never beleaved him, that he was a Villaine, yet that hee could doe no lesse but protect him, having cast himselfe into his mercy: the youth was sent for, who on his knees asked mee forgivenessse, and on his oath swore to the King, that he had in every particular belyed me, which he professed to doe voluntarie, for that he durst never returne to his countrey. The King chid him a little, and told me, he nor any good man ever beleaved him: but the Prince grew so angry that moving him with many questions to stand to his first word, which he refusing was bid be gone: and the Prince publikely calling

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for him againe, bad him most basely returne him the one hundred and fiftie Rupias, delivered him for that he gave it to maintayne him against me, which seeing he went from, he would have his money: which the fellow promised but he should have it presently, and so sent an under Treasurer with him to the house, where hee was lodged, for into mine, I would not suffer him to come.

The seven and twentieth, thus I was enforced to seeme content, because I had no way to seeke remedie, for Presents I had none, and the King never takes any request to heart, except it come accompanied, and will in plaine tearmes demand it, which advantage the Prince takes, urging the Portugals bringing of Jewels, Ballests and Pearles with much disgrace to our English commodities.

The nine and twentieth, the Portugals went before the King with a Present, and a Ballas Rubie, to sell as was reported, weighing thirteene Tole, two Tole and a halfe being an ounce: they demanded five Leckes of Rupies, but the King offered but one. Asaph Chan is also their Sollicitor, to whom they gave a Present of [I. iv. 546.] Stones, they had divers Rubies Ballaces, Emeralds and Jewels set to sell, which so much contented the King and his great men, that we were for a time eclipsed.

The Prince and the Jesuite fell out about presenting them, which the Prince desired; but it was promised to Asaph Chan before concerning the Portugals credit, here I ever made my judgement by report, but now experience shewes me the difference made betweene us and them, for they were sought after by every bodie, whereas they seeme to buy our commodities for almes, besides their Neighbour-hood and advantage to hinder that Trade into the Red Sea, is ever more readier then ours to doe harme, because they are settled, so that onely for a little feare wee were entertained, but for our trade or any thing we being not at all respected.

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

### §. III.

Occurrents happening in June, July, August 1616.  
and divers passages of speech and action,  
whence the Nature, Arts, and disposition of  
the King and his Subjects may bee ob-  
served.

*June 12.  
Sultan  
Coroone, to be  
employed in the  
Decan warres.*

**T**He twelfth of June, there is a resolution taken that Sultan Coroone shall goe to the Decan warres, and the day prefixed having consulted all the Bramans. Prince Parvis is called home, whom (it is reported) wrote to his father, that if hee would send his elder brother, he would obey, but to dishonour him by imploying this, hee would first fall on him, and after finish the warre. All the Captaines, as Channa Chana, Mahobet Chan, Chan John, refuse to stay if this Tyrant come to command, so well is he beloved: it is true, all men awe him more then the King, now that hee is to receive the Armie; the King cannot bee remooved from his resolution, so that his sudden departure two and twentie dayes from this present, must hasten me to finish this businesse, and to know a resolution: for after his departure with his Minion Zulpheckcarcon, there is no hope to recover a penny, nor any Justice against him.

*Severe com-  
mand.*

The eighteenth, the King commanded one of his brothers sonnes (who was made a Christian in policie, to bring him into hatred with the people) to go strike a Lyon on the head, which was brought before the King; but he being afraid, refused it: so the King bade his youngest sonne to go touch the Lyon, who did so without any harme, whereat the King tooke occasion to send his Nephew away to a prison, where hee is never like to see day-light.

The foure and twentieth, the Prince had a sonne borne, and now being preparing for this warre, all mens eyes were on him, either for flattery, gaine, or envy, none

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for love. He received twenty Lecks of Rupies towards his charges, (two hundred thousand pound sterling) and began to deale money liberally : but notwithstanding his show of his Fathers affection and greatnesse, a Chan perswaded the King that the Voyage would bee dangerous, in respect of the Prince Parvis, whose honour was so wounded, that he would not returne without revenge. The King replyed, let them fight, I am well contented, and he that proves himselfe the better Captaine shall pursue the warre.

Abdala Hassan is Captaine of all the souldiers, entertained at Court, and Treasurer to all the Armies: he entertained me courteously, with few complements, but much civility, wee sate to see his souldiers shoote in bowes and peeces, most of them with single bullet did hit the marke, being a hand-breath in a butt, wee had some discourse of our use of weapons, and so I departed.

*Abdala  
Hassan.*

*Exquisit  
markmen.*

The thirteenth of July in the morning, I sent Sultan Carronne three bottles of Alligant, and a Letter concerning the Portugalls, the differences betweene our Trade and theirs, and to procure all the customs in and out to farme for the Companies use (the copy is registred.) The Prince caused (as is his barbarous custome in all businesse passing in publike) the Letter to be twice read by his Secretary, and often interrupted it with speech to him: in the end sent word, that at night when he came downe, he would reade it himselfe, and consider it, and that I should receive answer from Merze Sorocalla.

*July 13.*

At night I went to the Durbar to visite the King: So soone as I came in, he sent Asaph Chan to me, that he heard I had in my house an excellent Painter, and desired me he might see some of his worke: I replyed, according to truth, that there was none, but a yong man, a Merchant, that for his exercise did with a pen draw some figures, but very meanelly, farre from the arte of Painting. The King replyed, that I should not feare that hee would take any man from mee by force, that he

*The Kings  
delight in  
Painting.*

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would neither doe mee injury, nor suffer any other ; and prayed that he might see that man and his worke, howsoever it was. I replied, I had no such doubt of his Majesty, and for his satisfaction I would bring him to the Guzell Chan with such toyes as he had, which perhaps was an Elephant, or a Deare, or such like in paper. At this answer the King bowed himselfe, and returned, that if I desired an Elephant, or the figure, or any other thing [I. iv. 547.] in his Countrey, I should not buy it, nor seeke any other way but to him, that whatsoever I had a mind to, he would give me, and that I should freely speake to him, for he was my friend. I made a Reverence, and answered that I humbly thanked his Majesty, Elephants were of no such use to mee, neither was it the custome of my Nation, especially of my place, to aske any thing, if his Majestie gave me but the worth of a Rupie, I would receive it, and esteeme it as a marke of his favour. He replied, he knew not what I desired, that there were some things in his Countrey, rare in mine, and that I should not make dainty to speake to him, for he would give mee such things as should be most welcome, and that I should bee cheerefull, for that he was a friend to our Nation and to mee, and would protect us from any injury, but desired that I would that night come to the Guzell Chan, with the youth that painted, with his Pictures. So Asaph Chan wished me to send home to fetch him to his house ; whither if I would go and stay with him untill the King came abroad, I should be very welcome ; which I promised. I never received so much grace and favour from the King, as at this time, which all men tooke notice of, and accordingly altered their fashions towards mee ; specially it happened well that the Jesuit was made Interpreter of all this by the Kings appointment.

*Story of an Eunuch and one of the Kings women.* This day a Gentle-woman of Normalls was taken in the Kings house in some action with an Eunuch ; another Capon that loved her, killed him : the poore woman was set up to the arme-pits in the earth, hard rammed, her feet tied to a stake, to abide three dayes and two nights



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without any sustenance, her head and armes exposed to the Sunnes violence: if shee dyed not in that time, shee should be pardoned: the Eunuch was condemned to the Elephants. This Damsell yeelded in Pearle, Jewels, and ready money, sixteene hundred thousand Rupies.

The two and twentieth, I received Letters from Bramport: in answere of those to Mahobet Chan, who at first granted my desire, making his Firman to Barooch most effectually, to receive our Nation, and to give them a house neare the Governour, strictly commanding no man to molest them by sea or land, or to take any custome of them, or any way trouble them under colour thereof. Finally, that they might buy, sell, and transport any commoditie at their pleasures, without any molestation; concluding, that they should expect to heare no other from him, and therefore they should be carefull in execution. I received with it a Letter from himselfe (which was more civility then all the Indies yeelded me) full of courtesie and humanity, and great respect, protesting his desire to give me content, and that what I had demanded, I should make no doubt of performance: and if I had any other occasion to use him, hee desired mee to write, and it should be performed. The Copies are worthy the seeing for the rarenesse of the phrase. The Firman I caused to be sent to Surat: so that Borooch is provided for a good retrait from the Princes injuries, and the custome given, whereby fifteene hundred pound, per annum, will bee saved, besides all manner of searches and extortions. For the performance of this no man maketh any doubt, for that all men confesse, that he neither careth for the Prince, and so feareth not, nor needeth any man, being the only beloved man of the King, and second person in his Dominions, and in all his life so liberall of his purse, and honorable of his word, that he hath ingrossed good reports from all others: and concerning Custome, the King takes none, the Governours make it their profit, which he professeth to scorne that he should abuse the liberty of the Kings Ports.

*Mahobet Chan  
his grant to  
the English for  
Borooch.*

*His Civility  
and good parts.*

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*August 6.  
The Kings  
curiosity in  
painting, and  
the Indian  
workmanship,  
for which  
cause, and for  
notice of the  
Kings disposi-  
tion is heere  
added.*

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The sixt of August, I was sent for to the Durbar; the businesse was about a Picture I had lately given to the King, and was confident that no man in India could equall it. So soone as I came, he asked mee what I would give the Painter that had made a copy so like it, that I should not know my owne: I answered, a Painters reward, fifty Rupies. The King replyed, his Painter was a Caveleer, and that too small a gift; to which I answered, I gave my Picture with a good heart, esteeming it rare, and meant not to make comparison or wagers: if his servant had done as well, and would not accept of my gift, his Majesty was most fit to reward him. So with many passages of jests, mirth, and bragges concerning the Arts of his Countrey, hee fell to aske mee questions, how often I dranke a day, and how much, and what? what in England? what Beere was? how made? and whether I could make it heere? In all which I satisfied his great demands of State. He concluded that I should come to the Guzel Chan, and then I should see my Pictures. At night he sent for me, being hasty to triumph in his work-man, and shewed me sixe Pictures, five made by his man, all pasted in one table so like, that I was by candle-light troubled to discerne which was which, I confesse, beyond all expectation: yet I shewed mine owne, and the differences, which were in arte apparent, but not to be judged by a common eye. But for that at first sight I knew it not, he was very merry and joyfull, and craked like a Northerne man: I gave him way and content, praising his mans art. Now, saith he, what say you? I replyed, I saw his Majestie needed no picture from our Countrey; but saith he, what will you give the Painter? I answered, seeing he had so farre excelled in my opinion of him, I would double my liberality, and that if he came to my house, I would give him one hundred Rupies to buy a Nagge, which the King tooke kindly, but answered, he should accept no money, but some other gift: which I promised: the King asked what? I said it was referrable to my

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discretion: so he answered it was true, yet desired I would name it. I replied, a good Sword, a Pistoll, a Picture; whereat the King answered, You confesse hee is a good work-man: send for him home, and shew him such toyes as you have, and let him choose one, in requitall whereof you shall choose any of these Copies to shew in England. We are not so unskilfull, as you esteeme us: so hee pressed me to choose one, which I did; the King wrapping it up in a paper, and putting it up in a little booke of mine, delivered it, with much joy and exultation of his mans supposed victory, whereat I shewed him a Picture I had of his Majesties, farre inferiour to the worke I now saw, which caused me to judge of all other by that which he delivered me as the best. He asked me where I had it; I told him. Why, said he, doe you buy any such things? have not I the best? and have not I told you, I would give you whatsoever you desired? I thanked his Majesty, but that I held it not civility to trouble him in such trifles, especially as a begger: he replied, it was no shame to aske of him, and bad me speake at all times freely, pressing me to aske somewhat: I answered, I would not choose my gift, whatsoever came from his Majesties hands I would receive as a marke of honour: hee replied, if you desire my Picture, I will give you one for your selfe, or for your King. I answered, if his Majestie would send the King one, I would gladly cary it, and knew his Majestie would take it friendly, and esteeme it much. But that since his Majestie had emboldened mee, I would desire one for my selfe, which I would keepe and leave to my Posteritie, as an ensigne of his Majesties favour. He replied, your King doth not desire one, but you doe, therefore you shall have it, and so he gave present order for the making: then he turned to rest, and wee were blind-fold dismissed.

[I. iv. 548.]

*The courtesie  
of the King.*

The twelfth of August, Gemal-din-ussin, a man of seventie yeares, Vice-roy of Patan, and Lord of foure Cities in Bengala, one that hath beene often Ambassadour,

*The courtesie  
of Gemal-din-ussin.*

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and of more understanding and courtesie then all his Countrimen, and to be esteemed hospitable, and a receiver of strangers, not secretly ambitious ; he often made meanes that I would come to his house, which at last I did, and was received with extraordinary familiaritie and kindnesse, offering me a Lecke of Rupias, and such other curtesies so great, that they bespake their owne refusall. His favour with the King, his credit, his counsell, all was offered that could fulfill complements. And this I must confesse, that from a person reverent in yeares it seemed more cordiall, and for in some Discourse speaking so plainly of his fellowes in Court, truthes in mine owne experience, I resolved hee was a good natured and right hearted old man. He told me much of the Customes of this Countrey, of their servitude, of their want of Lawes, of the increase of this Empire, wherein hee had served three Princes in grace and favour, of which times hee shewed me a Booke or Annall of all memorable Actions which he had daily committed to record, and had composed them into a Historie, the Copie whereof he offered me if I could procure it translated. Concerning the Kings revenue and the manner of raising it, besides confiscations, gifts, and cuttings upon great men ; that the Government of every Province did yearely pay a Rent: as for his Government of Patan onely, he gave the King eleven Leckes of Rupias, (the Rupias sterling is two shillings two pence) all other profits were his, wherein he had Regall authoritie to take what he list, which was esteemed at five thousand horse, the pay of every one at two hundred Rupias by the yeare, whereof he kept fiftene hundred, and was allowed the Surplusse as dead pay: besides the King gave him a Pension of one thousand Rupias a day, and some smaller governments. Yet he assured me there were divers had double his entertainment, and above twentie equall.

*A History  
written by  
him.  
Manner of  
Mogull  
Government.  
Eleven Leckes  
for Patan to  
the King.*

*Their opinion  
of Christ.*

He prayseed the good Prophet Jesus and his Lawes, and was full of very delightfull and fruitfull Discourse. This Visit was past some few dayes, and I thought that

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his courtesie had beene at an end : but this day he had borrowed of the King his house and Garden of pleasure : Havar Gemall, a mile out of Towne to feast me in ; and overnight earnestly inviting me, I promised to come. At midnight he went himselfe and caryed his Tents and all furniture, and fitted up a place by the Tanke side very handsomely. In the morning I went. At my comming he came to meet mee and with extraordinary civilitie carryed me into his roome prepared where hee had some company and one hundred servants attending, two of his sonnes, being a father to thirtie. He enter-tayned me with shewing me the Kings little closets and retyring roomes which were painted with Antiques, and in some panes Copies of the French Kings and other Christian Princes ; wanting no Court-ship. That he was a poore man, slave to the King, that he desired I should receive some content, and that therefore he had drawne me to a slight Banquet to eate bread and salt together, to seale a friendship which he desired me to accept : that there were many great men able to shew me more courtesie, but they were proud & false wishing me to trust to none, for that if I had busines to the King of any weight, either concerning the Portugals or any other, they would never deliver truth who were my Interpreters, but only what either please themselves or would content in the relation. That therefore I should never be rightly understood, nor effect my businesse without abuse, nor never cleerely know my estate untill I had an Englishman that could speake Persian, and that might deliver my minde without passing the tongue of another, which the King would grant me if I could find any : for that hee had conceived a good opinion of me, and the last night at the Gussel Chan, having brought before him the Jewels of Sheck Ferid, Governour of Lahor lately dead, he remembred me of himselfe, and seeing a Picture of his owne that pleased him, he delivered it to Asaph Chan, commanding him to send it me to weare for his sake, with many words of favour

*Entertainement at a house of pleasure.*

*Censure of his fellow Nobles.*

*The Kings respect to Sir T. Roe.*

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towards me, which would make all the great men respect me.

[I. iv. 549.]  
*Rites of enter-  
tainment.*

In this time came in Dinner. So sitting on Carpetting, a cloth was layd and divers banquetting set before us, and the like a little apart for the Gentlemen that companied him, to whom hee went to eat, they holding it a kind of uncleaneesse to mingle with us. Whereat I told him, hee promised we should eate bread and salt together, that without his company I had little appetite so he rose and sate by me, and we fell roundly to our victuals.

*The provision.  
Chesse-play.*

The substance was made dishes of divers sorts, Raisons, Almonds, Pistachees and Fruit. Dinner ended, he played at Chesse, and I walked, returning after some discourse I offered to take my leave, he answered he had intreated me to come to eate, that what was passed was but a collation, that I must not depart till I had supped, which I easily granted to.

*Purposes to  
send one into  
England.*

About an houre after came to visit him the Ambassadour of one of the Decan Kings whom he presented to me, using him with civilitie, but in a much inferiour manner, in respect of his fashion toward me: he asked me if his Majestie my Master would not take in scorne the offer of service from so poore a man, and if hee would vouchsafe, to accept of a Present from a stranger, for that he would send a Gentleman with me to kisse his Majesties hands, and to see our Countrey. I answered him as became civilitie and good manners; so hee sent for one presently, and questioned him if he would venture the journey, who seeming willing hee presented to mee, and said he would provide some Toyes of the Countrey for his Majestie, and send him in my companie. By the manner, this seemed to me to be earnest.

*Supper served  
in.]*

While we thus spent time, our Supper came, two clothes being spread, as in the morning and before me and my Chaplaine, and one Merchant were set divers dishes of Sallets and meate rost, fryed, boyled, and divers Rices: he desired to be excused, that it was their manner to eate among themselves, his Countymen would take it

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ill, if he eate not with them; so hee and his guests, I and my Company solaced our selves with a good refreshing. The meate was not amisse, but the attendance and order much better, his servants being very diligent and respectfull. Hee gave mee for a present, as is the manner, when one is invited, five cases of Sugar Candie dressed with Muske, and one Loafe of most fine Sugar white as Snow, about fiftie pound weight, desiring me to accept of one hundred such against my going, which said he, you refuse of me thinking I am poore, but it costs me nothing, it is made in my Government, and comes gratis to me. I answered, hee had too farre alreadie obliged me, that I would not refuse his courtesie when I was readie to depart. He replied, he might bee then unfurnished, and therefore desired I would now speake, that hee might not lose his offer and labour too. Thus professing himselfe my father and I his sonne, with complements I tooke my leave.

*They give  
Presents to  
their Ghests.*

The sixteenth, I went to visit the King, who assoone as I came in, called to his women and reached out a Picture of himselfe set in Gold, hanging at a Wire Gold Chaine with one pendant foule Pearle, which he delivered to Asaph Chan, warning him not to demand any reverence of me, other then such as I would willingly give; it being the custome whensoever hee bestowes any thing, the receiver kneeles downe and puts his head to the ground, which hath beene exacted of the Ambassadors of Persia. So Asaph Chan came to mee, and I offered to take it in my hand, but he made signe to put off my hat, and then put it about my necke, leading me right before the King. I understood not his purpose, but doubted he would require the custome of the Countrey, called Sizeda. But I was resolved rather to deliver up my Present: He made signe to give the King thankses, which I did after my owne custome, whereat some Officers called mee to Sizeda: but the King answered no, no, in Persian; so with many gracious words sent me, I returned to my place, you may now judge the Kings liberalitie;

*The Kings  
favour.*

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this gift was not worth in all thirtie pounds, yet it was five times as good as any he gives in that kind, and held for an especiall favour, for that all the great men that weare the Kings Image, which none may doe but to whom it is given, receive no other then a meddall of Gold as bigge as sixe pence, with a little Chaîne of foure inches to fasten it on their heads, which at their owne proper charge, some set with stones, or garnish with pendant Pearles.

*Superstitious  
Cautele.*

The nineteenth, Gemal-din-ussin, who invited me to Havaz Gemall, being newly made Governour of Sindu, came to me to dinner with two sonnes and two other Gentlemen, and about one hundred servants: hee ate some Banqueting stuffe made in my house by a Moore Cooke, but would not touch such meate as I had provided of my owne fashion, though his appetite was very good, a kind of superstition forbidding him. But hee desired me that foure or five dishes might be sent to his house, such as he would choose, being all baked meates which hee had never seene, and that he would dine on them in private, which was accordingly done, and so offering us the Towne of Sindu, and all other courtesies in his power, he made haste to fill his belly. I gave him a small Present according to custome. This day suddenly dyed to my great griefe, and discomfort my Minister Master Hall, a man of most gentle and milde nature, religious, and of unspotted life.

*Huge raine  
called the  
Oliphant.*

[I. iv. 550.]

The twentieth day, and the night past fell a storm of raine called the Oliphant, usuall at going out of the raines, but for the greatnesse very extraordinary, whereby there ran such streames into the Tanke whose head is made of stone, in shew extremely strong, but the water was so growne that it brake over in one place, and there came an alarme and sudden feare, that it would give way and drowne all that part of the Towne where I dwelt, insomuch that the Prince and all his women forsooke their house; my next Neighbour carried away his goods and his wife on his Elephants and Camels to



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flye to the hils side. All men had their Horses ready at their doores to save their lives, so that we were much frightened and sat up till mid-night for that we had no help, but to flye our selves and loose all our goods, for it was reported that it would run higher then the top of my house by three foot, and carry all away being poore muddy buildings, foureteene yeeeres past, a terrible experience having shewed the violence, the foot of the Tanke being leuell with our dwelling, and the water extreame great and deepe, so that the top was much higher then my house which stood in the bottome in the course of the water, every ordinary rain making such a Current at my doore, that it runne not swifter in the Arches of London Bridge, and is for some houres impassible by Horse or man. But God otherwise disposed it in his mercy, the King caused a sluice to be cut in the night to ease the water another way, yet the very raine had washed downe a great part of the wals of my house, and so weakened it by divers breaches, in that I feared the fall more then the floud: and was so moyled with dirt and water, that I could scarce lye dry or safe, for that I must be enforced to bee at new charge in reparation. Thus were we every way afflicted; fires, smokes, flouds, stormes, heats, dust, flyes, and no temperate or quiet season.

The nine and twentieth, the King went to Havaz Jemal and so to hunting, there was taken a resolution to remoove to Mandoe, a Castle neere Bramport where *Mandoe.* is no Towne, for that Sultan Parvis being come from the warre in disgrace, and being with his traine neere Asmere the King commanded him to Bengala, excusing himselfe to be seene, and so having dispatched him without such incommoditie as was feared would arise if the two brothers met, hee intended himselfe to settle Sultan Caronne in the warres of Decan, to which all the chieftes were so contrary, that the King feared to send him downe as was the resolution some monethes past, and therefore dissembled it, until the other Prince were withdrawne &

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he established by his owne countenance, comming so neere as Mandoa, which remove if it proceed will put us to extreame trouble and cost, for that we must build a new house both for our selves and goods, the Castle standing on a hill without any other buildings neere it.

*A wild Boare  
sent by the  
King.*

The thirtieth, the King returned in the night, and about eleven a clocke sent mee a very fat wild Boare, and so great, that he desired the Tusks backe, with this message, that he kild it with his owne hand, and that therefore I should eat it merrily, and make good cheare. This occasion Jaddowe that was sent for to the King to bring it, tooke to tell Asaph Chan, that I desired to visit him on the morrow, and hoped to receive from his hands the Priviledges granted by the King. He answered, hee could not dispatch them so soone, but that they should on Sunday bee sealed, and that he was loth to see me, untill he had given me content.

### §. IIII.

The Kings birthday, and manner of the observation, with other accidents in September.

*Rites of the  
Kings Birth-  
day.*

**T**He second of September, was the birth day of the King, and solemnized as a great Feast, wherein the King is weighed against some Jewels, Gold, Silver, stufes of Gold, Silver, Silke, Butter, Rice, Fruit, and many other things of every sort a little, which is given to the Bramini. To this solemnitie the King commanded Asaph Chan to send for me, who so doing, appointed me to come to the place where the King sits out at Durbar, and there I should be sent for in; but the Messenger mistaking, I went not until Durbar time, and so missed the sight, but being there before the King came out, as soone as he espyed me, hee sent to know the reason why I came not in, he having given order? I answered according to the error; but he was extreame angry, and chid Asaph Chan publiquely. He was so rich in Jewels, that I must confesse I never saw together so unvalleuable

*The Kings  
riches in  
Jewels, &c.*

wealth. The time was spent in bringing of his greatest Elephants before him, some of which being lord-Elephants, had their chaines, bells, and furniture of Gold and Silver, attended with many gilt banners and flags, and eight or tenne Elephants waiting on him, clothed in Gold, Silke, and Silver. Thus passed about twelve Companies most richly furnished, the first having all the Plates on his head and breast set with Rubies and Emeraulds, being a beast of a wonderfull stature and beautie. They all bowed downe before the King, making a reverence very handsomely, and was a shew as worthy as ever I saw any of beasts onely. The Keepers of every chiefe Elephant gave a Present. So with some gracious complements to me, he rose and went in.

At night about tenne of the clocke, he sent for me, I was a bed. The Message was, hee heard I had a picture which I had not shewed him, desiring me to come to him and bring it, & if I would not give it him, yet that he might see it, and take copies for his Wives. I rose and carryed it with me: when I came in, I found him sitting crosse-legged on a little Throne, all clad in Diamonds, Pearles, and Rubies, before him a table of Gold, in it about fiftie pieces of Gold plate, set all with stones, some very great and extreame rich, some of lesse value, but all of them almost covered with small stones, his Nobilitie about him in their best equipage, whom he commanded to drinke froliquely, severall wines standing by in great flagons. When I came neere him, he asked for the Picture: I shewed him two; he seemed astonished at one of them, and demanded whose it was. I answered, a friends of mine that was dead. He asked me if I would give it him. I replied, that I esteemed it more then any thing I possessed, because it was the image of one that I loved dearely, and could never recover; but that if his Majestie would pardon me my fancie, and accept of the other, which was a French Picture, but excellent worke, I would most willingly give it him. He sent me thankses, but that it was that onely Picture he desired, and loved as

*Another  
curiositie about  
Pictures.*

[I. iv. 551.]

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well as I, and that if I would give it him, he would better esteeme of it, then the richest Jewell in his house. I answered, I was not so in love with any thing, that I would refuse to content his Majestie; I was extreame glad to doe him service, and if I could give him a better demonstration of my affection, which was my heart to doe him service, I was ready to present it to him. At which he bowed to me, and replyed, it was sufficient that I had given it, that hee confessed hee never saw so much Art, so much Beauty; and conjured me to tell him truely, whether ever such a woman lived. I answered, there did one live that this did resemble in all things but perfection, and was now dead. He returned me, that he tooke my willingnesse very kindly; but seeing I had so freely given him that that I esteemed so much, he would not rob me of it, onely he would shew it his Ladies, and cause his Workemen to make him five Copies, and if I knew my owne I should have it. I answered, I had freely and willingly given it, and was extreame glad of his Majesties acceptance. He replyed, that he would not take it, that he loved me the better for loving the remembrance of my friend, and knew what an injury it was to take it from me, by no meanes hee would not keep it, but onely take Copies, and with his owne hand he would returne it, and his Wives should weare them: for indeed in that art of limming his Painters worke miracles, the other becin in oyle he liked not.

Then he sent me word, it was his birth day, and that all men did make merry, and to aske if I would drinke with them. I answered, whatsoever his Majestie commanded; I wished him many prosperous dayes, and that this Ceremonie might be renewed an hundred yeeres: he asked mee what wine, whether of the Grape, or made; whether strong or small. I replied, what he commanded, hoping he would not command too much, nor too strong: so hee called for a Cuppe of Gold of mingled Wine, halfe of the Grape, halfe artificiall, and dranke, causing it to bee filled, and sent by one of his Nobles to me with this

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Message, That I should drinke it, twice, thrice, foure or five times off for his sake, and accept of the Cup and appurtenances as a Present. I dranke a little, but it was more strong then ever I tasted, so that it made me sneeze, whereat he laughed, and called for Raisons, Almonds, and sliced Limons, which were brought mee on a Plate of Gold, and he bad me eat and drinke what I would, and no more. So then I made reverence for my Present after mine owne manner, though Asaph Chan would have caused me to kneele, and knocke my head against the ground, but his Majestie best accepted what I did. The cup was of Gold, set all over with small Turkies and Rubyes, the Cover of the same set with great Turkies, Rubies, and Emeralds in workes; and a dish sutable to set the Cup upon: the value I know not, because the stones are many of them small, and the greater (which are also many), are not all cleane, but they are in number about two thousand, and in gold about twenty Ounces. Thus hee made frolicke, and sent me word, he more esteemed me then ever any Franke: and demanded if I were merry at eating the wild Boare sent me a few daies before; how I drest it, what I dranke, and such complements; That I should want nothing in his land: which his publique, and many graces I found presently in the fashion of all his Nobilitie.

*The King gave  
Sir Thom. Roe  
a cup of Gold.*

*Strong Wine.*

*Franke a  
name common  
to European  
Christians.*

Then he threw about to those that stood below, two Chardgers of new Rubies, and among us two Chardgers of hollow Almonds of Gold and Silver mingled; but I could not scramble as did his great men: for I saw his sonne take up none; then he gave Shashes of Gold, and Girdles to all the Musitians and Wayters, and to many others. So drinking, and commanding others, his Majestie; and all his Lords became the finest men I ever saw, of a thousand humors; but his sonne Asaph Chan, and two old men, and the late King of Candahar, and my selfe forbare. When hee could not hold up his head, he lay downe to sleepe, and we all departed. At going out, I mooved Asaph Chan for dispatch of my priviledges;

*Scrambling of  
the Nobles  
for Gilded  
Almonds.*

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assuring him his Majesty could give me no Present so acceptable; if he pleased not to dispatch me, which I doubted not, if it lay in his power, but that some other hinderance was in my way, I would on the morrow moove the King, he desired mee not to doe so: for the King loved mee, and had given order for it, that the preparation of this Feast had hindered him, but that now hee would send it mee, and doe me all service.

*Faithlesse  
people.*

[I. iv. 552.]

The fourth of September, I found it easie to judge what vexation it is to traffique with those faithlesse people. Seven moneths I had promise from weeke to weeke, from day to day, and no exception, but finding I had so drawne them, that I should not much need the Prince, and if we disliked, we might refuse his government. He utterly renounced his word in choller and rage. I durst not yet leave him, nor take notice of his falshood. He that first tooke him for our Solicitor, engaged us into this miserie, knowing him to bee the Protector of our enemies, and a Slave to bribes, which they multiply upon him. But now I had a Wolfe by the eares: I seemed onely to apprehend his dislike of the length and phrase, and sent him a Letter to interpret me, and a Briefe of the substance of all required on their parts, contained in generall words, touching onely such particulars as he liked, and left out quite all the Conditions demanded formerly by him of mee, desiring him to put it in forme, and procure the Seale, or to give me leave to receive mine owne deniall from the King, and so to depart the Countrey. These I finished in Persian the same day, and sent them to him, they are recorded in their order.

The eighth, Asaph Chan sent to me that answer, That absolutely, he would procure nothing sealed, that any way concerned the Princes government; that I should onely expect from him what we desired, whose Firmans were sufficient. And so revealed that purpose which he had long in practice, to make us wholly depend on the Prince. Now I had just cause to looke out, and was

blamelesse if I sought new friends when he had forsaken me. I resolved to trie the Prince, and to seeme to depend wholly on him, having sent formerly to his Secretary foure clauses, to which I demaunded his Firman for our present use at Surat, for the Fleete expected, which his Highnesse had agreed to.

The tenth, I went to the Prince, who cast downe to the Secretary his Firman by mee desired and promised; so that I hoped I had been at rest. The eleventh, I received it, but when I read it, it was in two of the foure clauses demanded and promised, much different, and one whole branch left out; so I returned it with a round answer, I would not accept it, nor suffer any goods to come ashoare. Never any man had to doe with so much Pride, Covetousnesse, and falshood. At night, I rode to Merze Socorolla, the Princes Secretary, to expostulate the businesse, and to declare my resolution of departure, but I found the Firman not such as I was enformed, but containing all the clauses required by me, though in phrase, to my judgement, somewhat restrained, which he expounded in the best sence, declaring that it was the Princes intent to satisfie my desire fully, and that it was sufficient. I urged the obscurity of some points; desiring him as he had cleared his Highnesse meaning to me, so he would by his Letter to the Governour of Surat, which hee graunted, principally commanding that the Customer should pay for fiftie clothes, which hee had many moneths bought, and now would returne them unto the Factors, to their extreame losse. In the ende, he opened the old point of the Princes desire, that I should rely on him, and not crosse him in businesses of his Government with the King, and I should find him a better friend then I expected: and finally gave me such satisfaction in all points, that I was both pleased, and in some hope of good successe, the rather because he is no briber, reputed honest, and did undertake on his credit, to whom the Prince had referred all businesses, that we should not sustaine the losse of one piece, nor

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any the least injury: so I accepted the Firman, which upon translating I found verie effectual.

The sixteenth, I visited the Prince, purposing yet to runne on in a way of seeming dependance on him, untill I heard from our ships, and what entertainment they were like to receive this yeare. I found him sad, fearing the comming of Sultan Parvis to Court, being within eight course, and importuned to kisse his Fathers hands; who had graunted him, but by the power of Normall was after diswaded, and a command sent, that the Prince should take his journey right to Benga, yea although the King had fallen downe, and taken his Mother by the feet to obtaine her leave to see his Sonne. The Kings remooove continued, but whether, no man could certainly resolve.

### §. V.

The broiles about Abdala Chan, and Chan Channa; Sultan Caroones ambition, his policies to subvert his elder Brother: fight with a Portugall Carricke: distast about the Prince: Persian Embassage, Presents and entertainment.

*October 10.  
Abdala Chan  
in disgrace.*

**T**He tenth of October, Abdala Chan the great Governour of Amadavas, beeing sent for to Court in disgrace for many insolencies and neglects of the Kings authority, and thought he would stand on his guard, and refuse; yet the Prince Sultan Coronne (whose ambition wrought on every advantage) desirous to oblige so great a man (beeing one of the chiefe Captaines in these Kingdomes) prevailed with him on his word to submit; so that comming in Pilgrims Clothes with fortie servants on foote, about sixtie mile in counterfeit humiliation, finished the rest in his Palanke, untill he arrived neere the Court, but one dayes journey behind he had two thousand horse attending. This day he was brought to the Jarruco (the publike sitting of the King to see Games, and to heare complaints) chained by the feete,

*Manner of  
humiliation.*



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barefoot between two Noble men, he puld his Turbant in his eyes, before hee had the happinesse to behold the Kings face. After reverence made, and some fewe questions, the King forgave him, caused his yrons to be loosed, and clothed in a new Vest of Cloth of Gold, Turbant and Girdle according to the custome. The Prince [I. iv. 553.] who intended to build his honour on the warres of Decan, which his elder brother had left with disgrace, and the great Commander Chan Channa did not prosper in (which doubtlesse was a practiser with the Decans, from whom he received pension) caused his Father to recall Chan Channa, who refusing to come, desired the King not to send Sultan Caronne to that warre, but one of his yongest sonnes about fiftene yeares of age. This Coronne tooke to heart, but prosecuting his purpose of the warre, promised to Abdela Chan the Command of the armie under him, by displacing Chan Channa.

*Sultan Coronne  
his purpose.*

The King fearing troubles, and knowing all the ambitions and factions of this sonne, the discontent of his two elder, the power of Chan Channa, was desirous to accomodate all by accepting a peace, and confirming Chan Channa in the Government hee held, and closely to that end wrote a letter of favour, and purposed to send a Vest, according to the Ceremony of reconciliation, to Chan Channa; but before he dispatched it, he acquainted a kinswoman of his, living in the Zereglia, of his purpose. Shee, whether false to her friend (wrought by Sultan Caronne) or out of greatnesse of heart, to see the top of her family so dealt with, after so many merits; answered plainly, that she did not beleewe Chan Channa would weare any thing sent from the King, knowing his Majesty hated him, and had once or twice offered him poyson, which hee putting in his bosome (in stead of his mouth) had made triall of. Therefore shee was confident hee would not dare to put on his body any thing that came from his Majesty. The King offered to weare it himselfe before her an houre, and that she should write to testifie it: shee replyed, hee would trust neither of them

*Zereglia or  
Saralia, the  
place where  
the Kings  
women are  
kept.  
The Kings  
dealing with  
Chan Channa.*

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both with his life, but if he might live quietly in his command, would doe his Majesty true service. Whereupon the King altered his purpose, and resolved to proceed in the sending of Sultan Caronne, and to countenance his reception, would follow after with another armie.

*Decans offer peace.* Chan Channa that discovered the storme, practised with the Decans, who were at his service, to offer termes of peace for a season, finding no other way to dissolve this cloud that hung over them both, untill the King and Prince were departed and setled further off. To this end came two Ambassadors this day from the Princes of Decan. They brought horses bar'd, richly furnished for Presents. At first the King refused to heare them and their gift, but turned them over to his sonne with this answere; If he would have peace or warre, it was in his brest. The Prince advanced by this favour, and swelling with pride, resolved (though I was informed the conditions were very honorable, and such as the King would have accepted) to goe on the journey, answering he would treat of no peace, untill he were in the field with his Armie; Chan Channa should not so beguile him of the honor of finishing that warre.

The ambitions of this yong Prince are open, the common talke of the people, yet his Father suffers all, but intends him not the Kingdome. For Sultan Corronne, the eldest brother, is both extreemely beloved, and honored of all men (almost adored) and very justly for his Noble parts, and this the King knowes and loves, but thinkes his liberty would diminish his owne glory, and sees not that this slie youth doth more darken him by ambitious practises, then the other could by vertuous actions.

*Feare of future broiles.*

Thus he nourisheth division and emulation betweene the brethren, and putteth such power in the hand of the yonger (supposing hee can undoe it at his pleasure) that the wisest foresee a rending and tearing of these Kingdomes by division, when the King shall pay the debt to Nature, and that all parts will be torne and destroyed by a civill warre.

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The history of this Countrey, for the variety of subject, and the many practises in the time of Ecbarsha, Father of this King, by him then Prince; and these later troubles, were not unworthy committing to writing; but because they are of so remote parts, many will despise them: and because the people are esteemed barbarous, few will beleeve them. Therefore I content my selfe with the contemplation, but I could deliver as many rare and cunning passages of State, subtile evasions, policies, answers, and adages, as I beleeve, for one age would not be easily equalled.

Only one that passed lately I cannot omit, to shew wisdom and patience in a father, faith in a servant, falsehood in a brother, impudent boldnesse in a faction that dare attempt any thing, when the highest Majesty gives them liberty, either beyond the law of their owne condition, or the limits of policie and reason.

The Prince Sultan Carronne, Narmahel the deare Queene, Aunt to his wife, Asaph Chan his father in law, brother to the Queene, and Etiman Dowlet, father to them both (being they that now governe all, and dare attempt any thing) resolved it was not possible for them to stand, if the Prince Sultan Corseronne lived, whom the Nobility loved, and whose delivery or life would punish their ambitions in time; therefore practised how to bring him into their power, that poyson might end him. Narmahel attempts the King with the false teares of womens bewitching flattery, that Sultan Corseronne was not safe, nor his aspiring thoughts deposed: the King heares her say it, but would not understand more than shee delivered plainly.

*The parties of  
the faction.*

*Drifts to take  
away Sultan  
Corseronne.*

This failing, they tooke opportunity of the Kings being drunke, the Prince, Etiman Dowlet and Asaph Chan, moved the King, that for the safety of Sultan Corseronne, and for his honour, it were fitter he were in the company of his brother, whose companies would be pleasing one to the other, and his safetie more regarded, then in the hands of a Rashboote Gentile, to whom the King had committed

[I. iv. 554.]

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him. Therefore they humbly desired his Majesty, that he might be delivered into the hands of his deare brother, which the King granted, and so fell asleepe.

They thought their owne greatnesse such, as bringing the Kings authority no man durst refuse, and being once in their possession, they would dispute the redelivery: so the same night Asaph Chan in the name of the King, sent by the Prince, came with a guard to demand and receive Sultan Corseronne, at the hand of Anna Rah, a  
*\* A prince.* \* Rajah Rashboote, to whom the King had intrusted him. He refused to deliver his charge, with this answer, That he was Sultan Caronnes humble servant, but that he had received the Prince his brother from the hands of the King, and to no other would deliver him, but he should have patience till the morning, when he would discharge himselfe to his Majesty, and leave it to his pleasure to dispose. This answer cooled all. In the morning Anna Rah came to the King, and acquainted him with the demand of the Prince, his refusall and answer, and added his Majesty had given him the charge of his sonne, and made him the Commander of foure thousand horse, with all which hee would dye at the gate, rather then deliver his Prince into the hands of his enemies: If his Majesty required him, hee was ready to obey his will, but he would provide for his owne innocency. The King replied, You have done honestly, faithfully, you have answered discreetly: continue your purpose, and take no knowledge of any commands: I will not seeme to know this, neither do you stirre further; hold your faith, and let us see how farre they will prosecute it.

*Anna Rah his  
fidelity.*

*The Kings  
answers.*

The Prince and the Faction, the next day finding the King silent, hoping hee might forget what passed in wine, tooke no notice of the grant, nor of the refusall, but it fell (not without suspicion) on both parts. This I insert to this end, that you may beware scattering your goods in divers parts, and engaging your stocke and servants farre into the Countrey: for the time will come, when all in these Kingdomes will be in combustion, and a few yeares

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warre will not decide the inveterate malice laid up on all parts against a day of vengeance, wherein if Sultan Corseronne prevaile in his right, this Kingdome will be a Sanctuary for Christians, whom he loves and honours, favouring learning, valour, the discipline of warre, and abhorring all covetousnesse, and discerning the base customes of taking, used by his Ancestors and the Nobility. If the other winne, we shall be losers: for he is most earnest in his Superstition, a hater of all Christians, proud, subtile, false, and barbarously tyrannous. There is daily expected an Ambassadour from the Shabas King of Persia.

*Sultan Corseronne, a lover of Christians.*

The thirteenth of October at night, the King returned and sent me a wilde Pigge. I received advice of the arrivall of foure shippes safe at the Port of Swally, with Letters from England, that they departed the Coast the ninth of March 1615. with sixe ships, losing company of the Rose about the North Cape by foule weather.

*October 13.*

*Foure English ships arrive at Swally.*

The twelfth of June 1616. the other five came safely to the Bay of Soldania, where the Lyon homeward bound, was ready for a wind; her Commanders and people in health, staying dayes at the Road, without newes of the small ship. They dispeeded the Swan to Bantam, for effecting the businesse, and set saile for Surat the nine and twentieth with foure shippes, and came to anchor to their Port, the foure and twentieth of September 1616. In their passage the sixt of August, neare the Ilands of Comora, about twelve degrees, fiftie minutes, they had sight of a Carrick burthen fiftene hundred tunne, manned with sixe hundred, being Admirall of the Fleet sent for Goa, bearing the Flagge: the Globe fetcht her up to wind-ward, and after salutations of the Sea, the Carricke commanded her to Lee-ward, and seconded it with five shot thorow her Hull, which shee requited with eightene, and so fell off. The Admirall and English Fleet coming up, demanded satisfaction for the injury; which was replied to with scorne: so began a fresh fight in few shot, the Commander Benjamin Joseph was slaine, and the new

*Of this fight, see more in Master Childs Journall following.*

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*After it was  
knowne that  
some few  
escaped with  
life and  
poverty.*

established continued it: at the evening shee ranne her selfe ashoare among the rockes of Angazesia. The Fleet anchored short of her, to attend the issue, and sent a Boat to offer faire warres: but about midnight shee fired her selfe, and burned all the next morning. The English sending their Boats could not approach, but beleieve that not one man was saved, by circumstances very probable: the new Vice-Roy for Goa was in this shippe, whose resolution was the death of all the others.

*Complements  
with the King.*

The next day, I imparted the King, with his Majesties remembred salutations, which were with much courtesie received: but he began with the Presents. I first mentioned our late fight and victory, which he seemed to rejoyce in, and to applaud the valour of our Nation: but fell off to What hath the King sent me? I answered, Many tokens of his love and affection: That my Master knew he was Lord of the best part of Asia, the richest Prince of the East. That to send his Majestie rich Presents, were to cast Pearles into the Sea, the mother and store-house of them, that therefore his Majesty thought it unnecessary; but had presented him with his love, with many curious toyes, which I hoped would give him content. He urged mee to some particulars, which I named: he asked me for French Muffe or Velvet. I answered, my letters were not arrived: some other was come, which he desired. He enquired for Dogges: I told him, some had their fortune in the fight, some dyed, two were preserved for him, at which hee rejoyced, and continued if I could procure him a Horse of our great size, such as I described, being a Rone or Dutch Horse, he would accept it better then a Crowne. I replied, I would doe my endeavour for his Majesties satisfaction, but I feared it could not be effected: he answered, if I would procure one, he would give me a Leck of Rupias. I desired his Majesties Letter for the comming of these Presents without search, and for the good usage of our people: he replied, the Port was his Sonnes, but sent for him and publicly gave expresse order for what I would

[I. iv. 555.]

*His desire of  
Dogges and a  
Horse.*

*A Horse  
prized above  
10000.  
pounds.*

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require, and take on me, that it should not be searched, nor pay custome, but be dispeeded with expedition safe to my hands, that I might distribute it at my discretion, that he should command the good reception of our people, and finally, that he should give me content in all my desires. This generally extended not to the grant of a Fort, for that cause Asaph Chan refused to deliver. This charge was very round and hearty in the King, and a grace to me. The Prince called Asaph Chan to me, and there professed and promised before his Father and all the Court, to give mee all reasonable content. This is the strength of new Presents.

The fifteenth, I received from Masulipatan, that Capitaine Keeling had taken two Portugall Barkes and a ship, one on the Coast of Cochin, laden with Tinne, the other freighted from Bengala, which he carried to Bantam: that Sir Robert Sherley was dismiss with disgrace from Goa, and that he was on his way over land to Masulipatan to seeke passage: unprobable, and I beleieve untrue.

The seventeenth, the Prince pursuing his purpose of finishing the Decan Warres by his owne person, and undertaking to give answere to the Ambassadors, gives none; but detaines them untill his approach. But being to depart, he and his partie thought not themselves secure if Sultan Corseronne remained in the hands of Annarah, that in his absence the King might bee reconciled, and by his libertie all the glory and hopes of their faction would vanish, and the injurie and ambition hardly be pardoned. They newly assaile the Kings constancie to deliver up his sonne into the hands of Asaph Chan, as his Guard under Sultan Coronne. They pretend that it will fright Chan Channa, and the Decans, when they shal heare that this Prince is so favoured, who now comes to make warre upon them, that the King hath delivered up his eldest sonne; in that as it were his whole Kingdom, and hope of succession, and the present power thereof.

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*Anna Rah  
discharged and  
S. Gors. deli-  
vered to the  
faction to the  
griefe of the  
Court and  
Comminality.*

This day he was delivered up, the Souldiers of Anna Rah discharged, and the Souldiers of Asaph Chan planted about him with assistance of two hundred of the Princes Horse. His Sister and divers women in the Seraglia mourne, refuse their meate, cry out of the Kings dotage and crueltie, and professe, that if he dye, there will an hundred of his Kindred burne for him in memorie of the Kings bloudinesse to his worthiest sonne. The King gives faire words, protesteth no intent of ill towards the Prince, and promiseth his delivery, and sends Normahell to appease these enraged Ladies: but they curse, threaten, and refuse to see her. The common people all murmure, they say the King hath not delivered his sonnes, but his owne life into the hands of an ambitious Prince, and a treacherous faction, that Corsoronne cannot perish without scandall to the Father, or revenge from him; therefore he must goe first, and after him his Sonne, and so through their blouds this youth must mount the Royall seat. New hopes are spread of his redeliverie, and soone allaid, every man tels newes according to his feares or desires. But the poore Prince remaynes in the Tygres power, refuseth meate, and requires his Father to take his life, and not to let it be the triumph and delight of his Enemies. The whole Court is in a whisper, the Nobility sad, the multitude like it selfe, full of tumour and noyse, without head or foot; onely it rages, but bends it selfe upon no direct ends. The issue is very dangerous, principally for us: for among them it matters not who winnes. Though one have right and much more honour, yet he is still a Moore, and cannot be a better Prince then his Father, who is of so good disposition that he suffers all men to governe, which is worse then to be ill: for wee were better beare injuries of Princes, then of their Ministers.

*Ill through  
goodnesse.*

*Persian  
Embassadour.*

The nineteenth, the Persian Ambassadour Mahomet Rosa Beag about noone came into the Towne with a great troupe, which were partly sent out by the King to meete him with one hundred Elephants and Musique,



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but no man of greater qualitie then the ordinary receivers of all strangers: his owne traine were about fiftie Horse well fitted in coats of cloth of Gold, their Bowes, Quivers and Targets richly garnished, fortie shot, and some two hundred ordinary Peons, and attenders on baggage; he was carried to rest in a Roome within the Kings outward Court till evening. When he came to the Durbar before the King (to which Ceremonie I sent my Secretary to observe the fashion) when hee approched, hee made at the first raile three Tessilims and one Sizeda, which is prostrating himselfe and knocking his head against the ground: at the entrance in the like, and so presented the Shabas his Letter: which the King tooke with a little motion of his bodie, asking onely, How doth my Brother? without any title of Majesty. And after some few words, he was placed in the seventh ranke, against the raile by the doore, below so many of the Kings Servants, on both sides; which in my judgement was almost inferiour place for his Masters Ambassadour, but that he well deserved it for doing that reverence which his predecessors refused to the dishonour of his Prince, and the murmure of many of his Nation. It is said he had order from the Sophie to give content, and thereby it is gathered, his Message is for some aide in money against the Turke, in which kind he often sends liberall succour, though it bee pretended he comes onely to treat a peace for the Decans, whose protection the Shabas taketh to heart, envying the increase of this Empire. The King according to custome gave him a handsome Turbant, a Vest of Gold and a Girdle, for which againe hee made three Tessilims, and one Sizeda or ground courtesie: he brought for Presents three times, nine Horses of Persia and Arabia, this being a ceremonious number among them. Nine Mules very faire and large, seven Camels laden with Velvet, two Sutes of Europe Arras, which I suppose was Venetian, Hangings of Velvet with Gold, and not Arras, two Chests of Persian Hangings, one Cabinet rich, foure Muskets, five Clockes, one Camell laden with

*His submissione.*

[I. iv. 556.]

*Mogols assistance of the Persian against the Turke.*

*Persian Presents.*

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Persian cloth of Gold, eight Carpets of Silke, two Rubies balast, one and twentie Camels of Wine of the Grape, fourteene Camels of distilled Sweet Waters, seven of Rose Waters, seven Daggers set with stones, five Swords set with stones, seven Venetian Looking Glasses, but those so faire, so rich, that I was ashamed of the relation. These Presents were not delivered now; onely a Bill of them. His owne Furniture was rich, leading nine spare Horses, trapped in Gold and Silver; about his Turbant was wreathed a chaine of Pearles, Rubies, and Turquesses, and three Pipes of Gold, answerable for three spridges of Feathers. Yet I caused diligent observance to be made of his reception, and compared it with mine owne, and find he had in nothing more grace, in many things not so much, in ranke farre inferiour to that allowed me, except onely his meeting without the Towne; which by reason of my sicknesse was omitted to be demanded; neither did the King receive the Shabas his Letter with such respect as my Masters, whom he called the King of England his Brother, the Persian barely Brother without any addition, which was an observation of the Jesuite, that understood the Language.

### §. VI.

The Princes braverie; the Persian Ambassadors behaviour, the manner and effects of Drinking, of the King and his Nobles; the Kings remove, his super-exceeding pompe, wealth, magnificence therein: Portugall fray: relations of Sultan Corsoroone: Persian newes.

*\* A certaine  
clause in his  
Letter to  
Surat, ambi-  
guous like the  
old oracles,  
&c.*

**T**He one and twentieth of October, I went to the Prince and opened my desire, to have a certaine \* clause in his Letter expounded, at which his highnesse stucke a little, and I perceived his Highnesse to be as hollow as I imagined. Hee demanded then how hee should have his Presents, or see such toyes

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as came up, and moved mee to goe with him. I replied, I could not doe so untill I had delivered my Masters Message, and Tokens to the King, but that finished, I would my selfe attend his Highnesse with his Presents, and all such raritie as came to my hands, should be sent after him: he prest me to passe my word, and so I obtayned order for the Firman to my content. His Highnesse looking on a white Feather in my Hat, demanded if I would give it him, I replied, I would not offer that I had worne, but if he please to command it, that or any thing in my power was to serve him. He asked if I had any more, I answered three or foure of other colours; hee replied, if I would give them all, for that hee was to shew his Horses and Servants to the King within two dayes, and that he wanted some, being very rare in those parts. I promised to bring all I had on the morrow that his Highnesse might take his pleasure.

*Feathers in request.*

Abdala Chan in a gallant Equipage both of his person and Attendants, in apparell, strange and antike, but in these parts Alla Soldado presented the Prince a white Horse, the Saddle and Furniture of Gold enamelled, a Beast of delicate shape, life and courage, who returned him a Sword plaine with a belt of Leather. There were brought before him many others, the Hilts of Silver, Chapes set with small Stones, and Targets covered with Gold Velvets, some painted and bossed with Gold and Silver, which he gave to his Servants. Against this Muster many Saddles and Furniture of Gold, rich set with stones, of his owne, were shewed for spare Horses, his Boots imbrothered, and all other ingredients of bravery. I confesse, the expence is wonderfull, and the riches daily seene invaluable.

*A rich Present.*

*Pompous braverie.*

This night past, it is reported sixe of the Princes Servants came to murther Sultan Corsoronne, but were refused the Key by the Porter; that the Queene Mother is gone to the King with an overture of all the practice, the truth is uncertaine, and it is dangerous to aske.

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*Behaviour of  
the Persian.*

[I. iv. 557.]

*Nine a  
remarkable  
number.*

At evening, I went to the Durbar to visit the King, where I met the Persian Ambassador with the first Muster of his Presents, he appeared rather a Jester or Jugler, then a person of any gravity, running up and downe and acting all his words like a Mimicke Player (now indeed the Atachikanne was become a right Stagge) hee delivered the Presents with his owne hands; which the King with smiles and cheerefull countenance, and many words of contentment received; his tongue was a great advantage to deliver his owne businesse, which he did with so much flattery and obsequiousnesse, that it pleased asmuch as his gift, ever calling his Majesty King and Commander of the World (forgetting his owne Master had a share in it) and on every little occasion of good acceptation hee made his Tessilims. When all was delivered for that day, hee prostrated himselfe on the ground, and knocked with his head, as if hee would enter in. The gifts were a faire Quiver for Bow and Arrowes delicately imbroydered, all sorts of Europæan Fruits artificiall in dishes, many other folding Purses and Knackes of Leather wrought with Needle-worke in coloured Silkes, Shooes imbroydered and sticht, great Glasses in-layed in frames, one square piece of Velvet, imbroydered high with Gold in paynes, betweene which were Italian Pictures wrought in the stuffe, which he said was the King and Queene of Venice, (which, as I suppose, was the Hangings called Arras) of these sixe were given, one onely shewed; many other Tricanados of small value. After, the three Nines of Horses and Mules, which were faire ones, the Horses either had lost their flesh or beauty, for except one or two I judged them unfit for to bee sent or taken by Princes. So he returned with many antike trickes to his place farre inferiour to that allowed me, which was alone and above all Subjects which at first Asaph Chan would have put me by, but I maintayned it as my due. This is but the first act of his presenting, the Play will not be finished in ten dayes. At night I sent to the Princes Secretary for my promised writing :

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but his Highnesse was loth to let the Presents passe without ransacking, and had changed his mind refusing to seale the Letter.

The two and twentieth, at my comming, I delivered him two Pluriaes, and two Birds of Paradice; he accepted them easily, and my businesse being moved, and my resolution made knowne not to consent to open, nor to send them up, but by the hands of my Servants, at last he yeelded and gave command to the Secretary to dispatch me.

At night I went to the Durbar to observe the Ambassadour of Persia, I found him standing in his ranke, and often removed and set lower as great men came in. The King once spake to him, and he danced to the tune thereof, but gave no present: onely the King commanded that hee should be seated by the Nobles; The time was spent in seeing Saddles and Furniture for the remove, of which his Majestie gave some to his Followers, it beeing daily expected to rise: the Kings Tents were out foure dayes since. I sent to the Secretary for my Firma, but hee delayed it with excuses.

The foure and twentieth, the King removed to Havaz Gemall, and called the Persian Ambassadour, where at night hee ate and dranke before the King with the Nobilities, in the same fashion that I did the Birth-day; the difference onely was, the King gave him for expence twenty thousand Rupias, for which he made innumerable Tessilims and Sizedaes, not rising from the ground a good space, which extreamely pleased the King, and was base, but profitable Idolatry. The Prince attending his Father, I could get no dispatch in my businesse.

*The Kings gift  
to the Persian.*

The five and twentieth, the King returned at Evening, having been over-night farre gone in Wine: some by chance or malice spake of the merry night past, and that many of the Nobilitie dranke wine, which none may doe but by leave. The King forgetting his order, demaunded who gave it? It was answered the Buxie (for no man dares say it was the King, when he would onely doubt

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*Strange dealing with Nobles.*

*Terrible whipping.*

*Drunkenness prevented.*

*Awe of the King.*

it.) The Custome is, that when the King drinkes (which is alone) sometime he will command, that the Nobilitie shall drinke after, which if they doe not, it is an offence too, and so every man that takes the Cup of wine of the Officer, his name is written, and he makes Teselem, though perhaps the Kings eies are mystic. The King not remembring his owne command, called the Buxie; and demanded if he gave the order? He replied, No, (falsly: for he received it, and by name called such as did drinke with the Embassadour) whereat the King called for the list, and the Persons, and fined some one, some two, some three thousand Rupias, some lesse, and some that were neerer his person, he caused to be whipped before him, receiving one hundred and thirtie stripes with a most terrible instrument, having at each end of foure cords, irons like Spur-rowels, so that every stroke made foure wounds. When they lay for dead on the ground, he commanded the standers by to foot them, and after the Porters to breake their staves upon them. Thus most cruelly mangled and bruised, they were carryed out, of which one dyed in the place. Some would have excused it on the Embassadour; but the King replied, hee onely bad give him a Cup or two. Though drunkenness be a common and a glorious vice, and an exercise of the Kings, yet it is so strictly forbidden, that no man can enter into the Gusel-Chan, where the King sits, but the Porters smell his breath: and if hee have but tasted wine, is not suffered to come in; and if the reason be knowne of his absence, he shall with difficultie escape the whip: for if the King once take offence, the Father will not speake for the Sonne. So the King made the Company pay the Persian Embassadours reward.

The sixe and twentieth, I sent to Sorocolla for the Firman. He sent me a copy as ambiguous and fraudulent as the former, which I refused, and drew the misliked clause my selfe, which I sent backe, and was promised that on the morrow it should be sealed.

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The eight and twentieth, the Kings day of remoove at hand, I sent to Asaph Chan for a warrant for carriages: [L. iv. 558.] the Merchants having sought all the Towne to remoove their goods to Agra, could find none, so I received order being enrolled by his Majesty upon my offer for twenty Camels, foure Carts, and two Coaches at the Kings price: whereof I disposed as many as the Factors needed to their use. But it were an extreame errour to omit a passage, either of wonderfull basenesse in this great Monarch, or a tryall of me. The King had condemned divers Theeves, among which were some boyes: there was no way to save their lives, but to sell them for slaves: his Majesty commanded Asaph Chan to offer two of them for money, which hee appointed the Cutwall (that is the Marshall) to doe. My Interpreter made answere without my knowledge, that Christians keepe no slaves, that those the King had given I had freed, and that it was in vaine to propound it to me. But after I suspected it might be a tryall of me, whether I would give a little money to save the lives of two children: or else I supposed, if it were in earnest, it were no great losse to do a good deed. And to try the basenesse or scope of this offer, I commanded my Interpreter to returne to Asaph Chan, to tell him that he had acquainted me with the motion and his answere: that I reprehended him for presuming in any case to give my resolution, that my owne reply was, if there were any money to save the life of two Children, to those whom they had robbed, or to redeeme them from the Law; both for respect of the Kings command, and for charitie I was ready to give it, but I would not buy them as slaves, onely pay their ransome and free them; that if he pleased to know the Kings pleasure that I might give them libertie without offence, I was very willing to doe it. Asaph Chan replied, I might at my owne will dispose them, that it was an extraordinary goodnesse; with many prayes accepted the money, desiring mee to send it to the Cuttwall, and to use my discretion to the boyes, not once offering to

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informe the King, which was one end of my liberality. I was loth to be coozened, and knew not whether this might be the profit of Officers or no, resolved to pay the money, but so as the King should not be ignorant I had more mercy then he, and that a Christian esteemed the life of a Moore above money. So I sent a Factor and my Interpreter to the Cuttwall, to acquaint him with the communication with Asaph Chan, and to let him know, if at night he would enforme the King, that I had offered to redeeme the Prisoners for charities sake, if after his Majesty would consent to their liberty, I was ready to send him money; but to buy them as slaves, though for an houre, I would not, they should never come nor be manumised by mee, but that I desired his Majesty to pardon them upon my redemption, so I put them to the test of their base offer. This money exceeded not ten pound, a poore summe to impose on a stranger, or to bee gained by a King. The Cuttwall returned answer, hee would know the Kings pleasure, and accordingly advise mee. Some would perswade me this is one of the Mogols signall favours to choose out such great men, as he will give occasion to doe good and honourable workes, to redeeme Prisoners, and that the money gives satisfaction to the Plaintiffe robbed, and that those so appointed by the King to ransom others, make Sizeda as for some benefit received. Yet I find not any honour in a Prince to impose it on a stranger, to whom hee gives neither maintenance nor liberality; I went to the Durbar to see if his Majesty would of himselfe speake to me, that I might deliver my owne offer. The Cuttwall made many motions, brought in the Executioner who received some command, but I understood it not, but expected my answer.

*An old  
custome.*

*Sixe hundred  
rich Elephants  
and other  
bravery of the  
Prince.*

The first of November, Sultan Corronne tooke his leave and went to his Tents. The King at noone sat out at the Durbar, where the Prince brought his Elephants about sixe hundred richly trapped and furnished, and his fellowes by estimation ten thousand Horse, many in cloth



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of gold, with Hearne top-feathers in their Turbants, all in gallantry; Himselfe in cloth of Silver imbroydered with great Pearle and shining in Diamonds like a Firmament. The King imbraced him and kissed him, and shewed much affection: at his departure he gave him a Sword, the Scabberd all of Gold set with stones, valued at an hundred thousand Rupias: a Dagger at forty thousand, an Elephant and two Horses with all the Furniture of Gold set with stones, and for a close one of the new Caroches (made in imitation, of that sent by his Majesty my Master) and commanded the English Coachman to drive him to his Tents, into which he ascended and sate in the middle, the sides open, his chiefest Nobles a foot walking by him to his Tents about foure mile. All the way he threw quarters of Rupias being followed with a multitude of people, he reached his hand to the Coachman, and put into his Hat about one hundred Rupias. *Rich Sword.*

The second, the King removed to his Tents with his women, and all the Court about three mile. I went to attend him comming to the Pallace. I found him at the Farraco window, and went up on the Scaffold under him; which place not having seene before, I was glad of the occasion. On two Tressels stood two Eunuches with long Poles headed with Feathers, fanning him; hee gave many favours and received many Presents, what hee bestowed hee let downe by a Silke, rould on a turning Instrument; what was given him, a venerable fatte deformed olde Matrone hung with Gymbals like an Image pluckt up at a hole with such another Clue; at one side in a window were his two principall Wives, whose curiositie made them breake little holes in a grate of Reed that hung before it, to gaze on me. I saw first their fingers, and after laying their faces close, now one eye now another sometime I could discerne the full proportion, they were indifferently white, blacke haire smooth up, but if I had had no other light, their Diamonds and Pearles had sufficed to shew them: when I looked up *The Kings remove.* [I. iv. 559.]

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*Superstitious  
rite.*

*Huge Gems.*

they retyred and were so merry, that I supposed they laughed at me. Suddenly the King rose, and wee retyred to the Durbar, and sate on the Carpets attending his comming out: not long after he came and sate about halfe an houre, untill his Ladies at their doore were ascended their Elephants, which were about fifty, all most richly furnished, principally three with Turrets of Gold, grates of Gold-wyre every way to looke out, and Canopies over the cloath of Silver. Then the King descended the staires with such an acclamation of Health to the King, as would have out-cryed Cannons. At the staires foote, where I met him, and shuffled to be next, one brought a mighty Carpe, another a dish of white stuffe like Starch, into which he put his finger, and touched the fish, and so rubbed it on his fore-head; a ceremony used presaging good fortune. Then another came and buckled on his sword and buckler, set all over with great Diamonds and Rubies, the belts of gold sutable: another hung on his quiver with thirty arrowes, and his bow in a case (the same that was presented by the Persian Ambassadour) on his head he wore a rich Turbant, with a Plumbe of horne tops, not many, but long: on one side hung a Rubie unset, as bigge as a Walnut; on the other side a Diamond as great; in the middle an Emerald like a heart, much bigger. His Shash was wreathed about with a chaine of great Pearle, Rubies and Diamonds drild: about his necke he caryed a chaine of most excellent Pearle thrice double, so great as I never saw: at his elbowes armelets set with Diamonds; and on his wrists three rowes of Diamonds of severall sorts: his hands bare, but almost on every finger a Ring; his gloves were English, stucke under his girdle; his coat of cloath of Gold, without sleeves, upon a fine Semian as thinne as Lawne: on his feet a paire of embroydered buskins with Pearle, the toes sharpe and turning up. Thus armed and accommodated he went to the Coach, which attended him with his new English servant, who was cloathed as rich as any Player, and more gaudy, and

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had trained foure horses, which were trapped and harnished in Gold Velvets. This was the first he ever sate in, and was made by that sent from England, so like, that I knew it not but by the cover, which was a Gold Persian Velvet. He got into the end, on each side went two Eunuches, that caried small Maces of Gold, set all over with Rubies, with a long bunch of white-horse-taile to drive away flyes: before him went Drummes, ill Trumpets, and loude musicke, and many Canopies, Quittusols and other strange ensignes of Majesty of cloath of Gold set in many places with great Rubies: nine spare horses, the furniture some garnished with Rubies, some with Pearles and Emeralds, some onely with studs enamelled.

The Persian Ambassadour presented him a horse; next behind him came three Palankees, the carriages, and feet of one plated with Gold, set at the ends with Pearle, and a fringe of great Pearle hanging in ropes a foot deepe: a border about, set with Rubies and Emeralds. A foot-man caryed a foot-stoole of Gold, set with stones, the other two were covered and lined with cloath of Gold. Next followed the English Coach, new covered and trimmed rich, which hee had given the Queene Normahell, who rode in it: after them a third of this Countrey fashion, which me thought was out of countenance: in it sate his yonger sonnes: after followed about twenty Elephants Royall, spare, for his owne ascendings, so rich, that in stones and furniture they braved the Sunne. Every Elephant had divers flagges of cloath of Silver, gilt Satin and taffata. His Noble-men hee suffered to walke afoote, which I did to the gate, and left him. His wives on their Elephants were caryed like Parakitoes halfe a mile behind him. When he came before the doore where his eldest sonne is prisoner, he stayed the Coach, and called for him: hee came and made reverence with a sword and buckler in his hand, his beard growne to his middle, a signe of dis-favour. The King commanded him to ascend one of the spare Elephants, and so rode

*Sultan  
Corsiroom  
delivered.*

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next to him, to the extreame applause and joy of all men, who now are filled with new hopes. The King gave him one thousand Rupias to cast to the people, his Gaoler Asaph Chan and all the Monsters yet a foot.

I tooke horse to avoyd presse and other inconvenience, and crossed out of the Leskar before him, and attended untill he came neare his Tents. He passed all the way betweene a guard of Elephants, having every one a Turret on his backe; on the foure corners foure banners of yellow Taffaty; right before a sling mounted, that carried a bullet as big as a great tennis ball, the Gunner behind it; in number about three hundred: other Elephants of honor that went before and after about sixe hundred, all which were covered with Velvet or cloath of Gold, and had two or three gilded banners carried: in the way ranne divers foot-men with skinnes of water that made a continuall showre before him: no horse nor man might be suffered to approach the Coach by two furlongs, except those that walked a foot by, so that I hasted to his Tents, to attend his alighting.

*Bravery of  
Elephants.*

*Stately Tents.*

They were walled halfe a mile in compasse, in forme of a fort, with divers Coynes and Bulwarkes, with high Cannats of a course stuffe made like Arras, red on the out-side, within which figures in panes with a handsome gate-house. Every post that bare up these, was headed with a top of brasse. The throng was great: I desired to go in, but no man was suffered, the greatest of the Land sate at the doore; but I made an offer, and they admitted me, but refused the Persian Embassador and all the Noble men. Heere first the Persian Embassador saluted mee with a silent complement only. In the midst of this Court was a throne of mother of Pearle, borne on two pillars raised on earth, covered over with an high Tent, the pole headed with a knob of gold, under it Canopies of Cloath of gold, under-foot Carpets. When the King came neare the doore, some Noble-men came in, and the Persian Embassador: we stood one of the one side, the other of the other,

[I. iv. 560.]

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making a little lane: the King entring cast his eye on me, and I made a reverence; he laid his hand on his brest and bowed, and turning to the other side, nodded to the Persian. I followed at his heeles till he ascended, and every man cryed good, joy, and fortune, and so tooke our places. He called for water, washed his hands and departed. His women entred some other Port to their quarter: and his sonne I saw not. Within this whole raile was about thirty divisions with Tents. All the Noble-men retired to theirs, which were in excellent formes, some all white, some greene, some mingled, all incompassed as orderly as any house, one of the greatest rarities and magnificences I ever saw. The whole vale shewed like a beautifull Citie, for that the ragges nor baggage were not mingled. I was unfitted with carriage, and ashamed of my position, but five yeeres allowance could not have furnished me with one indifferent sute sortable to others; and which addes to the greatnesse, every man hath a double, for that one goes afore to the next Remove, and is set a day before the King riseth from these. So I returned to my poore house.

The fift of November, the Prince sate in the same *November 5.* magnificence, order and greatnesse that I mentioned of the King; his throne being plated over with silver, inlaid with flowers of gold, and the Canopie over it square, borne on foure pillars covered with silver; his armes, sword, buckler, bowes, arrowes, and launce on a table before him. The watch was set, for it was evening when he came abroad. I observed now he was absolute and curious in his fashion and actions: he received two letters, read them standing, before he ascended his Throne. I never saw so settled a countenance, nor any man keepe so constant a gravitie, never smiling, nor in face shewing any respect or difference of men; but mingled with extreame pride and contempt of all, yet I found some inward trouble now and then assaile him, and a kind of brokennesse and distraction

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in his thoughts, unprovidedly and amazedly answering sutors, or not hearing; If I can judge any thing, he hath left his heart among his Fathers women, with whom hee hath liberty of conversation. Normahell in the English Coach the day before visited him, and tooke leave, shee gave him a cloak all imbroydered with Pearle, Diamonds and Rubies, and carried away, if I erre not, his attention to all other businesse.

*Fray betwixt  
the Portugals  
and English.*

The sixt, I received a letter from Master Browne, from Amadavas, who certified me of a fray begun by the Portugalls; five of them setting on a English Boy in Cambaya, and disarming him, upon rumours whereof John Browne and James Bickeford went to his rescue, and were assailed by seven of them. One shooting a Pistoll, hurt John Browne in the hand, but his heart lay not there: they defended themselves honestly, bravely, like Englishmen, killed one, hurt some others, and chased them up and downe the Towne like beasts, to the great shame of such villaines, and reputation of our Nation. To revenge this, the Portugalls being arriven in their Frigats, divers came ashoare, no more English in Towne but the three mentioned. The Governour understood the occasion, and sent the Cutwall with a guard to our house, and shut the water ports, expelling the Portugalls, by commanding upon paine of chastisement not to meddle with the English: and so delivered them safe out of Towne, who are returned to Amadavas.

*Card-play.*

The ninth, I found the Prince earnest at Cards, but he excused himselfe of forgetfulnessse, and blamed the Officers formally; but in shew used me with more courtesie then ordinary, calling me to see his Cards, and asking many questions. I expected he would speake of my going with him; but finding no such discourse, I told him I was come only to obey him, and to take my leave, that I desired his pardon, that I hasted away, for that I was to returne to Adsmere, being unprovided to stay all night. He answered, he sent for me to see me before his going, that I should presently be dispatched.

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Then he sent in an Eunuch, and divers of his Captaines came smiling, saying the Prince would give me a great Present, and if I feared to ride late, I should have ten horse to guard me, and made such a busnesse, as if I should have received his best chaine of Pearle. By and by came a Cloath of gold Cloake of his owne, once or twice worne, which hee caused to be put on my backe, and I made reverence very unwillingly. When his Ancestor Tamerlane was represented at the Theater, the garment would well have become: but it is heere reputed the highest favour to give a garment worne by a Prince, or being new, once laid on his shoulder.

The sixteenth, the King gave order to fire all the Leskar at Adsmere, to compell the people to follow, which was daily executed. I was left almost desolate, and the Persian Embassadour (who had fought, chid, brauld, complained, but could not get remedy) in the same estate; wee sent to bemone one another, and by his example I began to resolve to buy (for many would sell, which at the Kings price could not hire) and I cast it at the best hand I could, almost to save the hire, though the carts were deare, for in three moneths the price was eaten; necessity enforced me, for the Towne was burnt and desolate. I was in danger of theeves, that from the armie came and robbed in the night. I could not find bread to eate, yet I sent anew to Court, and resolved to abide all the inconveniences of a hard siege.

*Order to fire  
the Leskar at  
Adsmere.*

The seventeenth, I received from Goa for truth, that Don Emanuell de Menesses, with about three hundred of those saved ashore from out the Admirall, were arrived poore, robd and rifled by the Inhabitants of Angazesia, who had slaine many, and forced some to Circumcision. On the foure and twentieth of October, not one of the Fleet sent out from Lisbon arrived, to their great wonder. The Gallion of Mosambique was fought with by the Hollander that lately departed from Surat, who lay off and on before Goa as shee came in to meet the Ships expected; she was rich in Gold and

[I. iv. 561.]  
*News from  
Goa.*

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other Commodities, but she escaped by meanes of the Port. Observe the boldnesse of the Hollanders, to attempt with one ship, and to brave the head of the Indies. I received a promise for Camels to remove.

*Relations of  
Sultan Corsoroone.*

The eighteenth, I could not procure carriages, but was so daily delaied, that I feared to stay. Two Carts I was inforced to buy, and Camels I was constantly promised. M. Biddolph remained in the Princes Leskar to get mony, the King was yet but twelve course from Adsmere. The Jesuite tooke his leave of me, being forced to buy carriage, notwithstanding his order for it out of the Kings store, but scarcitie punished all men. This emptie time offering no discourse of my owne affaires, I shall digresse conveniently to mention the state of Sultan Corsoroone, of whose new delivery into the hands of his enemies, every mans heart and mouth was full. The King notwithstanding he had so farre agreed to satisfie his proud sonne at his departure, yet it seemes meant not to winke at an injurie offered to the Elder, and partly to secure him in the hands of Asaph Chan, partly to satisfie the people that murmured, and feared the practise of some treachery against him, he tooke occasion to declare himselfe publicquely. Asaph Chan had visited his newe Prisoner, and in his fashion did not acknowledge him as his Prince, but rudely prest upon him against his will, and with no reverence. Some are of opinion, he pickt a quarrell, and knowing the brave nature of the Prince, that would not beare indignitie, tempted him to draw his Sword, or to use some violence, which the guard should suddenly revenge; or else it should bee declared to the King, as an attempt to kill his Keeper, and to escape: but the Prince was patienter; onely he got a friend to acquaint the King with the manners of his Jaylor. The King called Asaph Chan at the Durbar, and asked when he saw his charge; he answered two dayes past; his Majestie replyed, what did you with him? he sayes, onely visit him: but the King pressed to knowe what reverence and fashion he carried towards him? Asaph Chan found his



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Majestie knew what had passed, and confessed he went to see him in affection, and offer his service; but that the Prince refused him admittance into his Chamber; which because he had charge of his safetie, hee thought it both necessary for him to doe, and discourtesie for the other to deny, therefore he prest in. The King returnes quicke, When you were in, what said you, and what did you? what duty shewed you toward my Sonne? He stands blancke, and confesseth he did not any reverence: whereat the King told him, he would make his proud heart know him to bee his eldest and beloved Heire, his Prince and Lord, and if he once heare of any the least want of reverence, or dutie toward him, he would command his sonne to set his feet on his necke, and trample on him: that he loved Sultan Coronne well, but he would make the world know, he did not intrust his Sonne among them for his ruine.

The three and twentieth, and foure and twentieth, I stayed for the Merchants, and received an answer from Spahan that my Letters were dispeeded for Aleppo, that our comming into Persia, was expected, but on conditions to fit the Shabas, so that it might advance his designe of diverting his Silkes from the way of Turkie: that the Generall of the Grand-signior lay with a mighty army at Argerone sixe dayes march short of Tauris, uncertaine, whether to assaile the Citie, or to enter Gorgeston and Gilan (the Countreys of Silks) to win that by conquest which he was prohibited by commerce. To meet both attempts, the Shabas was incamped at Salmas, a Village indifferently seated in the way; but if in two moneths the armies incounter not, winter approaching, and the wants which attend such multitudes, will dissolve them both, without any honourable action: or if they meete, the Persian though by report one hundred and eightie thousand, will not adventure battell, but being light and able to march easily, without Cannon and Baggage, will fall on and off on every side so on the Turkes armie, as he will breake, and wast him without hazard.

*News from  
Persia.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

### §. VII.

Sir Thomas Roes following the Court in this Progresse, description of the Kings Leskar, and some places which they passed: the Kings Superstition, drinke, and dealing about the Present.

*Decemb. 1.*

**T**He first of December, I remooved foure course to Ramfor where the King had left the bodies of an hundred naked men, slaine in the fields for robbery, and the Caravan at midnight departed Adsmere.

[I. iv. 562.] The fourth five course, I overtooke in the way a Camell laden with three hundred mens heads, sent from Candahar, by the Governour in Present to the King, that were out in rebellion.

*Description of Godah.* The sixth, foure course, where I overtooke the King at a walled Towne called Godah, in the best Countrey I saw since my landing being a faire Champion, at every course a Village, the soyle fruitfull in Corne, Cotton, and Cattell.

The seventh, the King passed onely from one side of the Towne to the other, which was one of the best built I ever saw in India, for that there were some houses two stories high, and most such as a Pedler might not scorne to keepe shop in, all covered with tyle. It had beene the seat of a Raza Rashboote, before the Conquest of Ecbarsha, and stood at the foot of a great Rocke very strong, had many excellent workes of hewed stone about it, excellently cut, many Tankes arched, vaulted, and descents made large, and of great depths. By it stood a delicate Grove of two mile large, a quarter broad, planted by industry, with Manges, Tamerins, and other fruits, divided with walkes, and full of little Temples and Altars of Pagods, and Gentilitial Idolatry, many Fountaines, Wels, Tankes, and Summer-houses of carved stone curiously arched, so that I must confesse, a banished

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Englishman might have been content to dwell there, but this observation is generall, that ruine and destruction eates up all: for since the proprietie of all is come to the King, no man takes care for particulars; so that in every place appears the vastations and spoiles of warre, without reparation.

*Inconvenience  
which fol-  
loweth the  
slavery of Sub-  
jects, and the  
Kings onely  
proprietie.*

The ninth, returning, I viewed the Lescar, which is one of the wonders of my little experience, that I had seene it finished, and set up in foure houres, except some of great men that have a double provision, the circuit being little lesse then twenty English miles, the length some waies three course, comprehending the skirts, and the middle, wherein the streets are orderly, and Tents joyned; there are all sorts of shops, distinguished so by rule, that every man knowes readily where to seeke his wants, every man of qualitie, and every trade being limited how farre from the Kings Tents he shall pitch, what ground he shall use, and on what side without alteration, which as it lies together, may equall almost any Towne in Europe for greatnesse; onely a Musket shot every way no man approacheth the Atasykanha royall, which is now kept so strict, that none are admitted but by name, and the time of the Durbar in the Evening is omitted and spent in hunting or hawking on Tanks by Boat, in which the King takes wonderfull delight, and his Barges are remooved on Carts with him, and he sits not but on the side of one, which are many times a mile or two over. At the Jarruco in the morning he is seene, but businesse or speech prohibited: all is concluded at night at the Guzelchan, when often the time is prevented by the drowsinesse which possesseth the King from the fumes of Bacchus. There is now a great whisper in Court, about a new affinitie of Sultan Corsoroone and Asaph Chan, and great hope of his libertie. I will finde occasion to discourse it, for that the passages are very worthy, and the wisdome and goodnesse of the King appeares, above the malice of others, and Noomahel fulfill the observation, that in all actions of consequence in

*The Kings  
Lescar  
admirable.*

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Court, a woman is not onely alwaies an ingredient, but commonly a principall drug of most vertue, and she shewes that they are not incapable of conducting businesse, nor her selfe void of wit and subtilitie. It will discover a Noble Prince, an excellent Wife, a faithfull Counsellour, a craftie Step-mother, an ambitious Sonne, a cunning Favourite, all reconciled by a patient King, whose heart was not understood by any of all these. But this will require a place alone, and not to be mingled among businesse.

*Humilitie and  
Charity super-  
stitious, and  
therefore  
blind.*

The sixteenth, I visited the King, who having been at his sports, and his quarry of fowle and fish lying before him, he desired me to take my choice, and so distributed the remainder to his Nobilitie. I found him sitting on his Throne, and a Begger at his feet, a poore silly old man all asht, ragd, and patcht, with a young roague attending on him. With these kind of professed poore holy men, the Countrey abounds, and are held in great reverence, but for workes of chasticement of their bodies, and voluntary sufferings, they exceed the brags of all heretiques or Idolaters. This miserable wretch cloathed in rags, crowned with feathers, covered with ashes, his Majestie talked with about an houre, with such familiaritie and shew of kindnesse, that it must needs argue an humilitie not found easily among Kings. The Begger sate, which his sonne dares not doe: he gave the King a Present, a Cake, asht, burnt on the coales, made by himselfe of course graine, which the King accepted most willingly, and brake one bit and eate it, which a daintie mouth could scarce have done. After he tooke the clout, and wrapt it up, and put in the poore mans bosome, and sent for one hundred Rupias, and with his owne hands powred them into the poore mans lap, and what fell besides, gathered up for him; when his collation of banquetting and drinke came, whatsoever he tooke to eate, he brake and gave the Begger halfe, and after many strange humiliations and charities, rising, the old Wretch not being nimble, he tooke him up in his armes, which no

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cleanly body durst have touched, imbracing him, and three times laying his hand on his heart, calling him father, he left him, and all us and me in admiration of such a vertue in a heathen Prince.

The sixe and twentieth, we passed through Woods, and over Mountaines, torne with bushes, tired with the incommodiousnesse of an impassible way, where many Camels perished, many departed for Agra, and all complained. I lost my Tents and Carts, but by midnight we met, the King rested two dayes, for that the Leskar could not in lesse time recover their order, many of the Kings women, and thousands of Coaches, Carts, and Camels, lying in the woody mountaines, without meat and water, himselfe got by on a small Elephant, which beast will climbe up rockes and passe such straits, as no horse nor beast that I know can follow him. [I. iv. 563.]

The twenty fourth of January, newes arrived at Court, that the Decans would not be frighted out of their Dominion, which Asaph Chan and Normahal had pretended, to procure this Voyage, but that they had sent their impediments into the heart, and attended in the borders, with fiftie thousand horse, resolved to fight, and that Sultan Caronne was yet advanced no further then Mandoa, afraid both of the enemie and Chan Channa. *January 24.  
Decans resist  
the Mogolls  
power.  
Mandoa.* These Counsellers changed their advice, and declaring to the King that they conceived the Decan, before his passage over the last hills, would have yeelded by the terrour of his approach, but finding the contrary, perswaded him to convert it to a hunting journey, and to turne his face toward Agra, for that the other was not an enemie worthy his person. He replied this consideration came too late, his honour was engaged seeing he had so farre past, hee would prosecute their first counsells and his purpose, and adventure the hazard of both. But hee daily dispeeded fresh troopes towards his sonne, partly from his owne, the rest commanded from governments, according to reports, thirty thousand horse, but not by muster.

The third of February, departing out of the Roade *February 3.*

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*Conference  
with Sultan  
Corsoroone.*

of the Leskar for ease and shade, and resting under a tree for the same commodities, came upon me Sultan Corsoroone, the Kings eldest restrained sonne, riding upon an Elephant, with no great guard nor attendance: his people desired me to give him roome, which I did, but attended to see him, who called for mee, and with some gentle and familiar questions, full of courtesie and affabilitie hee departed: his person is good, and countenance chearefull, his beard growne to his girdle; this only I noted, that his questions shewed ignorance of all passages in Court, in so much hee never heard of any Ambassadour nor English.

*Sepra.  
Mulwa.  
Calleada.  
King  
drunken,  
drowned.*

The sixt at night, we came to a little Tower newly repaired, where the King pitched in a pleasant place upon the River of Sepra, short of Ugen, the chiefe City of Mulwa, one Course. This place called Calleada, was anciently a Seat of the Gentile Kings of Mandoa, one whereof was there drowned in his drinke, having once before fallen into the River, and was taken up by the haire of the head, by a slave that dived: and being come to himselfe it was related to him to procure a reward: he called for the instrument of his safety, and demanding how he durst put his hands on his Soveraignes head, caused them to be strucke off. Not long after, sitting alone with his wife in drunkennesse, hee had the same mischance to slip into the water, but so that shee might easily have saved him, which shee did not: and being demanded why, shee replied, shee knew not whether he would also cut off her hands for her recompence.

*Old Dervis.*

*Princes incivilitie.*

The eleventh, the King rode to Ugen to speake with a Dervis or Saint, living on a hill, who is reported to be three hundred yeares old: I thought this miracle not worth my examination. At noone by a foot-post I received a letter, that the Prince, notwithstanding all Firmans and Commands of his Father, had intercepted the Presents and goods sent up, to fulfill his base and greedie desire, and that notwithstanding any gift nor entreaty, or perswasions of Master Terry, to whose

charge they were committed, would not part with them, but by force compelled them to returne with him toward Brampore: yet did he forbear to breake any thing open, but pressed the English to consent, which they refusing by my order, he thought to winne them by vexations; such is the custome to see all Merchants goods even before the King, that he may first choose, but I resolved to breake that in our behalfe.

The Prince to satisfie his desire, before I could have knowledge, he sent a Post to the King to certifie him, that such goods he had stayed without mention of Presents, and prayed leave to open them, and to buy what he fancied. So soone as I heard of this faithlesse uncivill usage, I resolved I was justifiable before all the world, if I used the extremitie of complaints, that I had practised all meanes to win and purchase favour, and had suffered beyond the patience of a freeman, my former courses will witnesse, and leave me without blame in ill successes, though I found it in a rougher way, seeing I could find no better in the smoothest. Briefely I resolved to appeale to Justice by complaint, but as calmly and warily as I could, to expresse my whole grieffe, extreame injuries, and long patience. To go to Asaph Chan (though to neglect him would displease him) yet to trie him I feared would prevent my purpose: to send to him that I desired to visite the King at the Glutel-chand, I doubted what I intended might be suspected, if hee had heard of the injury: so I practised first to prevent, and avoid prevention.

The Prophet, whom the King visited, offered me occasion, and my new Linguist was readie. I rode and met his Majestie on his Elephant, and alighted making signe to speake: he turned his monster to mee, and prevented mee. My sonne hath taken your goods and my Presents: bee not sad, he shall not touch nor open a seale, nor locke; at night I will send him a command to free them, with other very gracious speeches, that he knew I came full of complaint, to ease mee he beganne

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[I. iv. 564.] first. Upon the way I could doe no more, but at night, without further seeking to Asaph Chan, I went to the Guzel Chan, resolved to prosecute the complaint of forcing backe our goods, in respect of the charge and trouble, of the abuses of Surat, and all our other grievances. So soone as I came in, the King called my Interpreter, and delivered by his, that he had written and sent his command very effectually, that not a haire should be diminished: I replied, the injury was such, and the charge and abuses of our liberty by the Princes officers, that I desired redresse, for that we could not longer suffer. It was answered, what was past I must remit to his sonne, but by Asaph Chans mediation I could procure nothing but very good words, for he smoothed on both sides; so that I was forced to seeme content, and to seeke an opportunitie in the absence of my false friend and procurator. The good King fell to dispute of the Lawes of Moses, Jesus and Mahomet, and in drinke was so kind, that he turned to me, and said: I am a King, you shall be welcome Christians, Moores, Jewes, he medled not with their faith; they came all in love, and he would protect them from wrong, they lived under his safety, and none should oppresse them; and this often repeated, but in extreame drunkennesse he fell to weeping, and to divers passions, and so kept us till midnight.

*The Mogoll in  
drinke.*

Judge all men what travell I endured, by reason the Factors kept my Presents foure moneths, and sent them even in the mouth of the Prince, arrived within two dayes of Brampore, and hereby every way our charge doubled, that I rested not satisfied; but seeing I had begun, and that the Prince was, as I feared, enough exasperated with a little, I thought as good lose him to some purpose, as to none, at least to trie the King what hee would doe. So I waited advantage, but sent backe the messenger to Master Terry, to stand out and attend the Kings answer, which I would speedily send him. And so resolved to dissemble that I hope to repay, when I came, with base



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flattery worse then the theft, or at least to give me some satisfaction, because trouble was in my face, for otherwise it is no injury heere to bee so used: he beganne to tell me he had taken divers things, that please him extreamely well, naming two Cushions embroydered, a folding Glasse, and the Dogges, and desired mee not to bee discontent, for whatsoever I would not give him, I should receive backe: I answered, there were few things that I intended not to present him, but that I tooke it a great discourtesie to my Sovereigne, which I could not answere, to have that was freely given seized, and not delivered by my hands to whom they were directed: and that some of them were entended for the Prince and Normahall, some to lye by me, on occasions, to prepare his Majesties favour to protect us from injuries that strangers were daily offered, and some for my friends or private use, and some that were the Merchants, which I had not to doe withall: he answered, that I should not be sad nor grieved, that hee had his choyce, for that hee had not patience to forbear seeing them, hee did mee no wrong in it, for hee thought I wished him first served, and to my Lord the King of England hee would make satisfaction, and my excuse: the Prince, Normahall and he were all one; and for any to bring with me to procure his favour, it was a ceremony, and unnecessary, for he would at all times heare me; that I should be welcome emptie handed, for that was not my fault, and I should receive right from him; and to go to his sonne, he would returne me somewhat for him, and for the Merchants goods pay to their content; concluding I should not be angry for this freedome; he entended well: I made no reply. Then hee pressed me whether I was pleased or no. I answered his Majesties content pleased me: so seeing Master Terry, whom I brought in with me, he called to him, Padre you are very welcome, and this house is yours, esteeme it so, whensoever you desire to come to me, it shall bee free for you, and whatsoever you will require of mee, I will grant you.

*Master Terry  
the minister  
welcomed.*

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Then he converted himselfe with this cunning unto me, naming all particulars in order: The Dogges, Cushions, Barbers case, you will not desire to have backe, for that I am delighted in them: I answered no. Then said he there were two Glasse chestes, for they were very meane and ordinary, for whom came they? I replied, I entended one for his Majestie, the other to Normahall. Why then, said hee, you will not aske that I have, being contented with one? I was forced to yeeld. Next he demanded whose the Hats were, for that his women liked them. I answered, three were sent to his Majesty, the fourth was mine to weare. Then said he, you will not take them from me, for I like them, and yours I will returne if you need it, and will not bestow that on me, which I could not refuse. Then next he demanded whose the Pictures were. I answered, sent to me to use on occasions, and dispose as my businesse required: so hee called for them, and caused them to be opened, examined me of the women, and other little questions, requiring many judgements of them, of the third Picture of Venus and a Satyre: he commanded my Interpreter not to tell me what he said: But asked his Lords what they conceived should be the interpretation or morall of that, he shewed the Satyres hornes, his skinne which was swart, and pointed to many particulars: every man replied according to his fancie; but in the end hee concluded they were all deceived: and seeing they could judge no better, hee would keepe his conceit to himselfe, iterating his command to conceale this passage from me: But bade him aske me what it meant: I answered, an Invention of the Painter to shew his arte, which was Poeticall, but the interpretation was new to mee that had not seene it. Then he called Master Terry, to give his judgement, who replying, hee knew not. The King demanded why hee brought up to him an invention wherein hee was ignorant; at which I enterposed that he was a Preacher, and medled not with such matters, nor had charge of them, onely comming in their com-

*Notable question about the Picture of a Satyre.*

[I. iv. 565.]

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pany, hee was more noted, and so named as their conductor.

This I repeate for instruction, to warne the company and him that shall succeed me to be very wary what they send, may be subject to ill Interpretation: for in that point this King and people are very pregnant and scrupulous, full of jealousie and trickes, for that notwithstanding the King conceited himselfe, yet by the passages I will deliver my opinion of this conceit, which (knowing, I had never seene the Picture, and by Ignorance was guiltlesse) hee would not presse hard upon me. But, I suppose, he understood the Morall to be a scorne of Asiatiques whom the naked Satyre represented, and was of the same complexion and not unlike; who being held by Venus a white woman by the Nose, it seemed that shee led him Captive. Yet he revealed no discontent, but rould them up, and told me he would accept him also as a Present. For the Saddle and some other small Toyes, he would fit me with a gift to his Sonne, to whom he would write according to promise, so effectually that I should need no Sollicitor, in many businesses with as many complements, excuses, professions & protestations as could come from any very Noble, or very base minde in either extreame. Yet he left not, but enquired what meant the figures of the beasts, and whether they were sent me to give to him: I had understood they were very ridiculous and ill shaped ordinary creatures, the varnish off, and no beauty other then a lumpe of wood; I was really ashamed and answered, it was not my fault, those that seized them must beare the affront, but that they were not entended to him, but sent to shew the formes of certaine beasts with us. He replied quickly, did you thinke in England that a Horse and a Bull was strange to mee? I replied, I thought not of so meane a matter, The sender was an ordinary man in good will to mee for Toyes, and what he thought, I knew not: well said the King, I will keepe them, and onely desire you to helpe me to a horse of the greatest size. It is

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*The Kings  
requests.*

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all I will expect, and a Male and Female of Mastiffes, and the tall Irish Grey-hounds, and such other Dogges as hunt in your lands, and if you will promise me this, I will give you the word of a King, I will fully recompence you, and grant you all your desires.

I answered, I would promise to provide them, but could not warrant their lives, and if they dyed by the way, onely for my discharge, their skinnnes and bones should bee preserved, hee gave extraordinary Bowes, layd his hand on his heart, and such kind of gestures as all men will witnesse, he never used to any man, nor such familiarity, nor freedome, nor profession of love. This was all my recompence, that he often desired my content to be merry, that the wrong he had done me, he would royally requite, and send me home to my Countrey with grace and reward like a Gentleman. But seeing nothing returned of what was seized, but words, I desired his Majesty to deliver backe the Velvets and Silkes being Merchants goods, that they were sent up among mine by his Majesties command, for that by that pretence, they escaped the ravine of the Princes Officers: so hee gave order to call Master Biddolph to agree with him, and to pay for them to content. Then I delivered a Letter I had ready written contayning my desire for Priviledges and Justice otherwise I should returne as a Fayzneane and disgraced to my Sovereigne, and desired some Justice for Sulpheckarkons Debt lately dead: he replied he would take such order with his Sonne for Surat, as I should have no cause to complaine, and that he should cleere it for which he gave instant order. For other places, he would give me his commands, and every way shew how much he loved me, and to the end I might returne to my Master with honour, Hee would send by me a rich and worthy Present with his Letter of my behaviour filled with many prayses, and commanded me to name what I thought would be most acceptable, I answered, I durst not crave, it was not our custome, nor stood with my Masters honour, but what-

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soever he sent, I doubted not, would be acceptable from so potent a King, and so much loved of my Lord. He replyed, that I thought he asked in jest, to please mee, and that he saw I was yet discontent, but he conjured me to beleieve he was my friend, and would at conclusion prove so, and vowed by his head hee spake heartily concerning Presents, but I must not refuse for his instruction to name somewhat. This earnestnesse enforced mee to say, if his Majesty pleased, I thought large Persian Carpets, would be fittest; for gifts of cost and value my Master expected not.

He answered, he would provide of all sorts and sizes, and added to them what hee thought was fit, that your King may know I respect him: next, having Venison of divers sorts before him, he gave me halfe a Stagge, with these words, hee killed it himselfe, and the other halfe I should see bestowed on his wives, which was presently cut out, in small pieces of foure pound and sent in by his third sonne, and two women that were called out to divers such Mammockes, as if it had beene a dole to the poore, and carryed by the Prince bare in his hands. Now I had as much satisfaction, and so abundant grace as might have flattered me into content, but the injury was above words, though I were glad of these and of colour to dissemble, for hee sent as a conclusion to know if I were pleased, and did not depart discontent. I answered his Majesties favour was sufficient to make mee any amends. Then, said he, I have onely one question to aske you; which is, I wonder much now I have seene your Presents two yeares, what was the reason why your King sent a Merchant, a meane man before you with five times as many, and more curious Toyes that contented all, and after to send you his Ambassadors with a Commission and his Letter mentioning Presents, and yet what you brought was little, meane and inferiour to the other. I acknowledge you an Ambassador, I have found you a [I. iv. 566.] Gentleman in your usage, and I am amazed why you were so slightly set out.

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I would have replied, but he cut me off, I know it is not the Kings fault, nor yours, but I will let you see I esteeme you better then they employed you. At your returne, I will send you home with honour, with reward, and according to your qualitie; and not respecting what you brought me, will like a King present your Lord and Master: onely this I will require from you, and not expect it from the Merchants, to take with you a patterne of a Quiver, and Case for my Bow, a Coat to weare, a Cushion to sleepe on of my fashion, which was at his head, and a paire of Boots, which you shall cause to bee embroydered in England, of the richest manner, and I will expect and receive them from you, for I know in your Countrey they can worke better then any I have seene, and if you send them mee, I am a King, you shall not lose by it, which I most thankfully undertooke, and he commanded Asaph Chan to send me the patternes. Then he demanded if I had any Grape Wine. I could not denie it; he desired a taste next night, and if hee liked it he would be bold, if not, he desired me to make merrie with it. So spending this night onely on me, he rose.

The third of March, wee came to Mandoa, into which the King entred in state, but no man was suffered to goe in before hee was set, by the advice of his Astrologers, so that wee all sate without, attending a good houre.

*Mandoa.*

The sixth, I came into Mandoa, having sent before, and found a faire Court well walled, and in that a good Church, one great Tombe: it was taken up by one of the Kings Servants, but I got possession and kept it, being the best within all the wall, but two mile from the Kings house, yet so sufficient that a little charge would make it defensible against raines, and save one thousand Rupias, and for Aire very pleasant upon the edge of the hill.

*Ill proforecast.*

The eleventh, at night I went toward the Court, but the King upon newes of a Lion that had killed some Horses, was gone to hunt, so that I had leisure to seeke

some water : for we were brought to a hill with a multitude of people (so great is the foresight, and so good the Policie) where was no water, that men and Castle were like to perish, that little that was in Pooles some great men possessed, and kept by force, I could get none, the poore forsooke the Citie, and by Proclamation many were commanded away, all Horses and Cattel forbid, and so those who were now in hope to rest, were forced to seeke new Dwellings, who departed some two, three and foure Course off, to the extreame trouble of all men, and the terrible rising of provisions. I knew not what to doe: my Roome and House was good, and though I were farre from Markets, yet it was a lesse inconvenience then to sit in the fields without house or shelter, onely I wanted water, so I rode my selfe to seeke some, and found a great Poole possessed by Chan, which was given by the King. I sent to desire him leave to draw, who granted me foure load a day, which satisfied me in such sort, that with selling away some of those Jades that were put upon me from Surat, and putting off my Cattell, I had hope to live, to which purpose I sent two with them to lye out of Towne. There was not a misery, nor punishment, which either the want of Government, or the naturall disposition of the Clime gave us not.

## §. VIII.

The New-yeares Feast : Suspitions of the English :  
Trade of Dabul, distaste of the Persian, English-  
men of Warre in the Indian Seas.

**T**He twelfth, I went to the King, and carried a New-yeares gift, a paire of very faire Knives of my owne, and sixe Glasses of yours; the excuse I made was well received, and the King used mee with all grace, this onely was my comfort. He said whatsoever came from my hands was present sufficient, he accepted my love, and it was his part now to give me. I found a gainer by him, who had so farre performed his promise that I

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perceived the King instructed in my desire, and gave present order to an Officer to send for Master Bidolph to pay him to his content for such things as he claymed, and all the others were acknowledged to be received by name, and that when I went to the Prince, the King would write; but was loth to part with any thing, of which the best sweet bagge lay before him. I replied, I was as loth to goe emptie handed: so it rested, the King commanded I should come up and stand within, on the degrees of his Throne by him, where I found on one side the Persian Ambassadors, on the other the old King Candahar with whom I ranked, and he presently fell to begge a Knife which next day I sent. The King called for the Persian to come downe, to whom he gave a Jewell, and a young Elephant, for which he kneeled and saluted the ground with his head. The Throne was the same used the last yeare, and all the other furniture: at the upper end was set the King my Sovereignes Picture, the Queenes, my Lady Elizabeths, Sir Thomas Smiths and some others, two pieces of good and fine Tapistrie below them, that came from Persia, a Throne of Gold set all over with Rubies, Emeralds and Turqueis, and the old Musicke of singing Whores. This day I dispatched to Surat my advice of the Persian businesse and the new Ambassadors, and some remembrance to Abram Chan the Governour from whom I received a Letter, that in his absence our Nation had beene wronged against his knowledge, but that his power being augmented by the Prince, he desired me to be confident in him, that while he lived in authoritie we should never suffer any such abuses, but we should live in all freedome.

The thirteenth, I sent a Complement to Asaph Chan, a faire wrought Night-cap of mine owne, and a rich paire of Gloves which he returned as uselesse in this Countrey; the Cap he received and desired some Alegant Wine, which I sent the next day at night. Aganor (whose diligence now gave me great hope and ease) sent a Bannian his Secretary to tell mee hee had order for the

*English  
Pictures.*

[I. iv. 567.]



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dispatch of the Merchants goods, and that his man should attend Master Biddolph to finish it, that the patternes should be sent me home, and that the King would give me a Coat and money to beare my charges to the Prince. I returned answer, that I had no use of a Babylonish Garment, nor needed money; if his Majestie were pleased to consider the injuries offered, of which the Paper testified remayned in his hands, and to give me his Letter to the Prince with some Presents or else to write in my excuse, it was all I would desire, but for his gifts I expected none but Justice.

The one and twentieth: I yet could not at instant presse it further, only I discovered the Kings doubts, for he suspected my stealing out of his Countrey, and breach with our Nation for the Prince, either out of guiltinesse or feare, or perhaps cunning to make us the pretence of his owne designes, had newly enformed the King, that next yeare, the English purposed the taking of Surat, and keeping it, of which our owne folly gave some colour; for lately upon one of their ordinary brabbles they caused two hundred Musketers to land and march toward Surat, and being met by divers the joyfull Mariners gave out they went to take it. This absurde bravado for a handful of men to passe twelve mile to a walled Towne able to put out a thousand horse armed, and as many shot, a River to passe which a few men would defend against a good Armie, gave just occasion of scorne and offence: and which the Prince apprehended for some other his owne ends, to refortifie the Castle and Towne, and to send downe Ordnance for the defence: a good provision to keepe a doore open to flie out, if his Brother live to correct his ambition. But this information occurring with my discontents heere, and some free language, my pressure to goe to Brampore, and flying newes that we had taken Goa, and were preparing a great Fleet in England, did cause some suspition in the King, which though he concealed it, yet hee thought to discover by the former Discourse, with which hee rested fully satisfied,

*Suspitions of  
the English.*

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but I did not: I had beene long fed with words, and knew as well as the heart that trembled, that feare of us only preserved our residence.

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*Tyranny of  
Officers.*

The nine and twentieth of March: this complaining of Officers is a tune so new, so odious in Court, that it troubleth all great men, it beeing their owne case, who living upon farming Governments in which they use all tyrannie to the Naturals, are loth to suffer a way open to the Kings understanding of their practice, who ordinarily hang men by the heeles, to confesse money, or to ransom themselves from no fault: this made all men envie my employment, and avoid me as an Informer.

*Letter from  
Captaine Pep-  
well at Dabul.*

The five and twentieth of April, I received from Dabul road from Cap. Pepwell, that according to advise he had stayed the Juncke bound for Mocha, but weighing the caution given by mee to consider well what correspondence were betweene that Prince and Mozolapatan, in whose Territorie the Solomon was and could not get to Sea, finding both alliance and friendship, he freed her without spoile, alleaging the refusall of Trade to Middleton, which courtesie procured him so good entertainment as the Indies affords seldome, free Trade and promise to take three hundred Clothes yearly: a good quantitie of Lead sold for money, and some Ordnance (which I like not to arme the Indians, and the Portugals friends, enemies to the Mogoll) and all other courtesies, which if this kindnesse proceeded not, for that the Juncke was yet under command, gives me good hope of some Trade in sale yearly at the Port, however the freeing of the Juncke assures me the Commander will doe nothing by catching, prejudicall to the Company, and deliver himselfe honestly from the jealousies cast upon him from Dabul, hee signifies his intent to proceed to Callicute, and if that Factorie be not worth supplies to transmit it to Dabul.

The seven and twentieth, by the Foot-post, I received from Mesolapatan, that the Salomon was got to

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Sea, and the Hosiander from Bantam arrived, who brought the ill newes of the losse of the Hector and Concord, careening in the Roade of Jacatra, on Java, in recompence that the Dragon, Clove and Defence, were homeward laden from Bantam. I tooke this occasion to convey a letter to the Governour of Dabul over-land, to apprehend the overture newly made by him of the trade: though I had little opinion of the place, yet I would not neglect that, nor encourage the next Fleet to proceed, but upon better assurance then a forced friendship, and offers made while their Juncke was in our power. The effect was to signifie the causes of our staying their goods for refusing trade to Sir Henry Middleton, but now finding in him a better inclination and a desire to receive us, & to establish a friendship and league, a promise to take cloth in good quantitie. I required if these motions were hearty, and such as befitted a man of honour, that he would write to the King his Master, to procure his Firman with such priviledges as were fit for Merchants, and his promise to buy our goods, and to fulfill all the friendly offers made by him, his Officer, under his Seale, and with expedition to send it mee to the Court of the great Mogoll: whereby I might receive assurance and encouragement that they entended faith, and on such reception I did undertake on the behalfe of the King of England, a good and firme Peace toward his Master, his subjects free passage in the seas, from any oppression by our Fleets: and that yearely I would either send a ship to his Port for trade, or if it so required, leave & establish a residence in his Government. I doubt not, but yearely for feare or love, some good trade by sales may bee made, but for envestments, it will not be worth it: only I proceeded as I would have wished all men, not with too seeming eager a desire, nor to swallow any offers and conditions hungerly, for strict care in the first settling is the best advantage: and for misery of ensuing times, it being a generall rule never to mend your first

*Overture of  
Trade at  
Dabull.*

[I. iv. 568.]

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estate, often to empaire it, every mans best houre is when he is new, a stranger, and at first seene: after, the naturall lenitie of these Barbarians, finds all that brings not change, fastidious. This dispatch I committed to Master Bingham, and desired him to make diligent enquiry of the commodities, advantages, inconveniences, humours and affections of these Decannies towards us.

*Distaste of the  
Persian  
Ambassadour.*

The thirtieth, the time that he brought me the excuses of the Persian Ambassadour, for failing in taking his leave of me, which he would not send by a servant, but uttered the truth that the Ambassadour was not sicke, as he pretended, but receiving no content from the King in his businesse he suddenly tooke leave, and having given thirty faire horses at his departure: the King gave in recompence three thousand Rupias which he tooke in great scorne; whereupon the King prized all that the Ambassadour had given him at meane rates, and likewise all that the King had returned since his arrivall, even to slaves, Drinke, Mellons, Pines, Plantanes, Hawkes, Plumes, the Eliphant and whatsoever at extreme high rates, and sending both Bills made it up in money. This base usage and scorne caused him to excuse his not seeing Asaph Chan and Etimon Dowlet on a Fever, which having done hee could not come through the Towne to mee without discoverie, but desired him to acquaint me with the truth, and to make all excuse and profession that hee would recompence this discourtesie by double friendship to my Countrimen in Persia: with some bitternesse against the King, which Aganor as freely delivered, and I seemed as unwilling to heare. I presented them with some Aligant and Knives and we parted.

The twelfth of May, I received newes of a great blow given the Persian by the Turkes Army, so that Tanris was rased, and the Shabas not able to keepe the field.

The five and twentieth, a Lion and a Woolfe used my house, and nightly put us in alarume, fetching away Sheepe and Goats out of my Court, and leaping a high

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wall with them. I sent to aske leave to kill it, for that no man may meddle with Lions but the King, and it was granted: I ranne out into the Court upon the noyse, and the beast missing his prey, seized on a little Island Dogge before me, that I had long kept, but the Woolfe one of my servants killed, and I sent it the King.

The fourteenth of June, certaine goods of the Jesuites were sent from Cambaya in a Cabinet, Phisicke and necessaries, and a Letter, which were betrayed by the bringer, and delivered the King: which he opened and sent for the Padre to reade the Letter, and to see all in the Boxes, of which nothing liking him, he returned all; which I observe as a warning to all that deale in this Kingdome, to bee wary of what they write or send, for such is the custome and humour of the King, that he will seize and see all, lest any Toy should escape his appetite.

The eighteenth, I received Letters from Amadavar of the Hope of the fall of Indico, by the failing of the Goa Caffila, and that there was plentie to be bought but deare. That the Unicorne's Horne was returned as without vertue, concerning which I gave him new advice; many complaints against Surat and others, which I meddle not with. I received from Brampoore two Letters, how doubtfull the debt of Ralph stood, and newes of the returne of Spragge from the Leskar of Decan. The Generall Melickamber with much shew of honour, gave instant order for privie search in all his Campe for the Persian fled, and by me remanded; but finding him departed to Vizeapoore, by testimony that businesse was pursued no further, but by a Letter to a Dutch their resident. The Generall desired Spragge to be a meanes to bring him English cloth and swords to his Campe for the supply of his Souldiers which lye within sixe dayes of Brampoore. In my opinion, that had beene a good employment of some idle men, and a way to vent our dead commodities.

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[I. iv. 569.] The thirtieth of July, I received from Surat, of the casting away of two Dutch ships on the Coast of Damon, that having come from the Southward with Spices and China Silkes, were bound for the Red Sea, but losing their season with much extremitie of weather beating many weekes about the entrance for harbour, attempted the like at Socatra, and upon the Coast of Arabia, but being not able to get in any way, they resolved for Surat, hoping by the last yeares good successe to be able to ride safely: but the yeares differ, and beeing forced to anchor in extremitie their greater ship cut her Masts by boord, and after her Cables breaking, shee went ashore upon the coast ozie ground within musket shot. The ship kept upright, but having lost their long Boat, and their Skiffe not able to live by rafters, foure men got ashore, and the Tydes heaving her in upon the Spring, they saved much goods and all their people: her Pinnasse of sixtie Tunne was beaten to pieces.

The one and twentieth of August, the King of Candahor, came to visit me, and brought wine and fruit, sate halfe an houre, and for one jest of his begged a bottle of wine.

The Prince Sultan Corseroone had his first day of hoped libertie, and came to take ayre and pleasure at the banquetting house by me. The Prince at Brampoore had made a marriage without the Kings consent, and gotten displeasure: besides some practice of his was discovered against his brothers life, but this as a secret: he was called for to Court. Normahal and Asaph Chan by their fathers advice, came about to make a peace with Corsoroone and Alliance, and with infinite joy his libertie is expected.

The two and twentieth, the King feasted at Asaph Chans. I received from Aleppo and Persia, passages of the warre, the Turkes retrait, but no word of our English: onely, that the Captaine of Grinins, had written to practise their disgrace.

The five and twentieth, I advised to Agra my pro-

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ceeding in the Armenians businesse backe to Surat, and Brampoore of all occurrents. This day Asaph Chan feasted Normahal, the Prince Sultan Corsoroone, as is reported, to make a firme alliance, and that he will bring away a wife by his fathers importunitie, this will beget his full libertie, and our proud Masters ruine.

The first of September, was the Kings birth-day, and the solemnitie of his weighing, to which I went, and was carried into a very large and beautifull Garden, the square within all water, on the sides flowres and trees, in the midst a pinnacle, where was prepared the scales, being hung in large tressels, and a crosse beame plated on with gold thinne: the scales of massie gold, the borders set with small stones, Rubies and Turkey, the chaines of gold large and massie, but strengthened with silke Cords. Here attended the Nobilitie all sitting about it on Carpets untill the King came; who at last appeared clothed, or rather loden with Diamonds, Rubies, Pearles, and other precious vanities, so great, so glorious! his Sword, Target, Throne to rest on correspondent; his head, necke, breast, armes, above the elbowes at the wrists, his fingers every one, with at least two or three rings; fettered with chaines, or dialled Diamonds; Rubies as great as Wall-nuts, some greater; and Pearles, such as mine eyes were amazed at. Suddenly he entered into the scales, sate like a woman on his legs, and there was put in against him, many bagges to fit his weight which were changed sixe times, and they say was silver, and that I understood his weight to be nine thousand Rupias, which was almost one thousand pound sterling: after with gold and jewels, and precious stones, but I saw none, it being in bagges might bee Pibles; then against cloth of Gold, Silke, Stuffles, Linnen, Spices, and all sorts of goods, but I must beleieve, for they were in fardles. Lastly, against Meale, Butter, Corne, which is said to be given to the Beniani, and all the rest of the Stuffle: but I saw it carefully carryed in, and none distributed. Onely the silver is reserved for the poore, and serves the

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*The Kings  
weighing.*

ensuing yeere, the King using in the night to call for some before him, and with his owne hands in great familiaritie and humilitie to distribute that money. The scale he sate in by one side, he gazed on me, and turned me his stones and wealth, and smiled, but spake nothing, for my Interpreter could not bee admitted in. After he was weighed, he ascended his Throne, and had Basons of Nuts, Almonds, Fruits, Spices, of all sort made in thin silver, which hee cast about, and his great men scrambled prostrate upon their bellies, which seeing I did not, hee reached one bason almost full, and powred into my Cloke, his Noblemen were so bold as to put in their hands, so thicke, that they had left me none, if I had not put a remayner up. I heard he threw gold till I came in, but found it silver so thinne, that all I had at first being thousands of severall pieces had not weighed sixtie Rupias. I saved about twentie Rupias weight, yet a good dishfull, which I keepe to shew the ostentation, for by my proportion he could not that day cast away above one hundred pound sterling. At night he drinketh with all his Nobilitie in rich plate. I was invited to that, but told, I must not refuse to drinke, and their waters are fire. I was sicke and in a little fluxe of bloud, and durst not stay to venture my health.

*Mercators  
Atlas pre-  
sented to the  
Mogoll.*

The ninth of September, the King rode to the River of Darbadath, five course on pleasure, and comming by my house I rode out to meete him. The custome is, that all men by whom hee passeth neere their gate, make him some Present, which is taken as a good signe, and is called Mombareck, good Newes, or good Successe. I had nothing to give, nor might fitly goe with nothing, nor stay at home without discourtesie, which made mee venture upon a faire Booke well bound filleted and gilt, Mercators last Edition of the Maps of the World, which I presented with an excuse that I had nothing worthy, but to a great King I offered the World in which he had so great and rich a part. The King tooke it in great courtesie, often laying his hand on his breast, and answer-



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ing every thing that came from mee was welcome. He asked after the ships arrivall, which I told him I daily expected: he told me he had some fat wilde Hogs sent him from Goa, and if I would eate any at his returne he would send me some. I made him due reverence, and answered any thing from his Majestie was a feast to me: [I. iv. 570.] he rode on his Elephant, and the way was stonie, and I offering to bring him toward the gate, hee bade God keepe mee, and returne to my house, demanding which it was, and praying it: indeed it was one of the best in the Leskar, yet but an old Church and large Tombe inclosed: iterating his fare-well, he said the way was ill, and desired me to goe home, and with much shew of courtesie tooke leave.

The sixteenth, I rode to repay the visit of Marre Rustam the Prince of Candahor, who at my arrivall sent word he durst not see mee, except hee asked leave of the King or acquainted Etimon Dowlet or Asaph Chan, which at the Durbar he would. I answered he should not need, for I never meant to trouble my selfe with a man so uncivill, nor to come a second time. I knew well it was a shift out of ill manners; that the King would bee no more angrie for his bidding mee welcome to his house, then for his comming to mine, but that I cared not to see him, but came in civilitie to requite that I tooke so in him. His man desired me to stay untill he told his Master my answer, but I would not, and returned: at night, I rode to Court to visit the King, who questioned about the Booke of Maps, but I did forbear any speech of my debts.

*Prince of Candahars  
uncivillitie.*

The five and twentieth, I rode to the Court very weake, to make triall of the King about our debts, for that Muckshud had also newly answered he had mist his Priganie, and knew not how to pay, but by his house. I delivered the King the Merchants Petition, which hee caused to bee read aloud, and the names of the debtors, and sureties, and summes distinctly, by Asaph Chan: which done, he called Araddan Chan, the chiefe of his

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officers of Household, and the Cutwall, and gave them order, but what I understood not; reading the names, hee questioned their abilities and qualities, and what goods they received, finding some dead, some strangers: concerning Rulph, Asaph Chan offered to speake to the Prince at his arrivall to finish it. My Interpreter was now called in, and the King converted to mee, giving this answer: That the Merchants had made debts at their owne wills, and not brought a note of their goods to him, therefore if the men were insufficient, it was at their perill, for that it was no reason to expect the money from him, which, I suppose, hee spake of his servant Hergonen, who being dead, his goods were seized for the Kings use: but seeing it was the first time, he would now assist mee, and cause our money to bee payed: but if hereafter the English would deliver their goods to his servants without money or acquainting him, they should stand to the hazard; but if when their commodities came to the Court, they would bring a Bill to him of all, he would first serve himselfe, and after distribute the rest to such as should buy that, and if any of them fayled, he would pay the money himselfe: this is indeed the custome of Persia Merchants, to bring all to the King, which I have often seene, who takes his choice, and delivers the rest to his Nobilitie, his Scrivanoes writing to whom, and his Officer cutting price; a Copy of which is given the Merchant, and hee goes to their houses for money; if they pay not, there is an expresse Officer that hath order by currant course to force them. Then was it told my Interpreter what command the King had given, that Arad Chan should call the debtors before him, and cause them to pay: but this pleased not our Merchants, I thought it both a just and gracious answer, better then in such cases private men can get of great Princes.

The King hearing I had been sicke, and wished for wine, gave me five bottles, and commanded when I had ended those, to send for five more, and so as I

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wanted ; and a fat Hogge, the fattest I ever saw, sent up by Mochreb Chan, that came from Goa, which at midnight was brought home by a Haddy with this message ; since it came to the King it had eaten nothing but Sugar and Butter. I tooke this as a signe of favour, and I am sure in that Court it is a great one. Then hee sent for the Map-booke, and told me he had shewed it his Mulaies, and no man could reade nor understand it, therefore if I would, I should have it againe : I answered, at his pleasure, and so it was returned.

*Mercator  
returned.*

The sixe and twentieth, there being a Raja in rebellion in the Hills, not past twentie Course from the Laskar, the King lately sent out two Umbras with Horse to fetch him in, but he defended his quarter, slew one of them, and twelve Maancipdares, and in all of both sides about five hundred, returning scornefull messages to the King to send his Sonne, for hee was no prey for ordinary forces.

*A Raja with-  
stood the Kings  
forces.*

The second of October, the Prince entred the Towne, and all the Great men in wondrous triumph : the King received him, as if he had no other, contrary to our expectation. Brampore left almost emptie under Chan Channa. I had sent to Asaph Chan, to excuse my not meeting him, for I was not able to stirre, nor had no Present. All the great men, and the Kings Mother, received him foure Course off. I sent also some of my servants with my just excuse, which his pride onely noddod at.

*October 2.*

The fifth, I received from Surat newes of our Ships arrivall, the Admirall missing, and her Prize of Mosambique ; the rest well, who had taken two English Ships, who were found in chase of the Queene Mothers ship returned from the Red-sea, which they fortunately rescued and brought safe in ; if she had been taken, we had all beene in trouble : with these the Companies Letter, invoyce, instructions for Persia, and divers other notes of advise, that by reason of the Admirals absence : they knew not what course to take with the men of

*English ships  
taken by the  
English.*

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[I. iv. 571.] Warre. I dispeeded to Surat orders, about all businesse, as appeares in my Letters.

*The Princes  
pride.*

The sixt, I rode to visite the Prince, at his usuall houre, to give him welcome, and to acquaint him with our businesse, determining to make offer of all respect to him, and to that end not to come emptie handed, and bought a fine Chaîne of gold, China worke. I sent in word; he returned that I should come next morning at Sunne rise, when he sate to be worshipped, or stay till his riding to Court, which I must have done at his doore. This I tooke in extreame scorne, his Father never denying me accesse; and his Pride is such, as may teach Lucifer: which made me answere roundly, I was not his Slave, but a free Ambassadors of a King, and that I would never more visite him, nor attend him, hee had refused me Justice; but at night I would see him with the King, to whom only I would addresse my selfe, and so departed.

At night I went to the King, who received me graciously. I made a reverence to the Prince, but he would not once stirre his head. Then I acquainted the King, that according to his order, I had brought an abstract of our ladings, desiring his command: after his manner he asked what and what, and was so wonderfully satisfied, especially with Arras, that he promised mee all favour, all priviledges, all that I would desire. He enquired for Dogges, which I could not answere, and for Jewels, which I told him they were dearer in England then in India, at which hee rested satisfied. I durst not name the Pearles for many reasons; if I had, our people had beene waylaid for by the Prince, and such snatching, as I could not avoyd infinite trouble: I knew I could bring them ashore, and to Court by stealth, that the lesser expected, the better welcome; but my maine reason was, I would make a friend by them. Therefore when Asaph Chan pressed me to know, I desired him to make that answere of dearenesse, and that I would speake with him alone; he soone understood me, and made excuse.

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The King being well pleased, I thought it good time to moove againe for the debts; and having my Petition ready, opened it, and offered it up: the King not marking, others discovered what it was, and knew the King would bee enraged that his order was neglected: whereat one stept to me, and clapt downe my hand gently, desiring me not to doe so. I answered, Aradake Chan had absolutely refused me Justice: at which he being by, came in, in much feare, calling Asaph Chan, desiring him to hinder me from complaint. I answered, our ships were arrived, and we could not forbear nor endure such delays: so they consulted together, and called the Cut-wall, giving order to execute the Kings command: who that night at midnight beset their Tents, and caught some of them, so that now we shall have reason.

I had great thanks of all the Umreies for protecting the Queenes ship, and our courtesie to their passengers, which they enformed the King, who tooke it kindly, and they all promised that they were obliged to love our Nation, and would doe them all service: but they wondered we could not governe our people, but that theeves could come out, without the Kings leave.

At the Kings rising, Asaph Chan carryed me with him to his retyring place, and there first we translated the Abstract into Persian, to shew the King an houre after: in which I inserted the money with some addition, because the King might perceive was brought profit to his Dominions; next the cloath and sorts, then the fine wares in generall: lastly the grosse commodities, desiring his Majestie to order what he would buy, and to give us liberty for the rest. This finished, Asaph Chan renewed the reason why I would speake alone, bad me be free, vowed and protested such friendship as I never could expect. I replied, The reason why I desired it, was to aske his counsell: for it was true I had somewhat, but my usage last yeare was so bad, that I durst not trust any, but that he might see how I replied on him, I was willing on his oath to reveale it, which he presently gave.

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I told him I had a rich Pearle, and some other ropes faire: I knew not whether it was fit to tell the King, lest the Prince were displeased; I told him how in the morning I had been to visite him, and his discourtesie, and my resolution: but that I knew his favour was so necessary for us, that I hoped I might recover it, by this one respect that I kept the Pearle for him. This I said was my purpose and reason I concealed it; he was father in law to him, and favorite of the King; I was ready to please both, and desired his advice. He embraced me, and began: I had done discreetly, but I should acquaint neither: if I did, I should never want trouble: the King would use me well, but keepe such a stirre to see it, and get it into his hand, according to custome, and then I must sue for mine owne. The Prince was ravenous and tyrannicall, and wearied all Nations. He bade mee steale all ashoare, trust none, and shewed mee many conveyances; bade me observe the usage of the Portugalls, how they were ransacked, and desired to buy it, which if I would grant it, I should have money in deposito, what I should aske, and he would for this trust of him, sollicite all my desires, that without him I could doe nothing. Now was an oportunitie to make a friend. I answered, I was willing, but I feared hee would reveale it; which having received his oath, and a ceremony of covenant by crossing thumbes, we embraced: I promised to be directed by him, and he to doe all that I required for the comming up of the rest; he would take order to give me Firmans, no man should touch any thing, but all come to me, to dispose of at pleasure. The Prince he would reconcile to me, and the next time he visited him, he would take me, and make him use me with all grace, and for other businesse it should not be in his power to crosse me, but if he did, he would assigne us a Syndic, which

[I. iv. 572.]

was in his government, or procure any other Port at my desire, and whatsoever I demanded should be performed faithfully. He also advised me to give his sister Normahall some toy; he said he would make the King give

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me money: to which I answered, I desire you to convert it into the well usage of my country-men, I asked no more.

Thus we rose, and he carryed me in to the King, with the Note translated, who gave mee all good usage; asked if the Arras were a Present: I answered yes, lest it should be seazed, for the Prince was by. In conclusion, hee said hee would buy all the parcell of cloath, and many other things, appointing me to send for it speedily; Asaph Chan to take order for a Firman from the Prince.

Thus I had a good night, and I knew though they are all ( ) yet in this he would deale truely, because it was to helpe himselfe, and durst not betray me till he had the Pearle, for feare to misse it, nor after, for having himselfe betrayed the Prince.

### §. IX.

Asaph Chan seeketh to further us for hope of gaine, so also Normahal: Master Steeles arrivall: Danger to the publike, by private trade: Stirres about a Fort.

**T**He twelfth, according to promise, Asaph Chan carried mee to the Prince, into his private roome, where I presented him with a small China Gold-chaine, in a China Cup, he used me indifferently: Asaph Chan perswaded him to alter his course towards us, telling him hee gained yearely by us a Lecke of Rupias at his Port: that it appeared we yearely encreased our trade, and it would in time bring profit; that if the hard measure were continued, we would quit both that and the Country, of which inconvenience would ensue. That we were his Subjects (such words he must use) if for desire of toyes he gave us discontent, we would practise to conceale all from him; but if hee gave us that libertie which was fit, wee would strive to bring all before him, for that I only studyed his content and favour for my particular; that he should receive mee, when I came to

*Asaph Chans  
friendship for  
hope of gaine.*

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visite him with honour, and according to my qualitie, it would encourage mee to doe him service, and content my Nation. Finally, hee moved him for a Firman for our present ease, and obtained it, promising all manner of content, and at instant gave order to Asaph Chan his Secretary, to draw it in every point according to my owne desires, and to write a Letter to the Governour in recommendations of it: and that I should at all times have any other Letter, when I called for it. It is easily seene with how base and unworthy men I traffique. Asaph Chan for a sordid hope only of buying some toyes, was so reconciled, as to betray his sonne, and to me obsequious, even to flattery: for the ground of all this friendship was, that he might buy the Gold taken in the prize, and some other knackes: to which end he desired to send downe a servant, which I could not deny without losing him, I had so long laboured to get: neither was it ill for us, for his payment is good, and it will save us much charge and trouble to sell aboard, especially wine and luggish that spoiles in cariage; and he obtained leave under false colours, and wrote to the Governour in our behalves, with all manner of kindnesse. There is a necessitie of his friendship, his word is law, and therefore I durst not see his unworthinesse, and hope by this course to winne him, at least to make present good use of him. Upon this occasion I moved for a Firman for Bengala, which he promised, and would never before hearken to: and this effect of his greatnesse I found, that hee prosecuted our debtors, as if his owne: and passing by the Cutwalls on his Elephant, called to command dispatch, which was an unusuall favour; upon which Groo was imprisoned, and Muckshu had two dayes libertie only to pay us; and I doubt not, but to end that in ten dayes, the summe being foure and forty thousand Rupias, and the debtors most shifting false knaves in India.

The one and twentieth, at this instant, came in to me from Asaph Chan, a servant, in the name of Normahal, that shee had moved the Prince for another Firman, that



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all our goods might bee in her protection, and that shee had obtained it, and was readie to send down her servant with that, to see and take order for our good establishment, that shee would see that wee should not bee wronged. That Asaph Chan had done this for feare of the Princes violence, and because of his delayes; that now hee was sure that his sister had desired to bee our Protectresse, that the Prince would not meddle, that upon his honour I should receive all things consigned to mee; that shee had written such a command, and charged her servant to assist our Factors, so that we should have never more cause to complaine of Surat. Therefore hee desired of mee two or three words to the Captaine and Factors to use him kindly, and to let him buy for her some toyes, such as I would spare. This I durst not deny, though I saw the greedinesse; and gave him a note on condition to see the Copy of the Firman which was sealed, and I could not without leave, and so he was dispeeded: but you may by this judge this place, how easie it were to raise a stocke: last year, wee were not [I. iv. 573.] looked after. Now because I translated the Cargazon of fine wares (yet concealed the Pearle) and gave it the King; every one is ready to runne downe to buy; Normahall and Asaph Chan studying to doe me good offices; many great men desiring a letter to send their servants downe, so that if you had treble this stocke, it would be bought up aboard, and save you custome, and carriage, and spoile: for which purpose out of this I have ordered your Factory to sell to the servants of Normahall and her brother, whatsoever may bee spared, so that I may bee fitted at Court in any proportion. Thus I shall save trouble and you charge, the Prince prevented, and our friends confirmed, and yet I hope sufficient for to please the King and his sonne: at the delivery of which Asaph Chan hath undertaken the Firman for Bengala, or any Port, and a generall command and grant of free Priviledges in all his Dominions.

The foure and twentieth, the King departed Mandoa

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four Course, and wandering in the hills, left us irresolute what way to take, no man knowing his purpose. The six and twentieth, I got a warrant for ten Camels at the Kings price. The nine and twentieth, I removed after: forced away by the desolations of the place.

The one and thirtieth, I arrived at the Kings Tents, but found him gone with few company for ten dayes a hunting, no man to follow without leave, the Leskar divided and scattered into many parts, ill water, deare provisions, sicknesse and all sorts of calamitie accompanying so infinite a multitude; yet nothing remooves him from following this monstrous appetite. Heere I understood the Kings purpose was uncertaine, whether for Agra or Guzerat; the latter given out; the former more probable, because his Councell desired to be at rest: but that how ever for the dispatch of my businesse, seeing hee would linger heere about a moneth, I was advised, and thought it as fit to send for the goods and Presents, as to deferre it upon uncertainties, being that dispatched, I had hope of some quiet in this course: I wore out my body, being very weake, and not like to recover upon daily travell in the fields, with cold raw muddie water.

*November 2.  
Master Steeles  
projects ques-  
tioned.*

The second of November, arrived Richard Steele and Master Jackson, with the Pearle and some other small matters stollen ashoare, according to my order, which I received and gave quittance for: with him I had conference about his projects, which because I would not rashly reject them, as he had set them afoot, after having made him see his fancies, and understand the qualitie of these people, how for the water-worke, if to bee effected, it must bee begunne at our charge, and after triall, we shall not enjoy the profit, but the Naturalls taught, and our people rejected; neither our commoditie vented by it, for that the Lead will treble his price by portage overland; and cannot bee delivered at Agra so cheape as found there: yet I was content hee should make triall for satisfaction by carrying his work-men to Amadavas, to meete mee there, where by assistance of Mocrib Chan,

who only is a friend to new inventions I would make offer to the King of their industry, and make prooffe what conditions may be obtained; but in my judgement it is all money and labour cast away. The Company must shut their eares against these projectors, who have their owne employments more in their ends, then their Masters profits: many things hold well in discourse, and in the theorique satisfie curious imaginations, but in practice and execution are found difficult and ayrie, especially to alter the constant received customes of Kingdomes, where some drinke only raine-water, some of a holy River, some none but what is fetched by their owne cost: his second of reducing the Caffilaes and Merchants of Lahor and Agra, by the River Indus, that used to passe by Candahor into Persia, to transport by sea in our shipping for Jasques or the Gulph, is a meere dreame, some man in conference may wish it, but none ever practise it. The River is indifferently navigable downe, but the mouth is the residence of the Portugalls, returnes backe against the streame very difficult. Finally, wee must warrant their goods, which a Fleet will not doe, neither did the Portugall ever lade or noise such goods but only for those of Sindie and Tatta, that traded by their owne Junckes, they gave a Cartas or Passe to secure them from their Frigats, and traded with them, for which they payed a small matter, and that onely which came to the purses of the Grand of Diu, Damon and Ormus, or if all other difficulties were taken away, yet will the Lahornes never bee drawne downe, being that Caffila consists most of returning Persians and Armenians that knew the passage from Jasques almost as bad, as from Candahor, and for that little on the Confines of Sinde not worth mentioning. Notwithstanding for his better satisfaction, I was content hee should by experience learne his owne errours, so it were not at the Companies charge, but I suppose hee will let it fall, not knowing at which end to beginne.

A third project for to joyne the Trade of the Red Sea with this, I recommended to him, for that it was alreadie

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in use, and the perill for the Guzurats very apparant, therefore I doubted not some Merchants might be drawne to lade in our ships at freight, whereby wee should make our selves necessary friends to these people, supply our owne defects, save export of monies, and finally, for this yeare employ one ship of the olde account that should returne in September: and receive the proceed of the remaynes of this joynt stocke, which will be sufficient to re-lade a great ship, otherwise to transport it over will be extreame losse. This I opened and urged the consequence shewed which way to effect it, and commended by him to the Commander, the Cape Merchant, and your Factors with all earnestnesse, as by my Letters appeares. The consequence I will make evident in your profit, if they follow it, for were the goods and estate all my owne, if I could not procure somewhat towards charge by freight from the Guzurats, yet having so many emptie vessels for so small a stocke, and two fallen into your hands of men of warre, I had rather goe emptie, and for company with them, then to omit that: there are many chances in that Sea, and in the way her returne onely of our owne remaynes, shall requite all forbearance; and be readie in time, for employed she must be if we intend to send the rest upon this account, for that here is no harbourage at his arrivall. I found him high in his conceits, having somewhat forgotten me, Master Kerridge and him at warres, which I endeavoured to temper on all parts, but for his Wife I dealt with him cleerely, she could not stay with our safety, nor his Masters content; that he had ruined his fortunes, if by amends hee repayred it not; that shee should not travell nor live on the Companies Purse; I know the charge of women, that if he were content to live himselfe like a Merchant, as others did frugally, and to be ordered for the Companies service and to send home his Wife, he was welcome: otherwise, I must take a course with both, against my nature. Having to this perswaded him, I likewise practised the discouragement of Captaine Towerson about his Wife,

[I. iv. 574.]

*His Wife.*

*Danger by  
bringing  
Wives.*

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(you know not the danger, the trouble, the inconvenience of granting these liberties) to effect this, I perswaded Abraham his Father in Law here to hold fast: I wrote to them the gripings of this Court, the small hope or reliefe from his alliance, who expected great matters from him. Finally I perswaded his returne quietly. To further this, I wrote to your chiefe Factor, that such things as hee had brought and were vendible, should bee brought to your use by Bill of exchange to such profit for him, as both might save; and this inconvenience you bring on your selves by liberties unreasonable. But to take tye of his trash to lye upon your hands, upon any condition I did prohibit.

I find by your Letter your strict command in private Trade, as well for your owne Servants as others, whereby I collect, you meane not that he shall have that libertie hee expects, for he is furnished for above one thousand pound sterling, first penny here, and Steele at least two hundred pound, which he presumes sending home his Wife, his credit and merit is so good towards you, that you will admit in this case to be rid of such cattell, I will not buy, but order that it be marked and consigned to you, that you may measure your owne hand. You discourage all your olde Servants, some may doe all things for faire words, some nothing for good actions: I could instance some gone home two yeares since, that onely employed their owne stocke, did no other businesse, and live now at home in pleasure, others that raise their fortunes upon your monies, from Port to Port, and returne rich and unquestioned. Last yeare a Mariner had sixe and twentie Churles of Indico, others many Fardles, a third seven thousand Mamudes, first pennie in Baroach, Bastaes, chosen apart, for hee invested your Monies, and it is probable hee chose not the worst for himselfe: a fourth, above one hundred and fiftie pound first pennie. These I mention not for spight, but to move you to equalitie, neither by their example these may escape, for they swallow you up, but that an indifferent restraint be executed upon all.

*Publike losse  
by private  
Trade.*

*The names are  
omitted.*

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*Inventory of  
the goods in the  
men of Warre.*

For the effecting of all these purposes, the sending home the woman and the prosecution of the Red Sea, I send backe Richard Steele with orders to Surat, having altered my purpose of the goods and Presents from the Leskar, it beeing declared that the King will for Guzurat, where I have appointed Richard Steele, after having dispatched other matters, to meet with them and his Ingeniers. I also sent my advice and directions to Captaine Pring, to take an Inventorie of all the Monies and goods in the two men of Warre, to make it over to your stocke and land it, to sell or dispose of the ships, as his occasion shall require, the monies, if sold, to be put to stocke, to grant passage to some of the Chiefes, to entertaine the rest and to referre it to you at home, whom you will deale with the Owners that set them out. My opinion is peremptory, that their surprize is just and justifiable, all their goods forfeited: if you will restore any thing, at your courtesie; but with the more rigour you deale with these, the better example you will leave for such barbarous Piracies: for if this course be practised, take your leave of all Trade about Surat, and the Red Sea, and let the Company of Turkie stand cleere of the Grand Signors revenge, and we heere must expect cold Irons.

*Normahal a  
friend to the  
English.*

The sixth, I went to Asaph Chans, having received his Passe, unto whom I shewed the Pearle according to promise, though the sorts fit not the Countrey just as I was informed hereafter, yet their performance with him gave him such content, that I am confident, I may use Pharaohs words, The Land is before you, dwell where you will, you and your Servants: for the price wee talked not, but he vowed such secrecie: and for my sake, who have shewed this confidence in him, hee will give more then their worth, and not returne one, and pay readie mony, of which hee professeth not to want, and to lend mee what I want: his Sister I have promised to visit, whom hee hath made our protectresse, and briefly whatsoever contentment words can bring I receive, and some good effects.

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When the Presents arrive, assure you I will not be liberall to your losse, little shall serve. Asaph Chan admonisheth mee himselfe, so they came with somewhat to induce them, as well accepted, bought as given: experience of others makes mee to approve of this doctrine.

Finishing these complements with him in his Bed-chamber, he rose to Dinner having invited me and my people: but me and friends dined without, appointing mee a messe with him apart, for they eate not willingly with us; where I had good cheere and well attended; the reversion for my servants. [I. iv. 575.]

After dinner, I moved Groos debt, told him the delays. Hee answered, I should not open my lips, he had undertaken it, that Groo by his meanes was finishing accounts with a Jeweller; that hee had ordered, as money was paid, it should rest in the Cutwalls hand for us; which I found true: and the Cutwall promised to finish it in three dayes, desiring mee to send no more to Asaph Chan.

I cannot omit a basenesse or favour, according as you will interpret it. The King when his Prisons are full of condemned men, some he commands to be executed, some he sends to his Umraes to redeeme at a price: this he esteemes as a courtesie, to give meanes to exercise charitie, but he takes the money, and so sels the vertue.

About a moneth before our remove he sent to mee, to buy three Abassines (for fortie Rupias a man) whom they suppose all Christians. I answered, I could not buy men as Slaves, as others did, and so had profit for their money, but in charity I would give twenty Rupias a piece to save their lives, and give them libertie. The King tooke my answere well, and bade them to be sent me. They expected money, and I was not hastie; hearing no more of it, I hoped it had beene forgotten: but his words are written Decrees. This night the Officers seeing I sent not, delivered the Prisoners into my Procuradors power, and tooke his Screete for

*Redeeming of  
Prisoners.*

*Dixit &  
edictum est:  
fatur & est  
fatum.*

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sixtie Rupias, which at my returne I payed, and freed the Slaves.

*Causelesse  
jealousies  
touching a  
Fort.*

The tenth, I visited Asaph Chan, having received advise from Surat of a new Firman, come downe to disarrive all the English, and some other restrictions of their libertie: upon a complaint made to the Prince, that we intended to build a Fort at Swally, and that our shippes were laden with Bricke and Lime for that end: which suspition arose only by bringing a few on shoare to sound the ships bell; yet the Alarum came to Court so hot, that I was called to answer; which when I made it appeare how absurd the feare was, how dishonorable for the King, how unfit the place for us, without water or harbourage: yet the jealousie was so strongly imprinted, because formerly I had demanded a River by Goya for that end, that I could hardly perswade the Prince we intended not some surprise. By this you may judge, how easie it were to get a Port for our selves, if you affected it, which I can, neither so profitable for you, nor a place tenable. Notwithstanding all remonstrances, this furnace must be demolished, and a Haddey of horse sent downe to see it effected. The disarming of our men, being all that our people stomacked, though it was only to leave their weapons in the Custome-house, and that only of the ships company, though it were quieter for us, except they were often more civill: yet I told Asaph Chan wee would not endure the slavery, nor I stay in the Countrey, that one day the Prince sent a Firman for our good usage and grant of Priviledges, the next day countermanded it; that there was no faith nor honour in such proceedings, neither could I answer my residence longer. He replied, at night hee would moove the King, before the Prince, and give me answer.

The thirteenth, I revisited Asaph Chan: he told me wondrous matters of the Kings affection to my Sovereigne, to my Nation, and to mee; that hee had ventured the Princes disfavour for our sakes, and had full promise for a new reformation: but because he feared the Princes



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dealing, he gave me this assurance, that he would take the Prigany of Surat, which the Prince must leave, being made Governour of Amadavas, Cambaya, and that Territorie: and to give me satisfaction that he had not dissembled with me, he desired me to come at night to Court, and bring the King my Masters Letter and the translation, the oportunitie was faire to deliver it: upon the occasion of which, he bade me persist in my complaints, and offer to take leave; I should then see what he would say for us, and so I should beleieve my selfe. At evening I went to the King, it beeing a very full Court, and presented my Letter, which (the King sitting on the ground) was layd before him; and he busie, tooke no great notice. Asaph Chan whispered his Father in the eare, desiring him to reade the Letter, and to assist us, for that he might better begin that then himselfe, Etimon Dowlet tooke up both Letters, gave the English to the King, and read the translated; to which when the King had answered many words of complaint, to that point of procuring our quiet Trade, by his authoritie among the Portugals, he demanded if he would make peace. I answered, his Majestie knew long since, I offered to be governed by him, and referred it to his wisdome, and had expected his pleasure: he replied, hee would undertake absolutely to accord us, and to make agreement in his Seas, which he would by answere to my Masters Letters signifie, and therein give him content in all other his friendly desires. Notwithstanding, I demanded leave to goe before to Amadavas to meet the Kings Presents, and to prepare for my returne. Upon which motion, the question grew betweene the King and the Prince, who complained that he had no profit by us, and that he was content to be rid of us. Asaph Chan tooke the turne, and very roundly told the King, that we brought both profit to the Port, to the Kingdome, and securitie; that we were used very rudely by the Princes servants, and that it was not possible for us to reside without amends; it were more honourable for his Majestie to

*Etimon Dowlet  
for the English.*

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[I. iv. 576.] licence us, then to intreate us so discourteously, for it would be the end. The Prince replied very cholerickly, that he had never done us wrong, and had lately given mee a Firman at his entreatie. He replies, It is true, you gave a Firman to his content, and in ten dayes sent another, in effect, to contradict it, that he stood surety between both, had undertaken from the Princes mouth our redresse, but now he had the shame and dishonour of it: that he ought me nothing, nor I him; he spake for no ends, but for the Kings Honor and Justice, in that which he said that he did us no wrong, he must appeale to me, who complayned that our goods were taken by force, that two yeeres past Rulph had begun it, would never pay us, and his Officers continued every shipping; that if the Prince were weary of us, he might turne us out, but then he must expect we would doe our owne Justice upon the Seas. He demanded if the King or Prince gave mee meanes to eate, or who did? That I was an Ambassadour and a stranger, that lived and followed the King at great charge; that if our goods were forced, and after we could get neither goods nor money, how should I live and maintayne my selfe.

This delivered with some heate, the King caught the word, Force, Force, redoubling it to his sonne, and gave him sharpe reprehension: the Prince promised to see me paid all; that he had taken nothing, but only caused the Presents to be sealed, because his Officers had no Custome, and desired to have them opened before him, I absolutely refused it: also I told the King, I would only doe my dutie to my Master, in delivering his Presents free, after I would give the Prince all content.

Etimon Dowlet, who is alway indifferent, and now by his sonne made our friend, whispered with the King, and read a clause or two in my Masters Letter; at which the King made his son rise and stand aside. Asaph Chan joyned in this private conference (which they told me was for my good) and in conclusion, the Prince was called, commanded to suffer all the goods to come to my

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hands quietly, to give me such priviledges as were fit, which Asaph Chan should propound. The Prince would not yeeld the Presents, except Asaph Chan would stand surety that he should have a share, which he did; and then we all agreed upon that point. The King giving mee many good words, and two pieces of his Pawne out of his dish, to eate of the same he was eating. Then I tooke leave to goe to Amadavas, to meet the Presents, and so we parted. At night I set on my journey, leaving my Tents, supposing the next day to reach the Citie, but I rode two nights, a day and a halfe with one baite upon straw, and the fifteenth at noone arrived at Amadavas.

The eight of Januarie, there was some question about Presents, the Prince asking for them: I answered, they were readie, if hee pleased to receive his. Then hee demanded, why I brake his seales? I told him, it was dishonorable for me to bring a Kings gifts in bonds, and great discourtesie to set seales upon them: I expected and attended his licence twentie daies, but seeing no hope, I was enforced to doe it. Some heate began: at which appeared a Gentleman of the Kings, who was sent to observe the passage, and to stickle, and told us both, the King commanded wee should come before him at a Garden, where he sate, a Course out of Towne, upon the River. So the Prince tooke his Palankee, and I a Coach, well attended by servants both of father and son. When I came to the gates the Women were entring, and then no man can but the Prince; who made within a bitter complaint against mee, that I had dared to cut his seales, and to take out what I list. Asaph Chan was called for, who was my suretie, and the Prince laid it on him: he, as the custome is, denied it, excused himselfe, yet I had not accused him, but tooke it upon me, as knowing my selfe better able to beare it, and that he would denie it. Then I was sent for to the water-side, where the King sate privately, where I entered, with mee the Presents; but the King was within

*Januarie 8.  
Words  
betwixt the  
Prince and the  
Ambassadour  
about Presents.*

*Custome to  
disavow the  
Kings word, if  
he will not  
acknowledge  
it, Ait, aio;  
Negat, nego.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

amongst his Women. Asaph Chan chafed at mee, for breaking his word, told mee, the Prince had shamed him: I replied by Jaddow, You know I had your consent, this man is witnesse; he denyed it to us both: I replied, Though I would not cast it upon him, it was true, for I had witnesse: Jaddow would not returne the answere, but told me he might not tell him he lyed to his face: and this is usuall, if any command come from the King that he forgets, he that brought the message will disavow it. I bore up as high as I could; the great men told me it was a great affront, no man durst doe such a thing; others smiled: I answered, Not so great as the Prince had done me often. Thus we spent the day, and the King appeared not, but privately stole away, leaving us all sitting in expectance.

At night word came the King was gone, and I offered to goe home, but was so well attended, I could not but by force: in the way new messengers came to seeke mee, and I arrived backe at the Kings Court, not having eaten or drunke; but the King was not come in, nor could I get loose of my attendants, but they used me very respectfully, we sate an houre. Suddenly newes came to put out all lights, the King was come, who entred on an open Waggon, with his Normahall, drawne by Bullocks, himselfe Carter, and no man neare. When hee and his Women were housed, the Prince came in a horse-backe, and entring in, called for me: I found them alone with two or three\* Capons, and about mid-night the King set on it an angrie countenance, told mee I had broken my word, that he would trust me no more, (the Prince had desired him to doe so:) I answered as roundly, I held it fit to give freely, I had done nothing of offence in my owne judgement; if their customes were other, it was ignorance, and I must bee pardoned; wee had many disputes; at last, the Prince interposed, offered his friendship, and wee were all reconciled fully, and promises too large. Then I opened the Chests, gave the King his Presents, the Prince his, and sent in that

*The Kings  
Chariot  
drawn by  
Bullocks.*

*\* Eunuchs.*

[I. iv. 577.]

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for Normahall: we were above two houres in viewing them. The Arras he tooke well, but said it was course, desired to have a Sute of such, as the sweet Bagge: and wee concluded that in the morning I should come to the Prince, that he should be my Protector and Procurator, the goods except. Three things more then Presents were there returned mee: for those three the Prince told me he would pay, seeing his father tooke them.

The tenth, I went to the Prince, was received with all favour, had order for a Firman for the man murdered, a declaration of his reconcilment in publike, command to all his Officers to take knowledge, and to his chiefe Raja to be my Procurator, and to draw what Firmans so ever I desired. I presented Captaine Towerson and some English, whom hee used with grace, and for a signe of this peace, gave me a Cloth of silver cloak, and promised to be the Protector of our Nation in all things. I told him of Master Steele and his Work-men: he desired me to bring a small Present to his father at night, hee would present them, which I did. Hee kept his word, and spake for us to him, who was willing enough. I presented Captaine Towerson to the King, who called for him up, and after a few questions rose. At the Gushel Choes, I presented Master Steele and his Work-men: the King sate in a Hat I gave him all night, called for Master Paynter, and after much Discourse, gave him ten pounds, and promised to entertayne the rest.

The thirteenth, the Dutch came to Court with a great Present of China ware, Sanders, Parrats and Cloaves; but were not suffered to come neere the third degree: at last the Prince asked me who they were: I replied, The Hollanders, resident in Surat. Hee demanded if they were our friends: I replied, they were a Nation depending on the King of England, but not welcome in all places; their businesse I knew not. He said, for being our friends, I should call them up, and so I was enforced to send for them to deliver their Present: they were placed by our Merchants, without any speech or

*Present of the  
Dutch.*

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further conference. Finally, I had all granted I desired, I attend the performance and money: and thus I conclude, that without this contestation I had never gotten any thing: for I told the Princes Messenger in the presence of all the English, that if he used force to me or my goods, he might doe his pleasure, but it should cost blood: that I would set my Chop upon his Masters ship, and send her for England.

*Spragge and  
Howard  
accused.*

The eighteenth, I received from Surat of the imprisonment of Spragge and Howard, at Brampoore, their house and goods seized, their lives in question, for drinking with the Cutwall in their house, that one of the Cutwalls men dyed that night; upon which they stand accused of Poyson: and the Cutwall to free himselfe of comming into the house, pretended that he came to fetch a mans wife away from Thomas Spragge. What the truth is I know not: Information is come to the King against them: and I went to the Prince, who undertooke all my causes: but could not speake with him: with the same came complaint of a force used to the Caffila upon the way, notwithstanding the Firman sent by the Raja of the Countrey, in both which to night I will make petition to the King. My toyle with barbarous unjust people is beyond patience: at the Princes I found the Firman promised, drawne, but halfe the conditions agreed on left out, upon which I refused it, and desired nothing but leave to depart to treat with these in the Sea.

The one and twentieth, a command to free the English, and their goods, and that if the Moore came into their house to drinke, if they killed him with a Dagger, hee had his just reward. The second to Raja Partapshaw, to repay us all exactions whatsoever, not to take hereafter any dutie upon the way towards his Port; and in case of failing, that he would deliver his sonne into my hands; he further ordered the delivery of the Firman for Surat, the Articles by mee demanded, and to pay us all our debts of Surat, and to cut it off upon his Mancipdaries, that had taken that, without delay, he called to

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account his old Customers, charged the new to use us as his friends, shewed as much favour publikely as I could require. I mooved expedition; he replied, To morrow by nine in the morning all should be delivered into my hands.

The two and twentieth, I went my selfe to receive them; and carryed the Merchants, with some Pearle, that the Prince had bin instant to see, pretended to be Master Towersons: but he had received some uncertaine information of Pearles, to the value of twentie or thirtie thousand pound, which he hoped to draw from us. When his Secretarie saw the small sorts, he replied, the Prince had Mands of these: if we brought no better commoditie, wee might be gone, he cared not for our custome: how basely false, and covetous are those of Jewels, you may judge. I undertooke reply, that I had procured those from a Gentlewoman to satisfie them; if they liked them not, they could not be made better, it was incivility to be angry with Merchants for their good will, but told him I came for my Firmans, and expected them: I was answered, wee had deceived their hopes, and the Prince would deceive ours; Firman I should have none, I had asked leave to depart, I might come and take leave when I pleased. I answered, nothing contented mee more, but that I would visit their injustice in an indifferent place; that I would speake with the King, and depend no more on them, for I saw all was covetousnesse and unworthinesse: so I rose and parted; but he recalled me to come to the King and Prince together the next day, I should have content.

**A**Nd now Reader, we are at a stand: some more idle, [I. iv. 578.] or more busie spirits, willing either to take their rest, or to exchange their labour; and some perhaps wishing they had the whole Journall, and not thus contracted into Extracts of those things out of it, which I conceived more fit for the publike. And for the whole, my selfe could have wished it, but neither with the Honourable Com-

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pany, nor else-where could learne of it: the worthy Knight himselfe being now employed in like Honourable Embassage from his Majestie to the Great Turke. Yet to supply the defect of the Journall, I have given thee the Chorography of the Countrey. Certaine Letters of his, written thence to his Honourable Lords and friends in England, out of all which well wrought on by an understanding spirit, may bee hewed and framed a delightfull Commentary of the Mogoll and his Subjects. Take them therefore Reader, and use them as a Prospective Glasse, by which thou maist take easie and neere view of those remote Regions, People, Rites, Religions.

And first here followes a description of the Countrey both by Map and Writing, and after them the Letters passing mutually betwixt his Majestie and the Mogoll, and lastly, those of Sir Thomas Roe afore-said.

### §. X.

The severall Kingdomes and Provinces subject to the Great Mogoll Sha Selim Gehangies, with the Principall Cities and Rivers, the scituation and borders, and extent in length and breadth, as neere as by description I could gather them. The names I tooke out of the Kings Register: I begin at the North-west.

1.  Andahar, the chiefe Citie so called, lyes from the heart of all his Territorie North-west, confines with the Shabas, and was a Province of Persia.

2. Tata, the chiefe Citie so called, is divided by the River Indus, which fals into the Sea at Sindu, and lyes from Candahar South, from the middle of which, I suppose Agra West, some-what Southerly.

3. Buckar, the chiefe Citie so called, Buckar Suckar, lyes upon the River Sindu or Indus, to the North-ward, some-what Easterly of Tata, and West Confines upon the Baloaches, a kind of rude Warlike people.



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4. Multan, the chiefe Citie so called lying also upon Indus, East from Candahar, North from Buckar.

5. Haagickan, the Kingdome of the Boloaches, to the West of Tata and Bachar, and confines West upon the Kingdome of Lar, subject to the Shabas. Indus windeth it selfe into the Easter-side of it, it hath no renowned Citie.

6. Cabull, the Citie so called, a great Kingdome, the Northermost of this Emperours Dominions, and confineth with Tartaria.

7. Kyshmier, the chiefe Citie is called Sirivaker, the River of Bhat passeth through it, and findeth the Sea by Ganges, or some say of it selfe in the North part of the Bay of Bengala, it bordereth Cabul to the East Southerly, it is all Mountaines.

8. Bankish, the chiefe Citie is called Beishar.

9. Atack, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth on one side the River Nilab, which runneth the North-west into the River Indus.

10. The Kingdome of the Kataries, lyes at the foot of the Mountaines: it hath principall Cities, Dankely and Purhola, it bordereth North-east on Kishimer.

11. Pen-Jab, which signifieth five waters, for that it is seated within five Rivers. The chiefe Citie is called Lahor, it is a great Kingdome and most fruitfull, the Citie is the Mart of India for Traffique, it borders North-east on Multan.

12. Janba, the chiefe Citie so called: it lyeth East on Pen-Jab, it is very mountaynous.

13. Peitan, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth East of Jenba, and from the North-west Bengala it is full of Mountaines.

14. Nakarkut, the chiefe Citie so called, the North Eastermost confine of Mogor, it lyes to the North-east of the head of the Bay of Bengala, it is very mountaynous.

15. Siba, the chiefe Citie so called, it borders with Nakarkut Southerly, it is all Mountainous.

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16. Jesuall, the chiefe Citie so called Ragepar, it bordereth with Bengala South-east North, and with Siba and Nakarkat, it is full of Mountaines.

[I. iv. 579.] 17. Delly, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth on the North-west side of the River Jemvie, which falleth into Ganges, and runneth through Agra: it is an ancient Citie, and the seat of the Mogols Ancestors, it is ruined: some affirme it to have beene the seat of Porus conquered by Alexander, and that there stands a Pillar with a Greeke Inscription.

18. Meuat, the chiefe Citie called Narnol, it lyeth on the East of Ganges.

19. Sanball, the chiefe Citie so called: it lyeth between Ganges and Jemvi to the North-west of their meeting.

20. Bakar, the chiefe Citie is called Bikaneer, it bordereth North-west on Ganges.

21. Agra, a principall and great Kingdome, the Citie so called, the heart of the Mogolls Territorie, in North latitude about twentie eight degrees and an halfe: it lyeth most on the South-west side of Jemvi, the Citie upon the River, where one of the Emperours Treasuries are kept. From Agra to Lahor, being three hundred and twentie Course, which is not lesse then seven hundred miles, it is all a plaine, and the high-way planted on both sides with trees like a delicate walke: it is one of the great workes and wonders of the World.

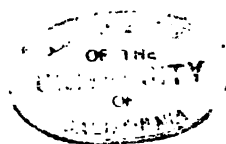
22. Jenupar, the Citie so called, upon the River of Kaul, which I suppose to bee one of the five Rivers inclosing Lahor, and the Countrey lyeth betweene it and Agra, North-west from one, South-east from the other.

23. Banda, the chiefe Citie so called, it confineth Agra to the West.

24. Patna, the chiefe Citie so called, it is inclosed by foure great Rivers; Ganges, Jemna, Serseli, and Kanda, so that it lyeth from Agra South-east towards the Bay of Bengala, where all these pay Tribute.

25. Gor, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth toward the head of Ganges.





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26. Bengala, A mightie Kingdome inclosing the West-side of the Bay on the North, and windeth South-westerly, it bordereth on Cormandell, and the chiefe Cities are Ragmehhell and Dekaka, there are many havens, as Port Grand, Port Pequina, traded by the Portugals, Philipatan, Satigam, it contayneth divers Provinces, as that of Purp and Patan.

27. Roch, It hath no Citie of note, and bordereth on the South-west, East of Bengala and the Bay.

28. Udeza, the chiefe Citie Jekanat, it is the utmost East of the Mogols Territorie beyond the Bay, and confined with the Kingdome of Maug, a savage people lying betweene Udeza and Pegu.

29. Candwana, the chiefe Citie is called Kerhakatenkah, it lyeth South-west of the South of Bengala.

30. Kualiar, the chiefe Citie so called, it lyeth to the South-east of Kandwana, and bordereth on Burhampur.

31. Chandes, the chiefe Citie called Burhampur, a great Kingdome, one of the ancient seats of Decan, and conquered from them, it lyeth East on Guzarat, South of Chitor, West of Decan, and it is watered with the River Tabeti, which falleth West into the Bay of Cambaya, it is now the seat of the Decan.

32. Malva, the chiefe Cities called Ugen, Narr, and Sering, it lyeth West of Chandes, betweene that and the Countrey of Ranna, on the East of the River Sapra, which fals into the Bay of Cambaya, not farre from Surat.

33. Berar, the chiefe Citie is called Shahpur, it bordereth on Guzerat, and the hils of Ranna.

34. Guzerat, A goodly Kingdome inclosing the Bay of Cambaya, the chiefe Citie is Amadavar, it contains the Citie and Government of Cambaya, the beautie of India, the Territorie and Citie of Surat, and Baroach: it is watred with many goodly Rivers, as that of Cambaya falsly supposed to be Indus, the River of Narbadah, falling into the Sea at Baroach, that of Surat, and divers others, it trades to the Red Sea, to Achin, and many places.

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*\*Let not the diversitie of names trouble any in so remote tongues and differing pronuntiations: if any other difficulties happen in comparing this discourse with the Map or Relations I confesse, I would have sought better to satisfie my selfe, if Sir T. Roe had bin at home. As for Courses they are diversly taken (as Southerne and Northerne miles with us) in some places longer, in others shorter, which causeth scruple in the computation.*  
[I. iv. 580.]

35. Soret, the chiefe Citie called Ganagar, it lyeth to the North-west of Guzeret.

36. Narvar, the chiefe Citie called Ghehud, lyeth South-west from Chitor.

37. Chitor, an ancient great Kingdome, the Citie so called on a mightie hill, walled about ten English miles. There stands yet above an hundred Churches, the Palace of the King, many brave Pillers of carved stone. There is but one ascent cut out of the Rocke, passing foure magnificent gates, there remayne the ruines of an hundred thousand houses of stone. It is un-habited, it was doubtlesse one of the seats of Porus, and was wonne from Ranna, his issue by Ecbarshaw the last Mogoll. Ranna flying into the strength of his Kingdome among the Mountaines, seated himselfe at Odepoore, who was brought to acknowledge the Mogol for his Superiour Lord, by Sultan Caronne, third sonne of the present Emperour, in the yeare 1614. This Kingdome lyeth North-west from Chandes, and North-east from the North-west of Guzerat, in the way betweene Agra and Surat: Ranna himselfe keeps the hils to the West, neere Amadavar.

The length \* is North-west to South-east. From Chandahar to Lahor, three hundred and fiftie Courses, about eight hundred miles.

From Lahor to Agra, three hundred and twentie Courses, about seven hundred fiftie two miles.

From Agra to Hhagipurpatua three hundred Courses, about sixe hundred and eightie miles.

From Hhagipurpatua to Kirasunder, three hundred Courses, about sixe hundred and seventie miles.

In all, Courses one thousand two hundred and seventie Miles, about two thousand, eight hundred seventie two.

The breadth in all is North-east to South-west from Hardvar to Duarsa, sixe hundred and fiftie Courses, about fiftene hundred miles.

## LETTERS FROM KING JAMES

A.D.  
1614.

The Kings Letters sent to Selim Shagh the Great Mogar, in the yeare 1614. by Sir Thomas Roe.

**J**AMES, by the Grace of Almighty God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian Faith, &c.

To the high and mightie Monarch the Great Mogor, King of the Orientall Indies, of Chandahar, of Chismer and Corazon, &c. Greeting.

We having notice of your great favour toward Us and Our Subjects, by Your Great Firma to all Your Capitaines of Rivers, and Officers of Your Customes, for the entertaynement of Our loving Subjects the English Nation with all kind respect, at what time soever they shall arrive at any of the Ports within Your Dominions, and that they may have quiet Trade and Commerce without any kind of hinderance or molestation, &c. As by the Articles concluded by Suc Suff Governour of the Guzerats, in Your Name, with Our loving Subject Captaine Thomas Best appeareth: Have thought it meete to send unto You Our Ambassadors, which may more fully and at large handle and treat of such matters as are fit to be considered of, concerning that good and friendly correspondence, which is so lately begunne betweene Us: and which will without doubt redound to the honour and utilitie of both Nations. In which consideration, and for the furthering of such laudable Commerce, Wee have made choice of Sir Thomas Roe Knight, one of the principall Gentlemen of Our Court, to whom Wee have given Commission under Our Great Seale of England, together with directions and instructions further to treat of such matters as may be for the continuance and increase of the utilitie and profit of each others Subjects: to whom We pray You to give favour and credit in whatsoever Hee shall moove or propound toward the establishing and enlarging of the same. And for confirmation of our good inclination, and wel-wishing toward You, We pray You to accept in good part the Present, which our said Ambassadors will deliver unto

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

You, And so doe commit You to the mercifull protection  
of Almighty God.

A Copie of the Grand Moghor his Letter  
to the King.

✓ **U**Nto a King rightly descended from his Ancestors,  
bred in Military Affaires, and clothed with Honour  
and Justice,

A Commander worthy of all command, strong and constant in Religion, which the great Prophet Christ did teach, King James, whose love hath bred such impression in my thoughts, as shall never be forgotten, but as the smell of Amber, or as a Garden of fragrant flowers whose beautie and odour is still increasing, so be assured my love shall grow and increase with yours.

**Y**Our Letter which you sent me in the behalfe of your Merchants, I have received, whereby I rest satisfied in Your tender love towards me; and desire You not to take it ill, for not having writ unto You heretofore: for this my present Letter, I send to renew Our loves, & herewith do certifie You, that I have sent forth my Firmaunds thorow all my Countries to this effect, that if any English Ships or Merchants shall arrive in any of my Ports, my people shall permit and suffer them to doe what they will freely in their Merchandizing causes, aiding and assisting them in all occasions of injuries that shall bee offered them, and that the least cause of discourtesie be not done unto them, as also that they bee as free and freer then my owne people. And as now and formerly I have received from You divers Tokens of Your love: so I desire your mindfulnessse of me by some Novelties from Your Countrey, as an Argument of friendship betweene Us: for such is the custome of Princes heere.

As for your Merchants, I have given expresse order through all my Countrey, to suffer them to sell, buy, transport, and carry away at their pleasures, without the let or hinderance of any person whatsoever, all such Goods



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and Merchandize, or other things, as they shall desire to buy, and let this my Letter as fully satisfie You in the desired peace and love, as if my owne sonne had beene the Messenger to ratifie the same. And if any in my Countrey not fearing God, nor obeying their King, or any other void of Religion, should indeavour, or be in Instrument to breake this league of friendship; I would send my sonne Sultan Coronne, a Souldier approved in the Warres, to cut him off, that no Obstacle may hinder the continuance, and increasing of Our affections.

**M**Y Lord, only for promise, which is an honest debt, I send your Lordship a Journall till my arrivall at Brampore, a Citie of houses made of mudde, where one of the Kings sonnes keepeth his Court. He is called Perveys. I had need to write an Apologie for it, there being nothing of worth, nothing memorable, and yet not my fault: but I had rather trust your Noblenesse, then trouble you with excuses, and so descend to a more universall description of the state and customes of the Land.

They have no written Law. The King by his owne word ruleth, and his Governours of Provinces by that authoritie.

Once a weeke he sitteth in judgement patiently, and giveth sentence for crimes Capitall and Civill. He is every mans heire when he dyeth, which maketh him rich, and the Countrey so evill builded. The great men about him are not borne Noble, but Favourites raised: to whom hee giveth (if it be true) wonderfull meanes. They are reckoned by Horses: that is to say, Coronels of twelve thousand Horses; which is the greatest, whereof are foure, besides his sonnes and wife: so descending to twentie Horses; not that any of these are bound to keepe, or raise any at all. But the King assigneth them so much land, as is bound to maintaine so many Horses as a rent, each horse at five and twentie pounds sterling by the yeere, which is an incredible Revenue given away: so many, (that is, almost all, but the Ploughmen, Artificers,

[I. iv. 581.]  
*This Letter I found amongst Master Hak. his Papers, as the two former: the rest are transcribed from Sir T. Roes owne Booke. No law but the Kings word. See of these things Cap- taine Hawkins large relations.*

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and Tradesmen in Townes) living upon it. But as they die, and must needs gather, so it returneth to the King like Rivers to the sea, both of those he gave to, and of those that have gained by their owne industry. But for the most part he leaveth the widowes and children their horses, stuffe, and some other stocke: and then putteth them into a Signiory (if the fathers were of sixe or seven thousand horses) perhaps of a thousand or five hundred: and so setteth them to begin the world anew, and advanceth them as they deserve of him. They all rise by presenting him, which they strive to doe both richly and rarely: some giving a hundred thousand pounds in jewels at a time.

*Presents of an  
hundred thousand  
pounds.*

He hath one beloved wife among foure, that wholly governeth him. He received lately a Present from the King of Bisampore, to obtaine peace, (whose Ambassadour knocked his head three times against the ground) of six and thirtie Elephants, of two whereof the chaines and all tackles were of beaten Gold, to the weight of foure hundred pounds, two of silver, of the same fashion; the rest of Copper: fiftie Horses richly furnished, and ten Leckes of Rupias in Jewels, great Pearles, and Balasse Rubies. Every Lecke is an hundred thousand Rupias; every Rupia two shillings sixe pence sterling; so tenne Leckes is a Million of Rupias.

*Some say two  
shillings, some  
two shillings  
three pence.  
The Mogolls  
greatnesse.*

His Territorie is farre greater then the Persians, and almost equall, if not as great as the Turkes. His meanes of money, by revenue, custome of Presents, and inheriting all mens goods, above both. His Countrey lyeth West to Sinde, and so stretcheth to Candahar, and to the Mountaines of Taurus North. To the East as farre as the utmost parts of Bengala, and the borders of Ganges: and South to Decan, it is two thousand miles square at the least, but hath many pettie Kings within, that are Tributaries.

*Heire of  
Porus.*

The true descended heire of Porus, that was overcome by Alexander, called Ranna, is lately conquered, more by composition then force: the King having rather bought

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him then wonne him, and hereby no way augmented his Revenue, but given a great Pension to him. His Countrey I crossed, betweene this Towne of Asmere and Bram-pore. Ceter having beene anciently the chiefe Towne, and surely standing on an hill, steepe as a Rocke, some fiftene miles about, that is all walled: the Citie within, but with one ascent, and five admirable gates in the ascent, all ruined and no person dwelling. But there stand an hundred Muschees, many Lanternes, and such reverend and brave Reliques of Imagerie and carved workes, that few or hardly any where can be equalled. In generall, all the old Cities are beaten downe; by what policie I understand not: but the King seeketh the ruine of any thing not begunne by his Ancestors: so that all the Land hath not an house fit for a Cottager, but in such Cities as hee favoureth. Surat is best builded of any: and in old time they in these parts made mightie workes, which every day decay. At Surat there is a Tanke for water of free-stone, in a polygon forme, of above an hundred sides, every side eight and twenty yards: it hath staires on every side for men to descend, and many stopes for horses. It is a wonderous worke, both for the hugenesse, and for the brave building.

*Ceter a great  
ruined Citie.*

*An hundred  
Muschees, or  
Mahumetan  
Temples.*

I have now on the Court to touch, and mine entertainment. The King never used any Ambassadour with so much respect: without any dispute giving mee leave to use mine owne customes; not requiring that of me, which he useth of the Persian. He presented me with a welcome before I spake; and said the King and he were brothers, with many other courteous words. I having bin sicke, he offered me Physitians. He tooke the Presents in good part, and was so fond of the Coach, that at night in his Court he got into it, and made two or three of my men draw him a little in it. He is very affable, and of a cheerefull countenance, without pride. Three times a day hee sitteth out in three places: Once to see his Elephants and beasts fight, about noone: After, from foure to five or sixe, to entertaine all that visit him. At night

*His entertain-  
ment at Court.*

*The Kings  
sitting three  
times a day.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

from nine till mid-night, with all his great men, but none else, where he is below with them, in all familiaritie. I visited him in the second of these, where I found him in a Court, set above like a King in a Play, and all his Nobles and my selfe below on a stage covered with carpets; a just Theater: with no great state, but the Canopies over his head, and two standing on the heads of two wooden Elephants, to beat away flies. They weare nothing but Calicoes, but are ever attendant.

*The Grandes.* The great men ride in Traines, some two hundred, some five hundred Foot-men following them, and foure or five Banners carried before them; and an hundred or two hundred Horses after them. This is all their pride. They keepe their Horses most delicately, fed with Butter and Sugar: and though they be not very great, yet they are of delicate shape, both of Persia, Arabs, and of this Land.

*Falshood of  
Maps.*

*Indus, chiefe  
mouth at  
Sinde.*

*Asmere.*

I have one Observation more to make of the falsenesse of our Maps, both of Mercator, and all others, and their ignorance in this Countrey. First, the famous River Indus doth not emptie himselfe into the Sea at Cambaya, as his chiefe mouth, but at Sinde. My reason is, Lahor stands upon Indus: from whence to Sinde it is navigable; to Cambaya not so. Lahor in the Maps is also falsely set downe, it lying North from Surat above a thousand miles: the Citie where the Kings ordinarie residence is, Agra, not described at all; but it standeth North North-east from Surat on a River, that fals into Ganges. But the King now resideth in a base old Citie, wherein is no house but of mudde, not so great as a Cottage on Hownslo-heath: only himselfe hath one of stone. His Lords live in Tents: and I have suddenly built to my mudde wals, upon canes, a doozen thatched roomes. This Towne is short of Agra ten daies journey, two hundred miles, which standeth from hence North North-east. This place is from Bramport North foure hundred and fiftie miles. Bramport from Surat East above two hundred miles. The latitude neere five and twentie degrees.

Thus, my Lord, I have said some-what, but to little

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purpose, I forget not some Bookes for you: but Loadstones heere are none: They are in the farre East Countries: neither is there any correspondence with China. To Persia, and so to Aleppo there goe Caravans: to Cathaya none.

*No correspondence with China.*

Heere is no newes but of Persia. The King hath taken away water and reliefe from Ormus, and banished the Portugals his Territories. He hath lately over-runne the poore Georgians with fire and sword: and being of an unquiet nature intendeth the conquest of the Usbiques, a Nation betweene Samarchand and him, which he aymes at. He lately stricke off his sonnes head with his owne hand. Hee is favoured and feared of the Mogoll, as being Lord of the more warlike Nation: for these are more then halfe Bramanes, whose Religion is not to kill a Louse byting them: and the Mogolls are an effeminate people. So that the Turke the last yeere sending on Ambassage, to entreate him not to assist the Persian, hee gave him very harsh entertainment, made him Salem to the ground, and as soone as he was dismissed, sent the Persian ten Leckes of Rupias.

*Newes of Persia.*

*Usbec, Tartars.*

I shall be glad to doe your Lordship service in England; for this is the dullest, basest place, that ever I saw, and maketh me weary of speaking of it. Therefore if you be also weary of reading, I am glad. I shall desire your lordship to let Master Hackwell reade the Journall: for I promised him one, but I had not leasure to write it.

And so with all respect, and little Ceremonie, I hope to returne to doe you better services: in the meane time to live a miserable life, though with abundance and state enough, yet I want the conversation and presence of those friends I love and honour: in which number your Lordship hath made me presume to esteeme you, and to account my selfe

Your Lordships humble friend, to doe you service,

Asmere, the Court of the Mogoll,  
January 17. 1615.

THOMAS ROE.

[A Letter

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A Letter of Sir Thomas Roe, to &c.

**M**AY it please your ( ) places farre remote, having some-what of wonder in the distance, cause much expectation in themselves of strange matters among the Vulgar, such as I, supposing they should have subject of worthy and large discourse. But these are unlike the Starres, that seeme lesse the further off: heere the remotenesse is the greatnesse, and to maintayne the ancient priviledge of Travellers, they have beene so farre Alchimists as multiplication; some ground, some spirit, to quicken the bodie of their monstrous Relations.

Where I shall begin, what I shall say worthy one of your ( ) vacancies from great Affaires, I know not: to undertake a Cosmographicall description were a labour not unworthy of time, but not proportionall to a Letter: Ortelius, Mercator, Atlas, nor any understanding any truth herein. Yet for the maynesse of the error, I will observe, that the famous River Indus doth not powre himselfe into the Sea, by the Bay of Cambaya, but farre Westward at Sinde. For from Lahor standing a thousand mile North, in the Maine upon Indus, it is navigable to Sinde, to Cambaya not, but certaine by-streames begotten by the seasons of Raine make mightie inundations, which have cherished the error: all the rest is as false both in bearing, distance longitude and latitude, as that, but the correction heere incomprehensible; the true latitude of this place five and twentie degrees and a halfe.

*Indus falsely  
described by  
our Geogra-  
phers.*

A description of the Land, customes and manners, which are incidents, are fitter for winter-nights; they are either ordinarie, or mingled with much Barbarisme.

*Lawes.*

Lawes they have none written: the Kings judgement binds, who sits and gives audience with much patience, once weekly, both in capitall and criminall causes, where sometimes he sees the execution done by his Elephants, with too much delight in blood.

*Execution.*

[I. iv. 583.]  
*Governours.*

His Governours of Provinces rule by his Firmans, which

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is a briefe Letter authorizing them. They take life and goods at pleasure.

Many religious, and in them many Sects; Moores or Mahumetans adhering to Ally, such is the King; Banians or Pythagorians, for the transmigration (and therefore will not kill the Vermine that bites them) who often buy many dayes respite in charitie from killing any flesh at all, in such a Province or Citie. Gentiles of sundry Idolatries, their Wives adorning the Pile, and entring the Funerall fires with great joy and honour.

*Religions and Sects.*

The extent of his Territorie is West to Sinde, North-west to Chandahor, North almost to Taurus, East to the borders of Ganges, and South-east all Bengala, the Land bordering the Gulph South to Decan, much greater then the Persian, almost equall (if not fully) to the Turke, if his Land were crusht together into a square, as this. Agra, the ordinary residence of the King, is a thousand miles from any border, farther from some. The right issue of Porus, is heere a King in the midst of the Mogols Kingdomes, never subdued till last yeere: and to say true, he is rather bought then conquered, wonne by gifts, not by Armes, to acknowledge a superior Lord.

*Extent.*

*Porus his issue.*

The Pillar erected by Alexander, is yet standing at Dely, the ancient seat of the Ancestors of Ranna the issue of Porus.

*Alexanders Pillar.*

The buildings are all base, of mudde, one story high, except in Surat, where are some stone houses, but I know not by what policie, the King seekes the ruine of all the ancient Cities which were bravely built, and now lye desolate and ruined. His owne houses are of stone, both in good forme and faire, but his great men build not for want of inheritance, but as farre as I have yet seene, live in Tents, or houses worse then a Cottager; yet where the King affects, as at Agra, because it is a City erected by him, the buildings are (as is reported) faire and of carved stone.

*Buildings public and private.*

In Revenue, doubtlesse, he exceeds either Turke or Persian, or any Easterne Prince: the summes I dare not

*Reason of his great Revenue and Wealth.*

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*Inheritance.*

name, but the reason ; all the Land is his, no man hath a foot. He maintaynes by rents given of Signories, counted by Horses, all that are not Mechanique : and the Revenues given to some, are a Germane Princes estate. Secondly, all men rise to greater and greater Signiories as they rise in favour, which is only gotten by frequent Presents, both rich and rare. Lastly, he heires all mens goods that dye, as well those that gained by industry, as Merchants, as those that lived by him, and takes all their money ; leaves the Widow and Daughters what he pleaseth ; gives the sonnes some little Signiorie, and puts them anew to the World, whose Fathers die worth two or three Millions.

But I am fallen by my purpose, not to interrupt your ( ) with these, presuming of your pardon, I will only say a little of the Court, and so passe to that is more necessarie.

*Court  
Customes.*

The King sits out in three severall places, thrice every day, except some occasion prevent him : an houre at noone to see his Elephants fight ; at foure till five to entertayne all commers, to be seene and worshipped ; nine till mid-night, with his principall men in more familiaritie, being below among them.

I went to present my selfe at the second of these : I came into a Court full of base people, and at a raile which shut them out right against the King, I was stayed in his sight to demand audience (onely a ceremonie) so he sent his principall Officers to bring me up : he sate in a place like a Theatre above, where the King sits in a Play, and I was conducted foure steps up, just under him, like a stage, all on Carpets ; my selfe and all his great men were Actors, the common people below gazing on. Hee prevented mee with speech, calling the King his Brother, and that I must consequently be welcome : for the barbarous custome of kneeling and knocking the ground with the head (which he never pardoned, neither the Turkes nor Persian Ambassadors) he required not, but at my first motion granted me all libertie of mine owne manner, and as all say, he never used such respect to a living man.



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*Police and  
Politie.*

All the policy of his state is to keepe the greatest about him, or to pay them as farre off liberally. No Counsell, but every Officer answereth to the King apart, his dutie.

*Disposition.*

He is of countenance cheerefull, and not proud in nature, but by habite and custome; for at night he is very affable, and full of gentle conversation.

*Persian newes.*

I beleve your ( ) is weary of him, and would passe into Persia, from whence wee receive for truth, that the Sophie hath distressed Ormus, by taking away the water and provisions of the Maine. At Ormus they are in great necessitie, so that if the Sophie had any helpe of shipping to take it, hee might be perswaded to put it into our hands, to turne his silkes from the passage of his enemye the Turke; a matter of infinite consequence. For if I were to open these Trades, I would shew important differences for the Kingdome of England, but it would require large Discourse. He hath made lately a Road with fire and sword upon the poore Georgian Christians, and subdued them, and being of a spirit naturally unpeacefull, he prepares for the conquest of Samercand, as his end, but pretends the punishing of a valiant Race of Tartars, called Usbiques, betweene him and his desire. Hee smote off his eldest sonnes head with his owne hands, returning from Georgia, and hath by sharpe Edict banished all Portugalls all his Dominions. Never were such opportunities to discharge the Portugall from all these Coasts. Our Trade heere, and the Dutch Plantation below Goa, hath so shortned their returnes, that halfe their Gallions come not; those that doe come bring new supplies for the Garrisons, but returne so emptie, that the charge is but defraide. We have now twice beaten a great Armado with few ships, an Armado that was appointed por castigar los hereticos Ingleses (the words of one Father to another) and after to punish the Mogoll for entertayning us, so that he hath lost more in reputation (which was his strength) then in substance. But if his Majestie would condescend that we should assault them, as they doe us, it would utterly breake them, it being both the nobler and

*Usbiques.*

*Portugalls.*

*Jesuites  
termes.*

[I. iv. 584.]

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*Islanders.* safer part of a Warre, to which we are subject at their pleasures, then to defend alwayes: besides, they make this use in reports of us, that the King of England is so affraid of the King of Portugall, that he dares not warrant an assault, but only to defend: what they say of the King and our Nation is so slanderous, that perit sua mole.

Further East, the Dutch hath taken many Townes, and playes the Mole better then he, and hath beaten him in many Sea-conflicts; he is declining on all sides, and a little weight on his head now laid, would sinke him. It is a matter of great consequence for future times; and though I have no hope, I propound it to your ( ) to make what use seemes best to your wisdome. I have reward enough, if I have pardon for my talkativenesse, but it is obedience to your ( ) and not presumption, whose wisdome and sinceritie I did ever honour, to whom I shall be happy to be tyed

In all humble services,

THOMAS ROE.

Asmere, the seven and twentieth  
of January 1615.

Another Letter to the same Lord, dated the  
thirtieth of October, 1616.

**M**Ay it please your ( ) &c. The frailtie of passage betweene this place and England, especially of my last Letter that wandred over Land, and rather went upon discovery then businesse, adviseth me to send your ( ) transcripts of them: not that there is contained any matter worthy your Honours leaseure, but seeing you commanded mee to write, the relation of one to another, will somewhat cleare the whole discourse. For broken and undependant pieces and fragments, have little light in them, lesse pleasure and no profit: so that he that would doe any thing in this matter should write a history, and take it somewhat high, to shew the beginning and growth of this Empire, what

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fortunes and what impediments it hath overcome, what friendship it hath needed and effected, the ambitions and divisions in the present state, that like impostumes lye now hid, but threaten to break out into the rending and ruine of the whole, by bloody war. The practises, subtilties and cariages of factions and Court-secrets, falsely called wisdom, wherein I assure your ( ) they are pregnant, and excell in all that arte which the Divell can teach them, and are behind none in wicked Craft, some passages whereof were not unworthy nor unpleasant to relate.

*Craft.*

Their Religions suffered by the King, and practised with out envie or contention on any part; how the Portugals have crept into this Kingdome, and by what corners they got in; the entrance of the Jesuits their intertainment, priviledges, practises, ends, and the growth of their Church, whereof they sing in Europe so loud praises and glorious successes. Lastly, the arrivall of our Nation on this Coast, their fortunate or blessed victories over their enemies, that not only sought how to possesse these quarters by themselves, and to forbid all others that which Nature had left free, as if God had created the world for them onely, but also to abuse this people, as if they alone were the sonnes of warre; they only triumph, and that all other Europeans stricke saile to their fortune and valour, which now is brought so low in value, that it is growne into a proverbe (one Portugall to three Moores, one Englishman to three Portugalls) so that the best foundation of their greatnesse is absolutely mined and blowne up. And our reception here stands on the same ground from which we have cast them downe, which is Feare, an honorable, but uncertaine Base of so great a charge. For if either the enemie once prevaile, or other misfortune happen to us, our welcome shall turne round with it, the profit and fitnessse of this trade for England, while it may stand, not only respecting the Company now intressed, but the state, whether the Common-wealth in generall lose or winne. For often in trafique private men prosper

*Jesuiticall  
beasts.*

*Proverb of  
English and  
Portugal.*

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by detriment of the Republike, as in all trades that maintaine vanitie and sinne.

This worke or method were worthy some paines, and as would require a good judgement and much time, both which are wanting to me; so it would not be unprofitable to reade, nor without some pleasure to view and meditate the divers operations and workes of God, the variable constitutions and dispositions of men, and all things under their government: but seeing nature and conveniencie have denyed me ability and leasure, to set upon so great a labour, I have chosen one branch only to treat of to your ( ) without other method, then by way of bare relation, which is the estate of the Church heere, as well Christians, as of all other diffused sects of Infidels.

But to continue, as in a Parenthesis, the advice I gave your Honour in my last, of our constitution heere, and the newes of Persia: Briefely I stand on very fickle termes, though in extraordinary grace with the King, who is gentle, soft, and good of disposition, yet on points and disputes with an insolent and proud sonne of his, into whose hands he hath remitted all power, which hee is neither worthy nor able to manage. He is Lord of the Port, and by his folly gives me much travell; so sordidly ambitious, that he would not have me acknowledge his father King, nor make any addresses, nor deliver any Presents nor complements of honour, but to himselfe; which I will never yeeld to, and so I maintaine my credit by confidence on the priviledges of my quality, and the Kings goodnesse. Yet an Ambassadour in this Court that knowes himselfe, and will not wrong his Master, shall oftner winne enemies then friends. Their pride endures no termes of equality, especially where there is no other honour nor title, but what is measured by expence; so that to maintaine one that shall in his equipage and life hold proportion with his quality, in this Court, will cost much more then the profit of the Trade can spare; and he that lives under it wrongs his degree, and slides into

*The Princes  
ambition,*  
[I. iv. 585.]

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contempt. I doe my utmost to hold up with little poore meanes, but my opinion is, a meaner instrument would better effect businesse of traffique that might creepe, and shew, and suffer some affronts, which my ranke may not endure: And I find the King of Spaine would never send any Ambassadour hither out of Greatnesse, knowing they are not received with proportionable honour, and with my small experience I could doe the Company better service by my returne, in advise how to governe the whole.

Concerning Persia, the Turke hath only yet made a Bravado, and performed little, the passages are stopt, and the King drawing his armies into his Borders to defend himselfe, and finding no great worke, tooke occasion to take in by force a revolted Nation to the East of Babylon. The people are called Coords. How by the Ancients or the true Geographically situation of their Countrey, I am yet ignorant in.

*Persian and  
Turkish  
warres.*

Sir Robert Sherley by an ill passage to Goa, lost the opportunitie of the Fleete for Lisbon, and is stayed there another yeare, so that negotiation will not be so speedily advanced, as I feared; we shall have breath to worke upon it, according as it shall be requisite in the judgement of your Honours in England, or at least of the Merchants whom it first regardeth.

*Sir Robert  
Sherley.*

Heere is arrived a Persian Ambassadour with little newes, it being nine moneths since his departure from Spahan. He brought many rich Presents, and did such obeysance, prostrating himselfe and knocking the ground with his head, that I beleewe his Master will not accept of it, except (as is supposed) hee bee commanded to use all obsequiousnesse, and to flatter this Mon. of greatnesse, his errand being to procure money for ayde against the Turke: in which kind he findes often liberall supplies and succours, which is not felt from this sea of treasure; although to mediate a peace for the Kings of Decan be the pretence, whose protection the Persian takes to heart, jealous of the encrease of this Empire; yet I doubt not he will be satisfied with silver, and suffer his Allyes to be

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overcome: he is not allowed so good ranke nor presence in Court as I, which got it by dispute, and have kept it by contention to the displeasure of some; neither did the King do so much honour in reception of his Masters Letter, not vouchsafing once to give the Persian any title of Majesty, as of my Sovereigne Lords, which not a little contented me. Other advantages he hath of language, neighbour-hood and acquaintance, which are defects, but no faults of mine. The King is now ready to march towards Decan, whose Armie is commanded by his sonne, and wee with much toyle shall hang in the skirts.

Our Fleet arriving this yeere 1616. in the way met the Admirall Carrick of Lisbon, bound for Goa, about Molalia, an Iland in twelve degrees North latitude, and haling her after the courtesie of the Sea, was requited with disgracefull languages, and five great shot: which occasion apprehended, shee was fought with three dayes, at last put ashoare and fired her selfe: shee was of burthen fiftene hundred tunnes, and by pregnant circumstances, the expected Vice-Roy sent for Goa, perished in her: which is one of the greatest disgraces and losses that ever happened to the Portugals in these parts: The reward of their owne insolencie in this fight. The chiefe Commander of the English was slaine, and the new declared maimed, little other losse. Thus your ( ) hath some touch of our affaires, and I will fall upon my purpose of the Church, with your favour and patience.

*Tamerlane.*

Before the inundation of Tamerlane the great, the ninth Ancestor of this King, these Countries were governed by divers petty Gentile Princes not knowing any Religion, but worshipped according to their severall Idolatries, all sorts of creatures. The Descendants of him brought in the knowledge of Mahomet, but imposed it upon none, by the Law of Conquest leaving consciences at libertie. So that these Naturals from the Circumcision (which came in with the Moores) called them Mogols or chiefe of the Circumcised. Among the Moores there are many strict Mahometants that follow Ally his Sonne-in-law, and other

*Religious.  
Mogolls, why  
so called.*

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new risen Prophets which have their Xeriffes, Mulas and Priests, their Mosques, Religious Votaries, Washings, Prayings, and Ceremonies infinite; and for Penetentiaries, no Heresie in the World can shew so strange Examples, nor bragge of such voluntarie poverties, punishments, sufferings and chastisements as these; all which are esteemed holy men, but of a mingled Religion, not upright with their great Prophet. The Gentiles are of more sorts, some valiant, good Souldiers, drinking Wine, eating Hogs-flesh, but worshipping the figure of a Beast: some that will not touch that flesh which is not holy by imputation: others that will not eat any thing wherein ever there was any bloud, nor kill the Vermine that assaulteth them, nor drinke in the Cup with those that doe; Superstitious in Washing, and most earnest in their Profession; but all of them ascribe a kind of Divinitie to the River of Ganges, at which at one Season of the yeare foure or five hundred thousand meete, and cast in Gold and Silver for Oblation.

In like manner, to a Pigs head in a Church neere this Citie, and to all living Cowes, and to some other beasts and kinds. These have their Synagogues, and Holy Men, Prophets, Witches, South-sayers, and all others the Devils Impostures. The Molaes of Mahomet know some-what in Philosophy, and the Mathematickes; are great Astrologers, and can talke of Aristotle, Euclide, Averroes, and other Authors. The Learned Tongue is Arab.

In this Confusion they continued untill the time of [I. liv. 586.]  
Ecbarsha Father of this King, without any noyse of *Ecbarsha.*  
Christian profession, who being a Prince by nature just and good, inquisitive after Novelties, curious of new Opinions, and that excelled in many vertues, especially in pietie and reverence towards his Parents, called in three Jesuites from Goa, whose chiefe was Jeronimo Xavier a Navarrais. After their arrivall he heard them reason and dispute with much content on his, and hope on their parts, and caused Xavier to write a Booke in defence of his owne

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*Templum sine  
Ecclesia.*

profession against both Moores and Gentiles: which finished he read over nightly, causing some part to be discussed, and finally, granted them his Letters Pattents, to build, to preach, teach, convert, and to use all their Rites and Ceremonies, as freely and amply as in Rome, bestowing on them meanes to erect their Churches and places of Devotion: So that in some few Cities they have gotten rather Templum, then Ecclesiam. In this Grant he gave grant to all sorts of people to become Christians that would, even to his Court or owne blood; professing that it should be no cause of disfavour from him. Heere was a faire beginning to a forward Spring of a leane and barren Harvest.

Ecbar-sha himselfe continued a Mahometan, yet he beganne to make a breach into the Law, considering that Mahomet was but a man, a King as he was, and therefore revered; hee thought hee might prove as good a Prophet himselfe. This defection of the King spread not farre, a certain outward reverence detain'd him, and so he dyed in the formall profession of his Sect.

*\*Understand  
it in generall  
sense, for one  
not settled in  
any Religion,  
of all, and  
therefore of  
none.*

Ghe-hangier-sha, his sonne, the present King, being the issue of this new fancie, and never circumcised, bred up without any Religion at all, continues so to this houre, and is an \*Atheist: sometimes he will make profession of Moore, but alwayes observe the Holy-dayes, and doe all Ceremonies with the Gentiles too. He is content with all Religion, only he loves none that changeth: But falling into his Fathers conceit, hath dared to enter farther therein, and to professe himselfe for the maine of his religion, to be a greater Prophet then Mahomet, and hath formed to himselfe a new Law, mingled of all: which many have accepted with such superstition, that they will not eat till they have saluted him in the morning; for which purpose he comes at the Sunnes rising to a window open to a great plaine before his house, where multitudes attend him: and when the Moores about him speake of Mahomet, hee will sooth them, but is glad when any one will breake out against him. Of Christ he never utters



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any word unreverently, nor any of those sects, which is a wonderfull secret working of Gods truth and worthy observation. Concerning the new planted Christian Church he confirmed, and enlarged all their priviledges, every night for one yeare spending two houres in hearing disputation, often casting out doubtfull words of his conversion, but to wicked purpose.

And the rather to give some hope, he delivered many Youthes into the hands of Francisco Corsie, now resident heere, to teach them to reade and write Portugall, and to instruct them in humane learning, and in the Law of Christ; and to that end he kept a Schoole some yeares, to which the King sent two Princes, his brothers sonnes, who being brought up in the knowledge of God and his sonne our blessed Saviour, were solemnely Baptised in the Church of Agra with great pompe, being carryed first up and downe all the Citie on Elephants in triumph, and this by the Kings expresse order, who often would examine them in their progression, and seemed much contented in them: this made many bend towards the same way, doubting his Majesties intention. Others that knew him better, supposed he suffered this in policie, to reduce these children into hate among the Moores for their conversion, of whom consisted the strength of his estate, but all men failing of his purpose which was thus discovered. When these and some other children were settled, as was thought, in Christian Religion, and had learned some principles thereof, as to marry but one wife, not to be coupled with Infidels, the King sets the boyes to demand some Portugalls wives of the Jesuits, who thinking it only an idle motion of their owne braines, chid them, and suspected no more. But that being the end of their conversion, to get a woman for the King and no care taken: the two Princes came to the Jesuits, and surrendred up their crosses and all other rights, professing that they would be no longer Christians, because the King of Portugall sent them no Presents nor wives, according as they expected. The Padre seeing this, began to doubt there was more in that then the boyes

*Of this see  
before in the  
Journalls of  
Master Havo-  
kins and Finch.*

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revealed, especially seeing their confidence that had cast off the awe of Pupills, and examining the matter, had it confessed, the King commanded them. They refused to accept the crosses, answering they had been given by his Majesties order, and they would not take notice from boyes of any such surrender, but bade them desire the King to send some of those, who by a kind of order are to deliver all his Majesties Commands, whose mouthes are by priviledges sufficient authority, and then they would accept them; hoping and knowing the Kings nature, that he would not discover himselfe to any of his Officers in this poore plot. The boyes returned with this message, which intraged the King; but hee being desirous to dissolve the Schoole, and to withdraw the youthes without noise, he bade them call the Jesuits to the womens doore, where by a Ladie he received the order, and without taking any notice since of any thing, his kinsmen recalled, who are now absolute Moores, without any taste of their first faith, and so the fruit of all these hopes are vanished. And I cannot find by good search that there is one Christian really and orderly converted, nor makes the profession, except some few that have been baptised for money, and are maintained by the Jesuits; of which sort there would be more, but that they find the deceit, and cannot endure the burthen. This is the truth of all their bragge and labour, and the full growth of their Church heere.

*Converts how  
poore.*

But that your ( ) may a little more understand the fashion of the King and the Jesuits proceedings, I will make you one or two merry and late relations, and either say he is the most impossible man in the world to be converted, or the most easie; for he loves to heare and hath so little religion, yet, that he can well abide to have any decided.

[I. iv. 587.]  
*Miracle.*

Not many daies since the Jesuits house and Church being burned, the Crucifix remained safe, which underhand was given out for a miracle, and much talked of. I that would be content any use might be made of an accident to enlarge the name of Christ held my peace: but the

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Jesuit suspecting I would not agree to the miracle, disavowed it to me, and made it a matter of reason, why it was not burned; insinuating that the Moores had caught up this opinion of miracle without his consent, or suggestion, though he confessed he was glad of the occasion.

But the King who never let slippe any opportunity of new talke or novelty, calls the Jesuit, and questioneth with him of it, he answereth ambiguously; whereupon his Majesty demanded, if he did not desire to convert him, and receiving full answer, replied: You speake of your great miracles, and of many done by you, in the name of your Prophet: if yee will cast the Crucifix and Picture of Christ into a fire before me, if it burne not, I will become a Christian: The Jesuit refused the triall as unjust, answering, that God was not tyed to the call of men, that it was a sinne to tempt him, that he wrought miracles according to his owne Councell, but offered to enter the fire himselfe for proove of his faith, which the King refused. Heere arose a great dispute, begunne by the Prince, a most stiffe Mahometan, and hater of all Christians, that it was reasonable to trie our Religion by this offer, but withall, if the Crucifix did burne, then that the Jesuit should be obliged to render Moore: he urged examples of miracles professed to be done for lesse purposes then the conversion of so mightie a King, and in case of refusall of the triall, spake scornefully of Christ Jesus. The King undertooke the argument, and defended our Saviour to be a Prophet, by comparison of his workes with those of their absurd Saints, instancing the raising of the dead, which never any of theirs did. The Prince replied, To give sight to one naturally blind, was as great a miracle. This question being pressed hotly on both sides, a third man, to end the controversie, interposed that both the father and the sonne had reason for their opinions: for that to raise a dead body to life, must needs be confessed to be the greatest miracle ever done, but that to give sight to an eye naturally blind, was the same worke, for that a blind eye was dead, sight being the life thereof: therefore

*Disputes of  
religion and  
miracles.*

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he that gave sight to a blind eye, did as it were raise it up from death.

*A strange  
story of an  
Ape.*

Thus the discourse ended, and so in wisdome should I : But I cannot leave out an apish miracle which was acted before this King, which the Jesuites will not acknowledge, nor owne as their practise ; onely of the truth de facto, there is no doubt. A Jugler of Bengala (of which craft there are many and rare) brought to the King a great Ape, that could, as he professed, divine and prophesie : and to this beast by some sects is much divinitie ascribed : The King tooke from his finger a Ring, and caused it to be hid under the girdle of one among a dozen other boyes, and bade the Ape divine, who went to the right child, and tooke it out. But his Majestie (somewhat more curious) caused in twelve severall papers in Persian letters, to be rewritten the names of twelve Lawgivers, as Moses, Christ, Mahomet, Ally, and others : and shuffling them in a bagge, bad the beast divine which was the true law : who putting in his foot tooke out the inscribed of Christ. This amazed the King, who suspecting that the Apes master could reade Persian, and might assist him, wrote them anew in Court Characters,\* and presented them the second time : the Ape was constant, found the right and kissed it. Whereat a principall Officer grew angry, telling the King it was some imposture, desiring he might have leave to make the lots anew, and offered himselfe to punishment if the Ape could beguile him ; he wrote the names putting onely eleven into the bagge, and kept the other in his hand. The beast searched, but refused all ; the King commanded to bring one, the beast tore them in fury, and made signes the true Law-givers name was not among them. The King demanded where it was, and he ran to the Noble-man and caught him by the hand, in which was the paper inscribed with the name of Christ Jesus. The King was troubled, and keepes the Ape yet. This was acted in publike before thousands : But where the abuse was, or whether there were any, I judge not ; only one of the Jesuits schollers ran to him with open mouth, profes-

*\*Court  
characters are  
such as he only  
and his nearer  
Ministers used  
in Mysteries of  
State un-  
knowne to all  
others.*

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sing the King had an Ape a good Christian. Of this accident the Jesuits make great account: to me they slight it, except the truth of the fact, which is not unlike one of their owne games.

Your ( ) will pardon me all this folly, to interrupt you with so much and so uselesse tattle; I should be glad to remove where I might learne and practise better matter: but I cannot repent my journey: it hath made me learne and know my God and my selfe better then ever I should have learned either among the pleasures of England; he hath wonderfully shewed me his mercy, and taught me his judgement: his goodnesse be glorified and magnified for ever. I humbly desire your ( ) to present my name (I dare not say my service) before his Majestie my Lord and Master: it is enough for me if I be not forgotten; I shall never merit nor aspire the employments of his favour, but I will pay my vowes, and pray for his Majesty that he may live a happie and glorious long life to the comfort of his Church, and enjoy the Crowne of Crownes, prepared by the King of Kings for those that love him; wherein I have failed to your Honour, or by mine owne weaknesse, your ( ) will measure by this rule, *Exigit & postulat amicitia non quod cuique dabitur, sed quod quisque efficere potest*, and you will pardon the assuming so high a word as friendship, with this interpretation, *Servus est humilis amicus*, which as I am bold to professe, I will be ready to demonstrate by obedience to your command,

THOMAS ROE.

Asmere, the thirtieth of October, 1616.

A Letter of Sir Thomas Roe, to another Right [L. iv. 588.]  
Honorable Councillor.

**I**F my last sent your Honour, by the way of Aleppo, be miscaried, this present discourse will be undependant and obscure, which causeth me to send a transcript that you may command from Sir Thomas Smith, how farre

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

that designe of bringing in the Spaniard by Sherley had proceeded, and my poore opinion, that will informe with the present estate of the warres there in preparation : what hath succeeded, your Honour shall receive, that Sherley was stayed at Goa, by falling short eight dayes of his passage this last yeare, where he was entertained with honours and maintenance, which makes mee judge his offers and negotiation is gracious. The Shabas yet so depends on that hope, that he continues the prohibition of exportation of Silkes thorow Turkie.

Some few dayes since I received advise from Spahan, that Sherley hath written to the King, that with much joy and ready embracement he hath so farre proceeded with the Vice-Roy of Goa, in a conclusion of the league, as his commission hath power, that he is ready to embarke for Spaine to accomplish it fully. If it proceed and take effect, I can make it evident, that it will revive and strengthen all the ruines and decayes of the Portugals in the Indies, and make all other wavering Princes accept them; only I will not presse the consequence where it will be so fully understood.

*\*The Persians  
Armie is  
180000.  
strong, the  
Turkes double.*

The \* Shabas is in the field at Salmas, a Village indifferent to the wayes to Tauris or Gordgeston, attending the Turkes Generall, who with a monstrous armie (if it be not encreased by fame) is incamped at Argerom, irresolute which of these two attempts he shall begin, being not above five dayes from the one, and ten from the other. But these great armies will dissolve of themselves, and I am of opinion there will be no great effect of them, the winter approaching: and that they will treat a peace, which the Turke will never embrace, but with the opening of the trade, & liberty of ancient commerce: which though the Persian yeeld unto, yet if the Spaniard accepts his offers, the liberty given the Turke will be uselesse, for that the Silkes shall come downe to Ormus; but I hope your Honour will prevent it, God hath provided you leasure.

The King of Persia lately enquired anew after the

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English, for he is indifferent what Christian hath the trade, so that the Grand-Signior lose it: for his first offer to the Spaniard, will take his truce, and after we may have the leavings.

We have sent to Jasques a ship from our Port of Surat, with Cloath and English goods, to make the first offer of a residence, and to get a kind of a possession: For where it was free to refuse or accept us, it will be now an injury to turne us out, being come upon assurance of his Letter received by me. But though I did not consent to the going of this ship, because I knew both the Port unfit, the goods unvendible, and prejudiciall to the great expectation and promises, which makes me feare the Shabas will despise us, and judge us by this beginning, and so with the more roundnesse either conclude with the Spaniard, or make peace with the Turke (for his designe is either wholly to divert the trade or nothing) yet I will mend it as well as I can, by the helpe of an Ambassador lately arrived at this Court; who, as I suppose, is come to get ayde of money, in which kind he often findeth liberall reliefes, and this King of India may better spare then any Monarch of the East.

The advantage to bee made of it in England, is (if I may give my opinion) that when Sir Robert Sherley shall arrive in Spaine and negotiate his imployment, the Ambassadour of his Majestie resident may crave audience, and produce the Letters granted to us, and urge our possession of the Port; and therefore require in the name of his Majesty, that in this new contract either the English may be comprehended, or at least that nothing passe on the part of the King of Spaine, prejudiciall to the subjects of his Majestie, nor contrary to the amity of the two Nations: which if the Spaniard shall enterprise, to the expulsion of us, it is in my opinion (the trade being in a free Kingdome granted us) a just cause of such a breach, as may produce Letters of Mart and reprisall in all the Easterne parts to right our selves. I will in the meane time amaze the Persian with as many doubts

*I have sent the  
Copies.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

as I can infuse into him of the (            ) and hopes of us.

In this Court which is now in the field towards the conquest of Decan (with an effeminate armie fitter to be a spoile, then a terror to enemies) I shall so farre effect my employment, as to confirme our trade and people on equall conditions to the inhabitants and borne subjects, who suffer themselves, abuses of Governours which can never be remedied, but by an whole change of the regiment and forme of dominion. For the constancy I will no farther give my word, then our owne prosperitie, and the others feare, and the Portugals feeblenesse shall confirme to us.

The trade is profitable and fit for England, but no way understood by the Company how to effect it at best advantage, and yet we have done little but discover errors. I have no power to meddle in that, but if I were at home ten dayes, I would doe them better service then heere in ten yeares. To proove and demonstrate every particular and circumstance, were rather the subject of a Booke then of a Letter, but I will doe my part every way, according to my ability, & judgment faithfully and honestly. Besides (though they may think I speak for mine own ends) I assure your honor it is not fit to keep an Ambassador in this Court. I have shuffled better out, and escaped and avoyded affronts and slavish customes clearer then ever any did. I am allowed ranke above the Persian, but he out-strips me in rewards: his Master lyes neere us, but his Majestie commanded me to doe nothing unworthy the honour of a Christian King, and no reward can humble me to any basenesse. I see what the Persian does and suffers. I know one that would creepe and sue, might effect more businesses then I, for every little matter cannot trouble the King; and his great men are more proud, and expect that from me I cannot give them. The King of Spaine could never be drawne to send any, and their experience hath taught them, that besides he should not be received in honour correspondent to his quality, they knew an easier way to effect their ends. I shall not

[I. iv. 589.]



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returne a rich man, and then many will condemne me for want of providence or wit to get it, but they know not the Indies, it growes heere in as rough wayes as in Europe. I will trust to the Company, and to my merit. I could write your Honour many remarkeable accidents in this government and Kingdome: all the policy and wicked craft of the Divell is not practises alone in Europe, heere is enough to be learned or to be dispised, but you have not leasure to entertaine so forraigne discourses; that part which may be worth knowing: as the proceeding of the Jesuits, the growth of their Church, and the commixture of this Kingdome with Europe by trade, and the allies it embraces, if I find not leasure to put them into method, I will weary your Honour with them by a fire-side in broken pieces.

The Portugall pursues us heere with virulent hatred, but God doth chastise him, and his pride sees it not. The Admirall Gallion bound for Goa, a vessell of fifteene hundred, armed with sixe hundred men falling among our Fleet, a small ship haled her after the custome of the Sea, which shee requited with silence, except of her Ordnance: the Commander of our Fleet, Benjamin Joseph, came up with her, and demanded reason, but was returned scorne, so that he began a fight, in which he lost his life. A new commission on being opened, Humfrey Pepwell succeeded him, to his place and resolution, with the losse of his eye and other hurts, fought untill the Gallion having her Masts shot, ran ashoare on Comara, an Iland inhabited by Moores, in the latitude of eleven degrees, one and fiftie minutes, where the Generall Don Emanuel de Meneses, with three hundred escaped, but fired the ship, shee was very rich, and the succour of India this yeere: her companions were lost at sea, and on the fourteenth of Octob. there was no newes of any of them which were three ships, this is the greatest disaster and disgrace ever befell them, for they never mist their Fleet in September, nor lost any Vessell as this, which was reported invincible, and without supplies they perish utterly. The Ilanders

*M. Joseph  
slaine.*

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rified the Generall and all his followers, and they are since arrived at Goa, naked and bare in the Gallion of Mosambiques, which had likewise beene dangered by a Hollander, but the neernesse of the Port saved her. All these considered, me thinkes, the Heavens conspire the fall of the Portugall in this quarter, if his Majestie would be pleased to bend onely his Royall countenance. But I shall (I hope) returne and not expect to see it effected in my time. I will intreate your Honour to preserve my name in the Kings memorie, not for any worthinesse, but an humble desire to serve him : and that you will be pleased to accept of my endeavours, and esteeme me such as I am, one that loves and honours you ; and that will pray to God as the best expression of my affection, to increase you in all worthy honour, and to blesse you with his holy spirit.

Your Honours humble, faithfull Servant,

THOMAS ROE.

I humbly desire your Honor to do me  
the favour to thanke Sir Thomas Smith, in  
my behalfe, that hee may find my gratitude  
to my Friends.

From the Campe of the Great Mogoll, Emperour  
of India,

November 30. 1616.

Part of a Letter to the Companie of the East-  
India ; Dated the three and twentieth of  
November, 1616.

**M**Y Honourable Friends, I received your Letter on the twelfth of October, 1616. from the Charles, safely arrived with foure ships at the barre of Surat, the six and twentieth of the former moneth. Of what past at Sea, I doubt not you will receive ample Relation, onely a little difference in the report of our Fleet, and the Portugals I will mention, that we began the fight, and that no Vice-Roy being sent this yeere, an ancient Soul-

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dier, Don Emanuell de Meneses, that had twice beene Generall of their Forces, was in the Admirall, who being beaten ranne her selfe ashore at Mosambique, and are now arrived at Goa. This Tale hangs very ill together, for that I know they first made five shot, and that it is impossible they could passe from Aguzesia to Mosambique in a Canoa, or that the Inhabitants having robbed them, durst carrie them into their strength, or that all this could be effected, and newes of their arrivall came from Goa in so little time. So that my judgement is, they make their Relation as neere ours as they can, and are loth to confesse truth, that either all perished, or the Vice-Roy, which were the greatest losse and dishonour ever happened to them in India.

*Reports of the  
fight.*

I shall not need to write you any long Discourse of your Affaires, nor my opinion, for that in a continued Journall I have set downe all passages, and send you the Copies of my Letters to your Factories, wherein many points are disputed and opened, from both which you may make best your owne collection and judgement: for in them casually all your businesse is handled and discussed at full, and it may bee collected into such a method as you may sit at home, and see it at once. [I. iv. 590.]

But because some points in my last Letters, I followed at my first comming at others reports, which since I find vaine and frivolous, and others perhaps are unresolved in my generall Discourse, I will runne over the materiall points with brevitie: for I extremely desire that you once understood the constitution of this Trade, how to governe and settle it, that by varietie of fond opinions you bee not counselled to unnecessary charge, nor fall into grosse errors and damage.

Concerning the aiding the Mogoll or coasting his subjects into the Red Sea, it is now uselesse, yet I made offer of your affections: but when they need not a courtesie, they regard it as a Dogge doth dry bread when his belly is full. The King hath peace with the Portugals, and will never make a constant warre, except first we displant them.

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*\* Understand  
this, so long as  
they by force  
and armes  
oppose the  
English pro-  
ceedings and  
seeke to sup-  
plant them; as  
hitherto.*

Then his greatnesse will step in for a share of the benefit, that dares not partake of the perill: when they have peace, they scorne our assistance, and speake as loud as our Canon: if Warre oppresse them, they dare not put out under any protection, nor will pay for it. You must remove from you all thought of any other then a Trade at their Port, wherein if you can defend your selves leave them to their fortune; you can never oblige them by any benefit, and they will sooner feare you then love you. Your residence you need not doubt so long as you tame the Portugall; therefore avoyde all other charge as unnecessary, that resists \* not him; he onely can prejudice you. For a Fort at my first arrivall, I received it as very necessary, but experience teacheth me, we are refused it to our advantage. If he would offer me ten, I would not accept one; first where the River is commodious, the Countrey is barren and untraded, the passages to parts better planted so full of Theeves, that the Kings authoritie availes not, and the strength of the hils assures them in that life, if it had beene fit for Trade, the Naturals would have chosen it; for they feele the incommoditie of a barren Haven: and it is argument enough of some secret inconvenience, that they make not use of it but if it were safe without the walls, yet is it not an easie worke to divert Trades, and to draw the resort of Merchants from their accustomed Marts, especially for our commoditie which is bought by parcels, and cannot be called staple. Secondly, the charge is greater then the Trade can leave, for to maintayne a Garrison will eate the profit; it is not an hundred men can keepe it. For the Portugall if he once see you undertake that course, will set his rest upon it to supplant you. Warre and Traffique are incompatible, by my consent, you shall no way ingage your selves but at Sea, where you are like to gaine as often as to lose: it is the beggering of the Portugall, notwithstanding his many rich Residences and Territories, that hee keepe Souldiers that spend it; yet his Garrisons are meane. He never profited by the Indies, since he defended them. Observe this well.

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It hath beene also the errour of the Dutch, who seeke Plantation heere by the Sword, they turne a wonderfull stocke, they prowle in all places, they possesse some of the best, yet their dead payes consume all the gaine. Let this be received as a Rule, that if you will profit, seeke it at Sea, and in quiet Trade: for without Controversie it is an errour to affect Garrisons and Land Warres in India. If you made it onely against the Naturall, I would agree: to make it for them they are not worth it, and you should be very wary how to ingage your reputation in it. You cannot so easily make a faire retrait as an on-set; one disaster would either discredit you, or interesse you in a Warre of extreme charge and doubtfull event. Besides, an action so subject to chance as Warre, is most unfitly undertaken, and with most hazard, when the remotenesse of place for supply, succours and counsels, subject it to irrecoverable losse, for that where is most uncertaintie, remedies should be so much the neerer to occurre to all occasions. At Sea you may take and leave, your Designes are not published; the Road of Swally, and the Port of Surat, are fittest for you in all the Mogols Territorie, I have weighed it well and deliver you that shall never bee disproved, you need no more, it is not number of Ports, Factories and Residences that will profit you, they will increase charge but not recompence it; the inconveniencie of one respectively to your sales, and to the commoditie of Investants, and the well imployment of your Servants is all needfull, a Port to secure your ships, and a fit place to unlade will not be found together. The Road at Swally, during the season, is as safe as a Pond; Surat, Cambaya, Baroach, and Amadavar, are better traded then all India, and seated commodiously. The inconveniences are, the Portugals at Sea, and the landing of goods, to meet with which first you must bring to passe, that your lading bee readie by the end of September at your Port; which may be effected by a stocke before-hand, or by taking up money for three monethes, and so you may discharge and lade in one, and depart for excellent season

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for England, and the Enemie shall not have time with force to offend you, who will be newly arrived; and if the preparation be ancienter we shall know it. For the second, to land goods without danger of Frigats, and to save the carriage over land, you must send a Pinnasse of threescore tunne, with ten Peeces that drawes but seven or eight foot water, to passe up the River betweene Swally and Surat, and so your goods will be safe, and in your owne command to the Custome-house-Key; and it will a little awe the Towne; shee may proceed after according to your appointment.

[I. iv. 591.] The Commodities you sell passe least in that quarter, the goods you seeke being principally Indico and Cloth, no one place is so fit for both, and the lesse inconveniences are to bee chosen, of this you shall gather more at large my opinion and reasons, in my Journall and Discourses to your Factors, perhaps some of them will contradict it: but I am not deceived, nor have private ends, to keepe Factories to imploy and advance friends, the places and number of servants I have delivered my judgement in, and could manifest the past errours, but not mend them. Sindu is possessed by the Portugals, or if it were free, were no fitter then Surat, nor safer: as it is, it will be more subject to perill. Your Factors sent me foure or five clauses out of your Commission, that concerned Persia, a Fort, a Plantation in Bengala, all which they knew were not of use: with no other purpose, proposition or resolution, they will acquaint me. They cannot abide I should understand or direct them, if they resolve of any thing in their opinion for your profit, and send to me, I will effect the Court part, but you will find in my Letters and Journall how they use mee, which doubtlesse at first was sowed by some jealousie of yours which will cost you dearly.

For the setting your Traffique heere, I doubt not to effect any reasonable desire, my credit is sufficient with the King and your force will alway bind him to constancie; it will not need so much helpe at Court, as you suppose, a little countenance with the discretion of your Factors

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will with easie charge returne you most profit, but you must alter your stocke, let not your servants deceive you, Cloth, Lead, Teeth, Quick-silver, are dead Commodities, and will never drive this Trade, you must succour it by change, and you will find my opinion discussed in Letters. I have this yeere past many difficulties by the perverse-nesse of Sultan Caronne, Lord of Surat, but by Gods direction, I have overcome them; Articles of treatie on equall termes I cannot effect, want of Presents disgraced me: but yet by Peeces I have gotten as much as I desired at once. I have recovered all Bribes, Extortions, Debts made and taken before my time till this day, or at least at honorable composition. But when I deliver the next gifts to the Mogoll, in the Princes absence, I will set on a new for a formall \* contract, &c.

*\*That which  
followes, as  
other Letters  
also, I have  
willingly  
omitted, as not  
so fit for vul-  
gar Readers,  
being Mys-  
teries of  
Commerce.*

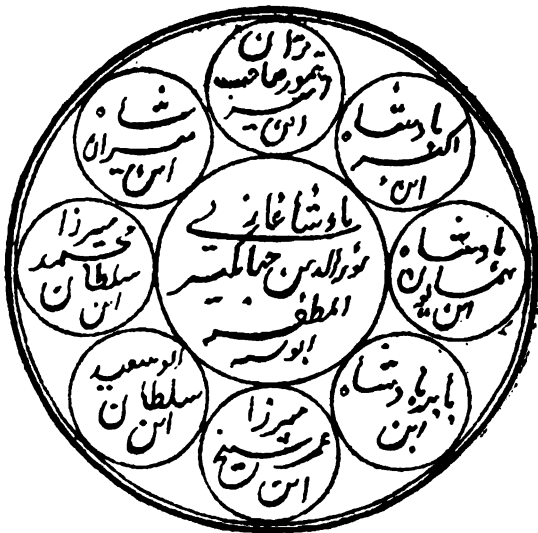
I Have heard that Sir Thomas Roe at his Returne, desiring the Great Mogor or Mogoll, his Letters of Commendation to his Majestie, easily obtayned that request, but found him very scrupulous where to set his seale; lest, if under, hee should disparage himselfe; if over, it might cause distast to the King; his resolution and prevention therefore was this, to send the Letter unsealed, and the great Seale it selfe, that so His Majestie might according to his owne pleasure affixe it. The Seale is Silver; the type and forme whereof, contayning only the Mogols Genealogie from Tamerlane, in severall Circles, with the English Translation, I have heere added.

[The Description

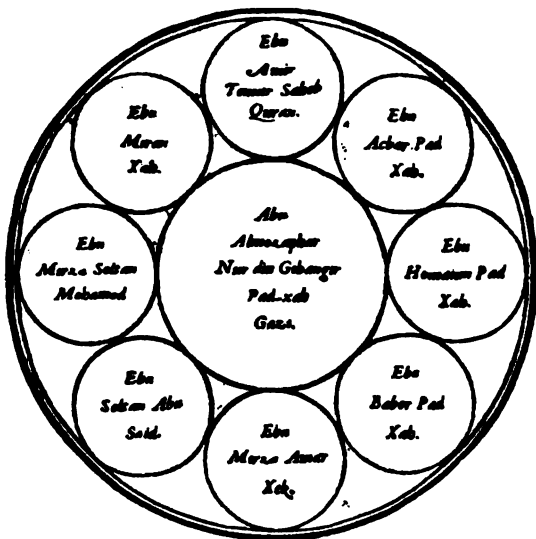
**A.D.  
1616.**

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

## The Description of the Great Mogols Seale.



[I. iv. 592.]





# LETTERS FROM THOMAS CORYAT

A.D.  
1615.

## Chap. XVII.

A Letter of M<sup>r</sup>. Thomas Coryat, which travailed by Land from Jerusalem to the Court of the Great Mogol, written to M<sup>r</sup>. L. Whitaker. To which are added pieces of two other, to entertayne you with a little Indian-Odcombian mirth.

Most deare and beloved Friend, Master L. W.  
Animæ dimidium meæ.

From the Court of the most mightie Monarch,  
called the Great Mogol, resident in the Towne  
of Asmere, in the Orientall India. Anno 1615.



Ordiall salutations in the Authour of salvation, Jesus Christ. Where I writ unto you last, I remember well; even from Zobah, as the Prophet Samuel calleth it (2. Booke, Chap. 8. vers. 3.) that is Aleppo, the principall Emporium of all Syria, or rather of the Orient World; but when, in truth I have forgotten, for I keepe not Copies of my Letters, as I see most of my Country-men doe, in whatsoever place of the World I finde them. Howbeit, if my conjecture doe not much faile mee, I may affirme that it was about fifteene moneths since, about a moneth after, I returned unto Aleppo from Jerusalem, after which time, I remayned there three moneths longer, and then departed therehence in a Caravan into Persia, passing the noble River Euphrates (the chieftest of all that irrigated Paradise, where-hence, as from their originall, the three other Rivers were derived) about foure dayes journey beyond Aleppo: on the further side of which, I entered Mesopotamia, alias Chaldea, for the Euphrates in that place distermineeth Syria and Mesopotamia. There-hence I had two dayes journey to Ur of the Chaldeans, where

Gen. 2. 10.

Gen. 11. 28.

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[I. iv. 593.] Abraham was borne, a very delicate and pleasant Citie. There I remayned foure dayes, but I could see no part of the ruines of the house, where that faithfull servant of God was borne, though I much desired it. From thence, I had foure dayes journey to the River Tygris, which I passed also; but in the same place where I crossed it, I found it so shallow, that it reached no higher then the calfe of my legge: for I waded over it afoote. Now I well perceive by my ocular experience, that Chaldea is named Mosopotamia, for that it is inclosed with the fore-said Rivers. Trajecto Tigride, I entred Armenia the greater: After that, Media the lower, and resided sixe dayes in the Metropolis thereof, heretofore called Ecbatana, the Summer seate of Cyrus his Court, a Citie eft-soone mentioned in the Scripture, now called Tauris, more wofull ruines of a Citie (saving that of Troy and Cyzicum in Natolia) never did mine eyes behold. When I seriously contemplated those *ἐρείπια*, the dolefull testimonies of the Turkish devastations, I called to minde Ovids Verse:

Ludit in humanis divina potentia rebus.

And that of Hesiod,

*Τὰ δ' ὑπέρτερα νέρτερα θήσει Ζεὺς ὑψιβρεμετής.*

From that, I had two dayes journey to a Citie that in Strabos time was called Arsacia in Media the higher, now Casbin, once the Royall seate of the Tartarian Princes, foure dayes journey from the Caspian Sea. From Casbin, I had three and twentie dayes to Spahan in Parthia, the place of residence of the Persian King. But at my being there, he was in the Countrey of Gurgistan, ransacking the poore Christians there with great hostilitie, with Fire and Sword. There I remayned two moneths, and so with a Caravan travelled into the Easterne India, passing foure moneths and odde dayes, in my travell betwixt that (through part of the true Persia, and a large tract of the noble and renowned India) and the goodly Citie of Lahor

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in India, one of the largest Cities of the whole Universe, for it containeth at the least sixteene miles in compasse, and exceedeth Constantinople it selfe in greatnesse. But a dozen dayes before I came to Lahor, I passed the famous River Indus, which is as broad againe as our Thames at London, and hath his originall out of the Mountayne Caucasus, so much ennobled by the ancient both Poets and Historiographers, Greeke and Latine; which Plato for curiositie sake, in his travells of these parts went to see. It lyeth not farre from that upon the Confines of Scythia, now called Tartaria: My selfe also conceiving some hope of seeing it before my finall farewell of India. I had almost forgotten one memorable matter to impart unto you: About the middle of the way, betwixt Spahan and Lahore, just about the Frontiers of Persia and India, I met Sir Robert Sherley and his Lady, travelling from the Court of the Mogol, (where they had beene very graciously received, and enriched with Presents of great value) to the King of Persia's Court; so gallantly furnished with all necessaries for their travailes, that it was a great comfort unto me, to see them in such a flourishing estate. There did hee shew mee, to my singular contentment, both my Bookes neatly kept; and hath promised mee to shew them, especially mine Itinerarie, to the Persian King: and to interpret unto him some of the principall matters in the Turkish Tongue, to the end I may have the more gracious accesse unto him, after my returne thither. For thorow Persia I have determined (by Gods helpe) to returne to Aleppo. Besides other rarities that they carried with them out of India, they had two Elephants and eight Antllops, which were the first that ever I saw: but afterwards, when I came to the Mogols Court, I saw great store of them. These they meant to present to the Persian King. Both hee and his Lady used mee with singular respect, especially his Lady, who bestowed fortie shillings upon mee in Persian money, and they seemed to exult for joy to see mee, having promised mee to bring mee in good grace with the Persian King, and

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that they will induce him to bestow some Princely benefit upon mee: this I hope will bee partly occasioned by my Booke, for hee is such a jocund Prince, that hee will not bee meanly delighted with divers of my facetious hieroglyphicks, if they are truly and genuinely expounded unto him.

From the famous Citie of Lahor I had twentie dayes journey to another goodly Citie called Agra, through such a delicate and even Tract of ground, as I never saw before; and doubt whether the like be to be found within the whole circumference of the habitable World. Another thing also in this way, being no lesse memorable then the plainnesse of the ground: a row of Trees on each side of this way where people doe travell, extending it selfe from the Townes-end of Lahor, to the Townes-end of Agra; the most incomparable shew of that kind, that ever my eyes surveyed. Likewise, whereas there is a Mountayne some ten dayes journey betwixt Lahor and Agra, but very neare ten miles out of the way, on the left hand: the people that inhabite that Mountayne, observe a custome very strange, that all the brothers of any Family, have but one and the selfe-same wife; so that one woman sometimes doth serve sixe or seven men: the like whereof I remember I have read in Strabo, concerning the Arabians that inhabited Arabia felix. Agra is a very great Citie, and the place where the Mogoll did alwayes (saving within these two yeares) keepe his Court; but in every respect much inferiour to Lahor.

[I. iv. 594.] From thence to the Mogols Court, I had ten dayes journey, at a Towne called Asmere, where I found a Cape Merchant of our English-men, with nine more of my Countrey-men, resident there upon termes of Negotiations, for the right Worshipfull Company of Merchants in London, that trade for East-India.

I spent in my journey betwixt Jerusalem and this Mogols Court, fifteene monethes and odde dayes: all which way I traversed afoote, but with divers paires of shooes, having beene such a Propateticke, (I will not call

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my selfe Peripateticke, because you know it signifieth one that maketh a perambulation about a place, περιπατοι, signifying to walke about) that is a walker forward on foot, as I doubt whether you ever heard of the like in your life; for the totall way betwixt Jerusalem and the Mogols Court, contayneth two thousand and seven hundred English miles. My whole perambulation of this Asia the greater, is like to be a Passage of almost six thousand miles, by that time that in my returne backe thorow Persia, afterward also by Babylon and Ninivie, I shall come to Cairo in Egypt, and from that downe the Nilus to Alexandria, there to be one day (by Gods helpe) imbarqued for Christendome; a very immense dimension of ground.

Now I am at the Mogols Court, I thinke you would bee glad to receive some narration thereof from me, though succinctly handled: for I meane to be very compendious, lest I should otherwise preoccupate that pleasure, which you may hereafter this reape by my personall relation thereof. This present Prince is a very worthy person, by name Selim, of which name I never read or heard of any more then one Mahometan King, which was Sultan Selim of Constantinople, that lived about eightie yeeres since, the same that conquered Jerusalem, Damascus, Aleppo, Cairo, &c. adding the same to the Turkish Empire. He is fiftie and three yeares of age, his nativitie day having bin celebrated with wonderfull pompe since my arrivall heere: for that day he weighed himselfe in a paire of golden Scales, which by great chance I saw the same day (a custome that he observes most inviolably every yeere) laying so much Gold in the other Scale as counter-vailleth the weight of his bodie, and the same he afterward distributed to the poore. He is of complexion neither white nor blacke, but of a middle betwixt them: I know not how to expresse it with a more expressive and significant Epitheton then Olive: an Olive colour his face presenteth: hee is of a seemely composition of bodie, of a stature little unequall (as I guesse not without grounds of probabilitie) to mine, but much more corpulent then my

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selfe. The extent of his Dominion is very spacious, being in circuit little lesse then foure thousand English miles, which very neere answereth the compasse of the Turkes Territories: or if any thing be wanting in Geometricall dimension of ground, it is with a great pleonasme supplied by the fertilitie of his soile: and in these two things he exceedeth the Turkes, in the fatnesse (as I have said) of his Land, no part of the World yeelding a more fruitfull veine of ground, then all that which lyeth in his Empire, saving that part of Babylonia, where the terrestriall Paradise once stood: whereas a great part of the Turkes Land is extreame barren and sterreile, as I have observed in my peregrination thereof, especially in Syria, Mesopotamia and Armenia; many large portions thereof being so wonderfull fruitlesse, that it beareth no good thing at all, or if any thing, there Infelix lolium & steriles dominantur avenæ.

*Of his Revenues and of all other things of this State, reade Captain Hawkins his Relations, who had better meanes and judgement to know them.*

Secondly, in the conjunction and union of all his Territories, together in one and the same goodly Continent of India, no Prince having a foot of Land within him. But many parcels of the Turkes Countries are by a large distance of Seas, and otherwise, divided asunder. Againe, in his Revenue he exceedeth the Turke and the Persian his Neighbour by just halfe: for his Revenues are forty Millions of Crownes of six shillings value, by the yeere: but the Turkes are no more then fifteene Millions, as I was certainly informed in Constantinople; and the Persians five Millions, plus minus, as I heard in Spahan. It is said that he is uncircumcised, wherein hee differeth from all the Mahometan Princes that ever were in the World.

He speaketh very reverently of our Saviour, calling him in the Indian Tongue, Ifazaret Eesa, that is, the great Prophet, Jesus: and all Christians, especially us English, he useth so benevolently, as no Mahometan Prince the like. He keepeth abundance of wilde Beasts, and that of divers sorts, as Lyons, Elephants, Leopards, Beares, Antlopes, Unicornes; whereof two I have seene at his Court,

✓ *The Unicornes are no other but the Rhinoceros.*

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the strangest beasts of the World: they were brought hither out of the Countrey of Bengala, which is a Kingdome of most singular fertilitie within the compasse of his Dominion, about foure Moneths journey from this, the midland parts thereof being watered by divers Channels of the famous Ganges, which I have not as yet seene, but (God willing) I meane to visit it before my departure out of this Countrey, the neerest part of it being not above twelve dayes journey from this Court. The King presenteth himselfe thrice every day without faile to his Nobles, at the rising of the Sunne, which he adoreth by the elevation of his hands; at noone, and at five of the clocke in the evening: but he standeth in a roome aloft, alone by himselfe, and looketh upon them from a window that hath an embroydered sumptuous coverture, supported with two silver Pillasters to yeeld shadowes unto him. Twice every weeke, Elephants fight before him, the bravest spectacle in the World: many of them are thirteene foot and a halfe high; and they seeme to justle together like two little Mountaines, and were they not parted in the midst of their fighting by certaine fire-workes, they would exceedingly gore and cruentate one another by their murdering teeth. Of Elephants the King keepeth thirtie thousand in his whole Kingdome at an unmeasurable charge; in feeding of whom and his Lions, and other Beasts, he spendeth an incredible masse of Money, at the least tenne thousand pounds sterling a day. I have rid upon an Elephant since I came to this Court, determining one day (by Gods leave) to have my Picture expressed in my next Booke, sitting upon an Elephant. The King keepeth a thousand Women for his owne body, whereof the chiefest (which is his Queene) is called Normal. You may remember to relate this unto your Friends, that I will now mention as a matter very memorable; I spent in my tenne Monethes travell betwixt Aleppo and the Mogolls Court, but three pounds sterling, yet fared reasonable well every day; victuals being so cheape in some Countries where I travelled, that I oftentimes lived competently for a penny

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sterling a day : yet of that three pound I was coozened of no lesse then tenne shillings sterling, by certaine lewd Christians of the Armenian Nation : so that indeed I spent but fiftie shillings in my tenne Monethes Travailes. I have bin in a Citie in this Countrey, called Detee, where Alexander the Great joyned Battell with Porus King of India, and conquered him ; and in token of his victorie, erected a Brasse Pillar, which remayneth there to this day. At this time I have many Irons in the fire ; for I learne the Persian, Turkish, and Arabian Tongues, having already gotten the Italian (I thanke God) I have beene at the Mogolls Court three Monethes already, and am to tarrie heere (by Gods holy permission) five Monethes longer, till I have gotten the foresaid three Tongues, and then depart here-hence to the Ganges, and after that, directly to the Persian Court.

Your assured loving Friend till death,

THOMAS CORYATE.

From the Court of the Great Mogoll, resident at the Towne of Asmere in the Easterne India, on Michaelmas day. Anno 1615.

**I** Doe enjoy at this time as pancraticall and athleticall a health, as ever I did in my life : and so have done ever since I came out of England, saving for three dayes in Constantinople, where I had an Ague, which with a little letting bloud was cleane banished, the Lord bee humbly thanked for his gracious blessing of health that he hath given unto mee. I was robbed of my money, both gold and silver (but not all, by reason of certaine clandestine corners where it was placed) in a Citie called Diarbeck in Mesopotamia, the Turkes Countrey, by a Spahein, as they call him, that is, one of the Horse-men of the Great Turke : but the occasion and circumstance of that misfortune, would bee too tedious to relate. Notwithstanding that losse, I am not destitute of money I thanke God. Since my arrivall heere, there was sent unto this King one



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of the richest Presents that I have heard to bee sent to any Prince in all my life time: it consisted of divers parcels; one being Elphants, whereof there were one and thirtie, and of those, two so gloriously adorned, as I never saw the like, nor shall see the like againe while I live. For they wore foure chaines about their bodies all of beaten gold: two chaines about their legges of the same; Furniture for their buttockes of pure gold: two Lions upon their heads of the like gold: the ornaments of each, amounting to the value of almost eight thousand pound sterling: and the whole Present was worth ten of their Leakes, as they call them; a Leake being ten thousand pound sterling: the whole, a hundred thousand pounds sterling.

To the High Seneschall of the Right Worshipfull Fraternitie of Sireniacall Gentlemen, that meete the first Friday of every moneth, at the signe of the Meremaid in Bread-street in London, give these: From the Court of the Great Mogoll, resident at the Towne of Asmere, in the Easterne-India.

**R**ight Generous, Joviall, and Mercuriall Sirenaickes: I have often read this Greeke Proverbe, *χείρ χείρα πύπτει*, that is, one hand washeth another, and the Latine, *Mulus Mulum scabit*, one Mule scratcheth another; by which the Ancients signified, that courtesies done unto Friends, ought to bee requited with reciprocall offices of friendship. The serious consideration hereof, doth make me to call to minde that incomparable elegant safe-conduct, which a little before my departure from England, your Fraternitie with a generall suffrage gave me for the securitie of my future Peregrination, concinnated by the pleasant wit of that inimitable Artizan of sweet Elegancie, the moytie of my heart, and the quondam Seneschall of the Noblest Societie, Master L. W.

*This Letter by  
M. Rogers was  
delivered to  
my selfe.*

Therefore since it is requisite that I should repay some-

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[I. iv. 596.] what for the same, according to the Lawes of humanitie : Such a poore retribution as I sent unto you from Aleppo, the Metropolitan Citie of Syria, by one Master Henry Allare of Kent, my Fellow-pilgrime there-hence to Jerusalem ; I meane a plaine Epistle, which I hope long since came unto your hands : I have sent unto you by a man no lesse deare unto mee then the former, one Master Peter Rogers, a Kentish man also, from the most famigerated Region of all the East, the ample and large India : assuring my selfe, that because I am not able to requite your love with any essentiall gratulations, other then verball and scriptall, you will as lovingly entertaine my poore Letters, being the certaine manifestation of an ingenuous minde, as if I should send unto you the minerall riches or Drugges of the Noble Countrey.

Thinke it no wonder I pray you, that I have made no use in all this space since I left my native Country, of the superexcellent Commeate ; for I have spent all my time hitherto in the Mahometan Countries, and am like to spend three yeeres more in these Musselman (as they call them) Regions of Asia, after of Europe, before I shall arrive in Christendome. For this cause I left it in Aleppo, with my Countrimen, there to receive it from them againe, after that I shall have ended my Indian and Persian perambulation : and there-hence to carrie it once more to Constantinople, and that by the way of Iconium, Nicæa, Nicomedia, and in the Countrey of Natolia, a journey of fortie dayes. From that finally thorow the heart of Greece, by the Cities of Athens, Thebes, Corinth, Lacedæmon, Thessalonica, and to the Citie of Ragouze, heretofore Epidaurus, so sacred for the Image of Æsculapius in the Country of Sclavonia, once called Illyricum ; from thence I have three dayes journey to the inestimable Diamond set in the Ring of the Adriatique Gulfe, (as once I said in the first Harangue that ever I made to Prince Henrie of blessed memorie, translated since my departure from London, from the Terrestriall Tabernacles, to the Cœlestiall Habitations) venerous Venice, the Sovereigne Queene

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of the Mare superum: if the great Jehovah shall be so propitious unto me, as to grant me a prosperous arrivall in that Noble Citie, I will there beginne to shew your safe conduct, and to decantate, yea and to blazon your prayes for the same: and after in every other place of note, untill I shall arrive in glorious London, communicate it to the most polite, with that the Cities will yeeld, thorough which my laborious feete shall carrie me, it would bee supervacaneous to commemorate unto you the almost incredible extent of Land, I traversed from Jerusalem to the Court of the Great Mogoll in India, where I now reside; with the variable Regions and Provinces inter-jacent betwixt them, and the manifold occurrences and observations of speciall worke in this vaste Tract; for it would bee such a fastidious Discourse, that it could not be well comprehended in a large sheete of Paper: but Master Whitaker, I hope, I will not faile to import unto you in a few compendious Relations, which I have acquainted him with, in a particular Letter to himselfe: of which, if I should have written againe to you, it would have proved Crambe bis cocta.

The Gentleman that bringeth this Letter unto you, was Pracher to the English Merchants, conversant at the Court of the aforesaid mightie Monarch, in the Towne of Asmere in this Easterne-India: and in divers loving offices hath beene so kind unto me, that I intreat your Generosities to entertaine him friendly for my sake, to exhilarate him with the purest quintessence of the Spanish, French and Rhenish Grape, which the Mermaid yeeldeth; and either one in the name of you all, or else the totall universalitie of the one after another, to thanke him heartily, according to the qualitie of his merits. Farewell, Noble Sirenaickes.

Your Generosities most obliged Country-man, ever  
to be commanded by you, the Hierosolymitan-  
Syrian-Mesopotamian-Armenian-Median-Par-  
thian-Persian-Indian Legge-stretcher of  
Odcumb in Somerset,

THOMAS CORYATE.

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**P**Ray remember the recommendations of my dutifull respect; to all those whose names I have heere expressed, being the lovers of Vertue, and Literature; and so consequently the wel-willers (I hope) of a prosperous issue of my designements, in my laborious pedestriall perambulations of Asia, Africa, and Europe.

Written with mine owne hand, at the Court of the Great Mogoll, Shaugh Selim, resident in the Towne of Asmere, in the umblicke of the Orientall India, the eight day of November, being Wednesday, Anno Dom. 1615.

**I**Nprimis, to the two Ladies Varney, the Mother and the Daughter, at Boswell House without Temple-barre,

2 Item, to that famous Antiquarie, Sir Robert Cotten, at his House in the Black-Friers. Pray tell him that I have a very curious white Marble head of an ancient Heros or Gyant-like Champion, found out very casually by my diligent pervestigation amongst the ruines of the once renowned Citie of Cyzicum, mentioned by Cicero in his second Oration (if my memory doth not faile me) against Verres, situate in an Peninsula of Bythinia, in the goodly Countrey of Natolia, neere the Sea Propontis: to this head will his best Antiquities whatsoever veile bonnet.

[I. iv. 597.] 3 Item, to that courteous, sweet, and elegant-natured and nurtured Gentleman, Master William Ford, Preacher to our Nation at Constantinople, if you happen to meet him in any part of England; one that deserveth better of me, then any man in all this Catalogue: for of him have I learned whatsoever superficial skill I have gotten in the Italian Tongue: pray reduplicate my commendations unto him.

4 Item, to Master George Speake, my generous and ingenuous Countrey-man, the Sonne and heire apparant of Sir George Speake, in Somerset-shire; him you are like to find in any Terme, either at the Middle-Temple, or in some Barbers house neere the Temple.

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5 Item, to Master John Donne, the Author of two most elegant Latine Bookes, Pseudo-martyr, and Ignatii Conclave: of his abode either in the Strand, or else-where in London, I thinke you shall be easily informed by the meanes of my friend, Master L. W.

6 Item, to Master Richard Martin, Counseller, at his Chamber in the Middle-Temple, but in the Terme-time, scarce else.

7 Item, to Master Christopher Brooke of the Citie of Yorke, Counseller, at his Chamber in Lincolnes Inne, or neere it.

8 Item, to Master John Hoskins, alias Æquinoccial Pasticrust, of the Citie of Hereford, Counseller, at his Chamber in the Middle-Temple.

9 Item, to Master George Garrat; of whose beeing you shall understand by Master Donne aforesaid.

10 Item, to Master William Hackwell, at his Chamber in Lincolnes Inne.

11 Item, to Master Benjamin Johnson the Poet, at his Chamber at the Black-Friers.

12 Item, to Master John Bond my Countrey-man, chiefe Secretarie unto My Lord Chancellour.

13 Item, to Master Doctor Mocket, resident perhaps in my Lord of Canterburies house at Lambeth, where I left him.

14 Item, to Master Samuel Purchas, the great Collector of the Lucubrations of sundry Classicall Authors, for description of Asia, Africa, and America. Pray commend me unto him and his *παρὰ τὸν* Master Cooke, by the same token, that he gave me a description of Constantinople, and the Thracius Bosphorus, written in Latine by a French-man, called Petrus Gillius: which Booke, when I carried once in an after-noone under mine arme, in walking betwixt our English Ambassadors House in Pera, on the opposite side to Constantinople, and the Flemish Ambassadors house, I lost it very unfortunately to my great grieve and never found it againe, &c.

[There is

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**T**Here is another and later Letter of his to his Mother, written the last of October 1616. part of which for the Odcombian stile and Coryaticall straine, I have hither transcribed. Great pitie it is that his voluminous Observations of his foot Pilgrimage, longer then perhaps of any man ever hath bin in that kind, are either lost, or at least not come to some discreet hand, which might, no doubt, distill good instructions thence for the publike, as sweet fresh water out of the huge salt Ocean.

Some written Notes of his, it pleased Sir Thomas Roe to give me, whence (omitting such things as before you have had in Sir Thomas Roes owne Observations) I have inserted a few, following this Letter.

From Agra, the Capitall Citie of the Dominion of the Great Mogoll in the Easterne India, the last of October 1616.

**M**Ost deare and wel-beloved Mother, though I have superscribed my Letter from Asmere, the Court of the greatest Monarch of the East, called the Great Mogoll in the Easterne India, which I did to this end, that those that have the charge of conveyance thereof, perceiving such a title, may bee the more carefull and diligent to convey it safe to your hands: yet in truth the place from which I wrote this Letter, is Agra, a Citie in the said Easterne India, which is the Metropolitan of the whole Dominion of the fore-said King Mogoll, and ten dayes journey from his Court at the said Asmere. From the same Asmere I departed the twelfth day of September An. 1616. after my abode there twelve moneths and sixtie dayes; which though I confesse it were a too long time to remaine in one and the selfe-same place, yet for two principall causes it was very requisite for me to remaine there some reasonable time: first, to learne the Languages of those Countries, through which I am to passe betwixt the bounds of the Territories of this Prince and Christendome, namely, these three, the Persian, Turkish, and Arab: which I have in some competent measure attained unto by my labour

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and industry at the said Kings Court, matters as avaleable unto me as money in my Purse, as being the chieftest, or rather only meane to get me money, if I should happen to be destitute, a matter very incidentall to a poore Foot-man Pilgrim, as my selfe, in these Heathen and Mahometan Countries, thorow which I travell. Secondly, that by the helpe of one of those Languages, I meane the Persian, I might both procure unto my selfe accesse unto the King, and be able to expresse my mind unto him about the matter [I. iv. 598.] for the which I should have occasion to discourse with him. These were the reasons that moved me so long to tarry at the Mogols Court, during which time, I abode in the house of the English Merchants, my deare Countrimen, not spending one little piece of money either for dyet, washing, lodging, or any other thing. And as for the Persian tongue, which I studyed very earnestly, I attayned to that reasonable skill, and that in a few moneths, that I made an Oration unto the King before many of his Nobles, in that language, and after I had ended the same, discoursed with his Majestie also in that tongue very readily and familiarly; the Copie of which speech, though the tongue it selfe will seeme to an English-man very strange and uncouth, as having no kind of affinitie with any of our Christian languages, I have for noveltie sake written out in this Letter, together with the translation thereof in English, that you may shew it to some of my learned friends of the Clergie, and also of the Temporaltie, in Ewill, and elsewhere, who belike, will take some pleasure in reading so rare and unusuall a tongue as this is. The Persian is this that followeth.

The Copie of an Oration that I made in the Persian tongue to the Great Mogol, before divers of his Nobles.

**H**Azaret Aallum pennah salamet, fooker Daruces ve tehaungeshta hastam kemia emadam az wellagets door, ganne az mulk Inglizan: kekessanaion petheen mushacas cardand ke wellagets, mazcoor der akers magrub

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bood, ke mader hamma nezzaerts dunmast. Sabebbe amadane mari mia boosti char cheez ast auval be dedane mobarreckdeedars. Hazaret ke seete caramat ba hamma Trankestan reeseedast ooba tamam mulk Musulmanan der sheenedan awsaffe. Hazaret daveeda amadam be deedane astawne akdas musharaf geshtam duum bray deedane feelhay Hazaret, kin chunm janooar der heech mulk ne dedam seu in bray deedane namwer daryae shumma Gauga, ke Serdare hamma daryaha dumiest. Chaharum een ast, keyee fermawne alishaion amayet fermoyand, ke betwanam der wellayetts Uzbeck raftan ba shahre San arcand, bray Zeerat cardan cabbre mobarreche Saheb crawncah awsaffe tang oo mosachere oo der tamam aallum meshoor ast belk der wellagette Uz bec eencader meshoor neest chunan che der mulc Inglisan aft digr, bishare eshteeac daram be deedanc mobarrec mesare Saheb crawnca bray een sabebe, che awne saman che focheer de shabr Stambol boodam, ye aiaeb cohua amarat deedam dermean yecush bawg nasdec shaht mascoor coja che pedshaw Eezawiawn che namesh Manuel bood che Saheb crawnca cush mehmannec aseem carda bood, baad as gristane Sulten Batasetra as jange aseem che shuda bood nas dec shahre Bursa, coima che Saheb crawn Sultan Bajasetra de Zenicera tellajo bestand, oo der cafes nahadond een char chees meera as mulche man jum baneed ta mia, as mulc. Room oo Arrac peeada geshta, as door der een mulc reseedam, che char hasar pharsang raw darad, beshare derd oo mohuet casheedam che heech ches der een dunnia een cader mohuet ne casheedast bray deedune mobarrec dedare Haseretet awn roos che be tactte shaugh ne shaughee musharaf fermoodand.

The English of it is this.

*\*This is the  
ordinarie title  
that is given  
him by all  
strangers.*

**L**Ord \* Protector of the World, all haile to you : I am a poore Traveller and World-seer, which am come hither from a farre countrie, namely England, which ancient Historians thought to have beene situated in the farthest bounds of the West, and which is the Queene of



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all the Ilands in the World. The cause of my comming hither is for foure respects. First, to see the blessed face of your Majestie, whose wonderfull fame hath resounded over all Europe, and the Mahometan Countries. When I heard of the fame of your Majestie, I hastened hither with speed, and travelled very cheerfully to see your glorious Court. Secondly, to see your Majesties Elephants, which kind of beasts I have not seene in any other Countrey. Thirdly, to see your famous River Ganges, which is the Captayne of all the Rivers of the World. The fourth is this, to entreate your Majestie that you would vouchsafe to grant me your gracious Passe, that I may travell into the Countrey of Tartaria to the Citie of Samarcand, to visit the blessed Sepulchre of the Lord of the Corners (this is a title that is given to Tamberlaine in this Countrey, in that Persian language : and whereas they call him Lord of the Corners, by that they meane, that he was Lord of the corners of the World, that is, the highest and supreme Monarch of the Universe :) whose fame, by reason of his Warres and Victories, is published over the whole World : perhaps hee is not altogether so famous in his owne countrey of Tartaria, as in England. Moreover, I have a great desire to see the blessed Tombe of the Lord of the Corners for this cause ; for that when I was at Constantinople, I saw a notable old building in a pleasant Garden neare the said Citie, where the Christian Emperor that was called Emanuel, made a sumptuous great Banquet to the Lord of the Corners, after he had taken Sultan Bajazet, in a great battell that was fought neere the Citie of Brusia, where the Lord of the Corners bound Sultan Bajazet in fetters of gold, and put him in a Cage of yron. These foure causes moved me to come out of my native Countrey thus farre, having travelled afoote thorow Turkie and Persia, so farre have I traced the World into this Countrey, that my Pilgrimage hath accomplished three thousand miles, wherein I have sustayned much labour and toyle, the like whereof no mortall man in this World did ever performe, to see the blessed face of your

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Majestie, since the first day that you were inaugurated in your glorious Monarchall Throne.

[L. iv. 599.] After I had ended my Speech, I had some short discourse with him in the Persian Tongue, who amongst other things told me, that concerning my travell to the Citie of Samarcand, he was not able to doe me any good, because there was no great amity betwixt the Tartarian Princes and himselfe, so that his commendatory Letters would doe me no good. Also he added, that the Tartars did so deadly hate all Christians, that they would certainly kill them when they came into their Country. So that he earnestly dissuaded me from the journey, if I loved my life and well fare; at last, he concluded his discourse with me, by a summe of money, that he threw downe from a window, thorow which he looked out, into a sheet tied up by the foure corners, and hanging very neere the ground, an hundred pieces of silver, each worth two shillings sterling, which countervailed ten pounds of our English Money: this businesse I carried so secretly by the helpe of my Persian, that neither our English Ambassadour, nor any other of my Countrimen (saving one speciall, private, and intrinsicall friend) had the least inckling of it, till I had thoroughly accomplished my designe: for I well knew that our Ambassador would have stopped and barracadoed all my proceeding therein, if he might have had any notice thereof, as indeed hee signified unto me, after I had effected my project, alleaging this, forsooth, for his reason, why hee would have hindred me, because it would redound somewhat to the dishonour of our Nation, that one of our Countrey should present himselfe in that beggerly and poore fashion to the King, out of an insinuating humour, to crave Money of him: But I answered, our Ambassadour in that stout and resolute manner, after I had ended my businesse, that he was contented to cease nibbling at me, never had I more need of Money in all my life, then at that time: for in truth I had but twentie shillings sterling left in my Purse, by reason of a mischance I had in one of the Turkes Cities called Emert, in

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the Countrey of Mesopotamia, where a Miscreant Turke stripped me of almost all my Monies, according as I wrote unto you in a very large Letter the last yeare, which I sent from the Court of this mightie Monarch, by one of my Countrimen that went home by Sea in an English ship, laden with the Commodities of this India, which Letter, I hope, came to your hands long since. After I had beene with the King, I went to a certaine Noble and Generous Christian of the Armenian Race, two dayes journey from the Mogolls Court, to the end to observe certaine remarkable matters in the same place, to whom, by meanes of my Persian Tongue, I was so welcome, that he entertayned me with very civill and courteous complement; and at my departure gave mee very bountifully twenty pieces of such kind of Money as the King had done before, counter-vailing fortie shillings sterling. About tenne dayes after that, I departed from Asmere, the Court of the Mogoll Prince, to the end to begin my Pilgrimage, after my long rest of fourteene Moneths, backe againe into Persia, at what time our Ambassadour gave mee a piece of Gold of this Kings Coyne worth foure and twentie shillings, which I will save (if it bee possible) till my arrivall in England: so that I have received for benevolences, since I came into this Countrey, twentie markes sterling, saving two shillings eight pence, and by the way, upon the confines of Persia, a little before I came into this Countrey, three and thirtie shillings foure pence in Persian Money, of my Ladie Sherley: at this present I have in the Citie of Agra, where-hence I wrote this Letter, about twelve pounds sterling, which according to my manner of living upon the way, at two pence sterling a day, (for with that proportion I can live pretty well, such is the cheapnesse of all eatable things in Asia, drinkable things costing nothing, for seldome doe I drinke in my Pilgrimage any other liquour then pure water) will maintaine me very competently three yeeres in my travell, with meate, drinke and cloathes. In this Citie of Agra, where I am now, I am to remaine about sixe weekes longer, to the end to expect an

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excellent opportunity, which then will offer it selfe unto me, to go to the famous River Ganges, about five dayes journey from this to see a memorable meeting of the gentle people of this Countrey, called Banians, whereof about foure hundred thousand people go thither of purpose to bathe and shave themselves in the River, and to sacrifice a world of Gold to the same River, partly in stamped Money and partly in massie great lumps and wedges, throwing it into the River as a Sacrifice, and doing other strange Ceremonies most worthy the observation. Such a notable spectacle it is, that no part of all Asia, neither this which is called the great Asia, nor the lesser, which is now called Natolia, the like is to be seene; this shew doe they make once every yeare, comming thither from places almost a thousand miles off, and honour their River as their God, Creator and Saviour; Superstition and Impietie most abominable in the highest degree of these brutish Ethnicks, that are aliens from Christ and the Common-wealth of Israel. After I have seene this shew, I will with all expedition repaire to the Citie of Lahor, twentie dayes journey from this, and so into Persia, by the helpe of my blessed Christ, &c.

Your dutifull, loving and obedient Sonne,  
a desolate Pilgrime in the World,

THOMAS CORYATE.

[I. iv. 600.] Certaine Observations written by Thomas Coryat.

*Jesuiticall  
Marianitie.*

**W**Hereas the Beggars begge in this Countrey of a Christian in the name of Bibee Maria, and not of Hazanet Eesa, thereby we may gather that the Jesuits have preached Mary more then Jesus.

*Notable  
example of  
Atheisme.*

A great Raja a Gentile, a notorious Atheist, and contemner of all Deitie, glorying to professe he knew no other God then the King, nor beleeving nor fearing none: sitting dallying with his women, one of them plucked a haire from his brest, which being fast rooted, plucked off a little of the

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skinne, that bloud appeared; this small skarre festered and gangrened incurably, so that in few dayes he dispaired of life, and beeing accompanied with all his friends and divers Courtiers, he brake out into these excellent words: Which of you would not have thought that I being a man of Warre, should have dyed by the stroke of a Sword, Speare or Bow? but now I am inforced to confesse the power of that great God, whom I have so long dispised, that hee needs no other Lance then a little haire to kill so blasphemous a wretch, and contemner of his Majestie, as I have beene.

Ecbar Shaugh had learned all kind of Sorcery, who *Ecbar's*  
beeing once in a strange humour to shew a spectacle to *juggling.*  
his Nobles, brought forth his chiefest Queene, with a Sword cut off her head, and after the same perceiving the heavinesse and sorrow of them, for the death of her (as they thought) caused the head, by vertue of his Exorcismes and Conjunctions, to be set on againe, no signe appearing of any stroke with his Sword.

Sultan Cursaroo hath but one Wife, for which one *Wives*  
principall reason is, that during his imprisonment, the *fidelity.*  
King intending to make a hunting Progresse of foure moneths, consulted how to keepe him safe in his absence; at last resolved to build a Towre, and immure him within it, without gate, doore or window, except some small holes to let in Ayre higher then he could come unto; putting in sorts of provision whatsoever, both fire, clothes, &c. with some servants to abide with him for that time. While this was building, his Wife came and fell at the Kings feete, and never would let goe till shee had obtayned leave to bee shut up with him: the King much perswading to enjoy her libertie; she utterly refused any other comfort, then to be the companion of her Husbands miseries; amongst which this was the greatest, that if any of those that were immured, beeing in number fiftie, should have dyed in the Kings absence, there was no meanes to burie them, for that no man was admitted to come neere the Towre.

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*Rights and  
Rites about  
finding a  
Fountaine.*

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The Fountaine found the first day by one of my Lords people, Master Herbert, brother to Sir Edward Herbert, which if he had not done, he must have sent ten Course every day for water, to a River called Narbode, that falleth into the Bay of Cambaya at Buroch; the custome being such, that whatsoever Fountaine or Tanke is found by any great man in time of drought hee shall keepe it proper and peculiar to himselfe, without the interruption of any man whatsoever. The day after one of the Kings Haddys finding the same, and striving for it, was taken by my Lords people, and bound all, &c. a great controversie being about it, &c.

*Charitie of  
Moore.*

Remember the Charitie of two great men, that in the time of this great drought, were at the charge of sending ten Camels with twentie persons every day to the said River for water, and did distribute the water to the poore, which was so deare, that they sold a little skinne for eight Pise.

*Ecbar's pietie.*

Ecbar Shaugh, a very fortunate Prince and pious to his Mother: his pietie appearing in this particular, that when his Mother was carried once in a Palankeen betwixt Lahor and Agra, he travelling with her, tooke the Palankeen upon his owne shoulders, commanding his greatest Nobles to doe the like, and so carried her over the River from one side to the other, and never denyed her any thing, but this, that shee demanded of him, that our Bible might be hanged about an Asses necke, and beaten about the Towne of Agra, for that the Portugals having taken a ship of theirs at Sea, in which was found the Alcoran amongst the Moores, tyed it about the necke of a Dogge, and beat the same Dogge about the Towne of Ormuz: but hee denyed her request, saying, That if it were ill in the Portugals to doe so to the Alcoran, being it became not a King to requite ill with ill, for that the contempt of any Religion, was the contempt of God, and he would not be revenged upon an innocent Booke: the morall being, that God would not suffer the sacred Booke of his Truth to be contemned amongst the Infidels.

*Notable  
sentence.*

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1616.*Profligate lust.*

One day in the yeere, for the solace of the Kings Women, all the Trades-mens Wives enter the Mohal with some-what to sell, in manner of a Faire, where the King is Broker for his Women, and with his gaines that night makes his supper, no man present, (observe that whatsoever is brought in of virill shape, as instance in Reddishes, so great is the jealousie, and so frequent the wickednesse of this people, that they are cut and jagged for feare of converting the same to some unnaturall abuse) by this meanes hee attaines to the sight of all the prettie Wenches of the Towne: at such a kind of Faire he got his beloved Normahal.

After Shaof Freed had wonne the Battle of Lahor by a stratagem, the Captaines being taken by the King, and hanged upon Flesh-hookes and Stakes, made an entrance for the King to Lahor, his sonne Cursaroo being then taken Prisoner, and riding bare-footed upon an Elephant; his Father demanded him how hee liked that Spectacle of his valiant and faithfull Captaines hanging in that manner, to the number of two thousand: hee answered him, that hee was sorrie to see so much Crueltie and Injustice in his Father, in executing them that had done nothing but their dutie; for that they lived upon his Bread and Salt: but hee should have done right if hee had saved them, and punished him which was their Master, and the Author of the Rebellion.

[I. iv. 601.]  
*Apoph-  
thegmes.*

For more cleere declaration of this excellent vertue upbraiding the coldnesse of our Charitie, you shall understand a custome of this King, who sleeping in his Guslecan, often when hee awakes in the night, his great men (except those that watch) being retired, calls for certaine poore and olde men, making them sit by him, with many questions and familiar speeches passing the time, and at their departure cloathes them, and gives them bountifull Almes often, whatsoever they demand, telling the money into their hands.

*The Kings ex-  
ternal charity.  
Hee had added  
heere of the  
Kings respect  
to two-fold  
Darvises  
which you  
have before in  
Sir T. Roe.*

For a close of this Discourse, I cannot forget that memorable Pietie, when at Asmere hee went afoot to the

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Tombe of the Prophet Hod. Munding there buried, and kindling a fire with his owne hands, and his Normahal, under that immense and Heidelbergian-æquipollent Brasse-pot, and made Kitcherie for five thousand poore, taking out the first Platter with his owne hands, and serving one; Normahal the second, and so his Ladies all the rest. Cracke mee this Nut, all the Papall Charitie vaunters.

*The King likes  
not shifters of  
Religion.*

An Armenian desirous to turne Moore, procured a Noble-man to bring him to the King, whom the King asked why hee turned Moore, whether for preferment? hee answered No. Some few Monethes after craving some courtesie of the King, hee denyed it him, saying, That hee had done him the greatest favour that could bee, to let him save his soule, but for his bodie hee himselfe should provide as well as he could.

The King likes not those that change their Religion, hee himselfe beeing of none but of his owne making, and therefore suffers all Religions in his Kingdome. Which by this notable example I can make manifest: The King had a Servant that was an Armenian, by name Scander; to whom upon occasion of speech of Religion, the King asked if hee thought either hee or the Padres had converted one Moore to bee a true Christian, and that was so for conscience sake, and not for money: who answered with great confidence, That hee had one which was a perfect Christian, and for no worldly respect would bee other, whom the King caused presently to bee sent for: and bidding his Master depart, demanded why hee was become a Christian, who rendred certaine feeble, implicite, Jesuiticall Reasons, and avowed that hee would never be other: whereupon the King practised by faire speeches and large promises, to withdraw him to the folly of Mahomet, offering him Pensions, meanes, and command of Horse, telling him hee had now but foure Rupias a Moneth Wages, which was a poore Reward for quitting his præpued faith: but if hee would recant, hee would heape upon him many Dignities: the Fellow answering, it was not for so small Wages hee became Christian, for hee had limbes, and



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could earne so much of any Mahometan, but that hee was a Christian in his heart, and would not alter it. This way not taking effect, the King turned to threatnings, and menacings of Tortures and Whippings; but the Proselyte manfully resolving to suffer any thing, answered, hee was readie to endure the Kings pleasure. Upon this resolution, when all men expected present and severe castigation, the King changed his tune, highly commending his constancie and honestie, bidding him goe and returne to his Master, and to serve him faithfully and truly, giving him a Rupia a day Pension for his Integritye. About two Monethes after, the King having beene a hunting of wild Hogges, a beast odious to all Moores, and accustomed to distribute that sort of Venison among Christians and Razbootes, sent for this Armenian, Master of this converted Catechumen or Mahometan, to come and fetch part of his Quarrie. The Armenian not beeing at home, this his principall Servant came to know the Kings pleasure, who commanded him to take up a Hogge for his Master, which no Moore will touch; which hee did, and being gone out of the Court-gate, was so hooted at by the Mahometans, that hee threw downe his Present in a Ditch, and went home, concealing from his Master what had passed. About foure dayes after the Armenian coming to his watch, the King demanded of him whether the Hogge he sent him were good meat or no; who replied, hee neyther heard of, nor see any Hogge: whereat the King remembring to whom this Hogge was delivered, caused the fellow to be sent for, and examining the matter, had it confessed how he threw away the Hogge, and never carryed it home: the King pressing to know the reason, the poore fellow answered how he was mocked for touching it, and it being a thing odious to the Moores, for shame he threw it away: at which he replied, By your law there is no difference of meats, and are you ashamed of your lawes? or to flatter the Mahumetans, doe you in outward things forsake it? now I see, thou art neither good Christian, nor good Mahumetan, but a dissembling knave with [I. iv. 602.]

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both, while I found thee sincere, I gave thee a pension, which now I take from thee, and for thy dissimulation doe command thee to have a hundred stripes, which were presently given him in stead of his money, and bade all men by his example take heed, that seeing hee gave libertie to all Religions, that which they choose and professe, they may sticke unto.

I had thought at first to have finished all these Indian Voyages in this fourth Booke: but perceiving it to grow into such greatnesse, and withall such great alterations as the Turkish Trade at Moha, and especially the Persian at Jasques, have caused in the English Trade, with the contrary Attempts of the Portugals, and chiefly the Dutch, (before no good Friends, and there the worst of Enemies) to the English-Indian Trade; I thought fit to make thereof a fifth Booke.

# Navigations, Voyages,

[I. v. 603.]

Traffiques, Discoveries, of the English Nation in  
the Easterne Parts of the World :

Continuing the English-Indian Occurrents, and  
contayning the English Affaires with the Great  
Samorine, in the Persian and Arabian Gulfes,  
and in other places of the Continent, and  
Ilands of and beyond the Indies :  
the Portugall Attempts, and Dutch Disasters,  
divers Sea-fights with both ; and many  
other remarkable Relations.

## THE FIFTH BOOKE.

### Chap. I.

Memorials taken out of the Journall of Roger  
Hawes, touching the proceedings of the Fac-  
tory at Cranganor under the Great Samorine.

**T**He Generall of this Fleet was Captaine William  
Keeling in the Dragon ; Robert Boner Master :  
Captaine Christopher Harris in the Peppercorne :  
Captaine William Payton \* in the Expedition.

The fourth of March 1615. we chased a Portugall  
Frigat, which ranne into a creeke and escaped us : and we

*\*You have  
his Journall  
before.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

making our way on towards Cape Coromine, there came a Tony aboard us with Messengers from the Samorine to the Generall.

The next day the Governour sent a Present, and entreated the Generall to go to Cranganor, which the day after we did, and the chiefe men sent from the Samorine: the Generall was desired to come ashoare to speake with him, but in the going, certaine Frigats came and anchored neare the shoare, and caused him to goe aboard the Expedition. Some shots passed, but little hurt.

On the eight, the Generall went ashoare with Master Barkley, Cape Merchant, and others, where they received kind usage, and concluded to settle a Factory. The Articles agreed on, were these :

**U**NDerecon Cheete, the Great Samorine, &c. To James by the Grace of God, King of Great Britaine, &c. Whereas your Servant and Subject William Keeling Esquire, arrived in my Kingdome in the moneth of March, Anno 1615. with three English ships at the Port of Cranganor, in latitude ten degrees fiteene minutes, and at my earnest sollicitation came ashoare to see me: there was concluded by me for my part, and by him for the English Nation, as followeth.

[I. v. 604.]  
March 4.  
1615.  
*Cranganor  
Castle and  
Iland pro-  
mised to the  
English.*

As I have beene ever an enemie to the Portugals, so doe I purpose to continue for ever: I doe hereby faithfully promise to be and continue a friend to the English, and my Successors after mee: to endeavour the taking in of the Fort of Cranganor, and to possesse the English thereof, as their owne, with the Iland thereof, which is in length on the Sea-coast nine miles, and in breadth three.

Provided, that I purpose to build therein a house for some of my owne people, to the number of one hundred persons.

*Cochin pro-  
mised, and  
covenanted to  
be given to the  
English.*

I will also endeavour, with the ayde of the English, hereafter to take in the Fort and Towne of Cochin, belonging formerly to my Crowne and Kingdome, and then to deliver it into the possession of the English, as their

## ROGER HAWES

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owne proper lands and possessions: Provided, that the charge of the surprize be equally borne, the one halfe by my selfe, the other by the English Nation: and the benefit of the spoyles thereof, in whatsoever qualitie, the one halfe to belong to me, the other halfe to the English Nation.

The Samorine to have no right, title or interest in the aforesaid Towne, Precincts, or appurtenances of Cochin at all.

And the Samorine doth also covenant for himselfe, his Heires and Successors, that the whole Trade of the English, in whatsoever commodities brought in, or carried out, shall pay, yeeld or allow no manner of custome, imposition, taxe, toll, or any other duty of whatsoever qualitie.

And to these Covenants, which the shortnesse of time did not permit to amplifie: I the Samorine have religiously sworne by the great God I serve, to performe accordingly, and that not only for my selfe, but for my Successours after me: and in wnesse hereof, have laid my hand upon this writing.

And the said William Keeling doth promise to acquaint the Kings Majestie with the premisses, and to endeavour his Majesties undertaking thereof accordingly.

A Stocke was made, as the State present permitted, and three Factors appointed, George Woolman chiefe, Peter Needham, one of the Generalls servants, second; my selfe (Roger Hawes) third, Edward Peake, a Youth attendant, and to learne the language; and John Stamford a Gunner, to assist the Samorine, if need required in his warres. On the tenth, the ships departed, leaving us in a shrambe at the waters side, with our goods and a Present for the Samorine, where wee continued till the thirteenth, at which time the last of our goods were carryed to the Samorines Castle: whom thus possessed of our goods, we much suspected.

On the twentieth, hee would needs see Master Wooll-

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

mans Trunke, supposing wee had store of money (Needham had told him wee had five hundred Ryalls of eight) and finding little above fiftie Ryalls, he would needs borrow fifty, which wee could not deny him, and offered a pawne not worth halfe, which we refused to take, hoping after this money lent hee would permit us to depart for Calicut, but found delayes. He also urged us to give his brother a Present.

*Stamford a  
drunken foole,  
or a false  
knave.*

On the eight and twentieth, he came up into the Chamber where we were, and gave Master Woollman two Gold-rings, and to every of the rest one: and the next day called us to the sight of his tumbling sports. The same night Stamford went out with his sword in his hand, telling the Boy hee would come againe presently, and the next newes we heard of him, was that hee was met with by the King of Cochins Nayros, having lost himselfe (being drunke) they demanded whither he would go, he said to the Samorines, whither they undertooke to bring him, and hee knew not himselfe betrayed till he came at Cochin. This put us in great feare, but the Samorine gave us good words, saying, he had rather now find him a knave, then when hee should have put trust in him.

In Aprill, we got liberty to depart with our goods for Calicut, where the two and twentieth we arrived, and were kindly entertained: but were faine to stay in the Custome-house, till wee might get a more convenient house, which was made ready for us the sixt of May, with promise of a better after the Raines. Faine would we, according to the Generall his order, have sent a messenger with his and our Letters to Surat, to acquaint our Countrimen with our being heere: but the Governour would not consent till wee had sold our goods, for their better encouragement.

*Perfidious  
people.*

On the eighteenth, one was sent. Part of the goods were sold by the Governours procurement, to the Merchants at Calicut, soone after on the six and twentieth, and faire promises of part of payment shortly; but it is not the custome of best or worst in this countrey, to be as good as their word, being certaine only in dissembling.

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Master Woollman was desirous to go to Nassapore to make sale, but the Governour put him off with divers shifts from time to time.

The third of July, the messenger sent for Surat returned with reports, that being well onward on his way, hee was set upon, beaten, his money and Letters taken from him: amongst which was a letter of Generall Keeling to the next Generall, which grieved us, suspecting yet he was robbed with his owne consent, and of his honesty only. A Broker of Nassapore told Master Needham that they were sold to the Portugalls; the Governour hearing of it, and hanging downe his head, as guilty therein. We sold goods heere to Merchants of Nassapore. *July 3. Nassapore.*

The seventeenth of August, Master Woollman dyed. Our promised money we could not get, and our Broker told us, that some one of the debtors would goe to the Governour, and with a bribe procure respite, the rest refusing till they paid all. *August 17.*

On the foure and twentieth, the Samorines sister sent us word, she would both cause them to pay, and lend us any money we needed: but we found her as the rest. The Queene Mother also made us faire shewes. Divers likewise promised to convey letters to Surat for us, but with words as divers from the event, and adverse to all truth. *[I. v. 605.]*

Master Needham thus wronged, further wronged himselfe by indiscretion, threatning hee would be gone to the King of Cochin, in preference of a Nayro appointed to attend us, who discovered the same; and headded yet further, to put him in feare with making shew of violent revenge, as he did also to a Scrivano (which is a Justice with us) taking him by the throate, and making as though he would have striken him with his sword, for detaining money he had received for us. Our Broker also told him, it was not Merchant-like to go up and downe the Towne with a sword and buckler: his carriage and habite resembling those, which here we call Roaring-boyes, rather then Merchants, notwithstanding, my admonition, which was

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requited with ill language to my selfe, and accompanied with abuses of his owne selfe and the Companyes affaires.

*September 23.  
Hollanders at  
Calicut.*

The three and twentieth of September, a Holland ship, which had traded at Mecca, came to this Port, with purpose of setting a Factory, which were by the Governour appointed to go to the King, and promised to carry us a letter, but went without it. And heere dallying and delaying continued. Whereupon the fourth of November, Master Needham went to the Samorine, and returned the five and twentieth, having had a Gold-chaine bestowed on him, a Jewell and a Gold-ring to weare on his arme, with orders also from the King to effect our designes. But the performance halted.

*December 20.*

*Strange  
policie, strong  
superstition.*

The twentieth of December, a Malabar Capitaine had taken prize of the Portugals, and would have traded with us, but we could not get in our monies due long before. We heard also the same day of foure English ships at Surat. But the Governour and people continuing their wonted perfidiousnesse, the one more carefull of taking, the other of giving, bribes, then paying our debts: we used a strange policie to get some of them: for when wee came to demand them at their houses, if they would pay us none, we would threaten not to depart till they paid us. And we had heard it reported that their custome is, neither to eat nor wash, whiles we are in their houses. By this meanes we sometimes got fiftie Fanos of one, one hundred of another; by no meanes would they endure us to lie at their houses, except one, where we waited three daies and nights, with three or foure Nayros: they had for their watch of them, but we could get nothing. The Nayro, whom the King had appointed to get in our debts, came to demand a gratuitie of us, yet got in nothing: yea, he would go to the debtors houses, and take three or foure Fanos of each, and then depart without the money.

*January 9.  
A dangerous  
fray.*

The ninth of January, Master Needham going to demand a debt, a Nayro, as he said, would not suffer him to passe, and being put by with his hand stricke him;



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whereupon he gave the Nayro a dangerous wound in the head, which it was thought he would not recover; other Moores being hurt in taking his part. And word was presently brought to us, to shut up our doores, lest the Nayros should assemble to doe us some mischief (feuds or kindred-quarrels and murders being rife amongst them, without other law to right themselves.) Our Nayro with his kindred did guard him home, to the number of thirty, with pikes, and swords, and bucklers, in his defence, whom he could not but gratifie. Our house was guarded three or foure nights and dayes, none of us daring to go into the Towne for money or other businesse (which before we did very safely) for a weeke: and then our Broker willed us not to goe without a Nayro, for that they had sworne the death of one of us, in revenge of him that was killed.

*Fight with the  
Portugals and  
Nayros.*

The twentieth, the Portugall Armada of foure and thirty saile passed by from the South, whereof foureteene ships, the rest Frigats: they put into the Harbour, where three Frigats lay at anchor; a hot fight followed, but the Portugals went away with disgrace, having onely cut one of the Frigats halves, which drove ashore and broke in pieces, belonging to the Governour, who was well served, keeping in the countrey, and keeping foure or five great peeces, which were at his disposing, in the Towne, locked up, all save one: neither had they powder and shot for above two shot. Before the fight was ended, some foure thousand Nayros were come downe; divers were slaine on both sides. Nine or ten Portugals were driven ashore, and two or three of the chiefe presently hanged by the heeles two dayes, and then being taken downe, the night following were devoured by wilde beasts.

The eight and twentieth, a Pattermar told that the Governour was friend to us only in shew, wishing the Portugalls in our roome; for we did no good in the Countrey, but brought wares which they were forced to buy, whereas they caused good by trading.

The eight of February, we received Letters from Surat.

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The fourth of March, wee received Letters from the King, wishing us, if our ships came, to come with them to Panean, and for our moneyes not to trouble our selves, for he would pay us, though he sold his Rings.

[I. v. 606.]

### Chap. II.

Notes taken out of the Journall of Alexander Childe, from England to Surat, and thence to Jasques in Persia, and of the fight by the way with the Portugals, in which Generall Joseph was slaine.

*June 13. 14.  
15. 1616.*



He thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth of June 1616. after our arrivall at Soldania, we made merry one with another, glad of our meeting there with Captaine Newport, homewards bound. We found heere good watering, but little refreshing else, save fresh-fish for our sicke men: the Blackes brought us nothing.

*August 1.*

The first of August, we fell with the maine, the place called Boobam in sixteen degrees, five and thirty minutes South latitude: variation thirteene degrees, twelve minutes.

*Fight with the  
Portugals  
Carricke.*

The sixt, we descried a saile, the Admirall of the Carricks that went this yeere from Lisbone. The Globe sailing better then the rest of the Fleet, first came up to her, and the Carrick presently gave her a whole broad side, shot divers shoots thorow the ship, and hurt a man or two, which caused her to fall asterne, and stand in with the Generall and the rest of the Fleet, shewing us of the Portugals discourtesie. When our Generall came up with the Carrick, he sent his Shallop aboard her to know of the Captaine, why hee shot at his friend, and to entreate him to come aboard to make satisfaction for the wrong done. But he sent the Boatswaine aboard the Generall, who told him directly that he would not come aboard, nor give

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satisfaction: who thereupon having sent his man aboard, began the fight, which continued an houre and halfe. But within lesse then an houre, an unluckie shot came from the Carrick, and slew our worthy Generall. Then did the Admirall presently fall off, and put abroad a flagge of Councell, where comming aboard, wee found to our grieve his body mangled with a Culverine shot, and himselfe suddenly departed.

*Captaine Benjamin Joseph slaine.*

We kept company with the Carricke till sixe the next morning, and it proved under the Iland Moyella, calme, that we were forced to anchor by meanes of a pretie strong current setting to the South, and passed the whole day in making our ships ready for fight. I tooke out my long Boat and Pinnasse out of my shippe, and mounted the rest of my Ordnance, and kept the Carricke company all the next night.

*Captaine Pepwell succeeds in place and fight.*

The eight, about seven in the morning, our Generall, Captaine Pepwell, seeing hee could not fetch her up so soone as he desired, called to me, whose ship went better, and gave mee leave to have the first onset. I came up and gave him three or foure broad-sides: and in the meane time the Generall came up, and I gave place; the Vice-Admirall also and the Globe one after another; and thus we fought all day. Betweene three and foure in the afternoone, his maine mast fell over-board, and presently his Foretop-mast followed: at five we gave him over within lesse then a league of the shoare, being a Lee-shoare, and a great sea. The Ilands name is Comora, very steepe to an hundred fathome, within lesse then a Cables length of the Rockes, and no ground: so we stood off and on all that night. The Generall was sorely wounded on the face with splinters from a great shot in his halfe deck, and Richard Hounsell the Master, was hurt in his arme, another had his head shot away, and divers others were hurt: I lost two men. The Generall in the evening sent Master Connock, Cape Merchant, to the Captaine of the Carricke, that if hee would yeeld, he should have good quarter, and be sent to Goa in safetie: his answere was, he

*Comora.*

*Captain Pepwell, and others wounded, divers slaine.*

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*The Carricke  
fired, reade  
more hereof in  
Sir Thomas  
Roe.*

neither would nor could : but if we could winne him with the sword, hee must be contented, and hoped to find honorable warres with us, if wee tooke him. At twelve in the night shee was aground betweene two rockes very steepe, and set on fire, whether accidentally or wilfully wee cannot tell.

The ninth, in the morning I sent Master Anthony Fugars, my mate, ashoare in my long Boat to see if any men were saved, and to take in some of them, to know how shee came on fire : but the Carricke was still burning, and not a Man of hers to bee seene. There were many Blackes of the Iland on the land against the Carrick, and they put out a flagge of truce for my men to come ashoare, but there was no landing in that place, nor within three leagues to the East or West, the rockes being steepe, and as high as our mayne Top-mast.

*Refreshing at  
Comora.*

The tenth, we bare about the South-west part of the Iland, and anchored in two and twenty fathome water with one, and another I laid out in fourteene, against a Towne called Mattonia, the people promising Beeves and all that the Iland did afford ; but we were frustrate of our hopes, till at last with much adoe we bought nine Beeves, some Goats, Hennes, Lemons, Plantans and Coco-nuts ; and I perswade my selfe they are very treacherous.

*September 24.  
Thomas Ker-  
ridge, he is  
now this June  
1622. re-  
turned home.  
[I. v. 607.]*

The foure and twentieth of September, wee plyed up to Swally Road, there anchored, and brought the Merchants aboard the Generall, the principall Factours name was Thomas Kerridge.

### The Voyage to Jasques.

*November 5.*

THE fifth of November, I went over the Barre of Swally, bound for Jasques in Persia. The tenth, the Iland of Diu did beare North from us three leagues distant. The eleventh, latitude twentie degr. twelve min. I sent my long Boat and Pinnasse, thinking to have spoken with a Fisher-man, and they found him a man of warre, and seven or eight in the Pinnasse were hurt with their arrowes, the long Boat not able to succour them.

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The two and twentieth, wee were in latitude foure and twenty degrees, ten minutes, variation eightene degrees from North to West. This day wee saw the Land of Goudel North and East, nine or ten leagues distant. *Goudel.* When you are within five leagues of the shoare, you shall see the Clifles whitish, like the Forland in most places.

The five and twentieth, in foure and twentie degrees, seven and fortie minutes, we were off a ragged mouldy Land, called by the Portugals Sete Setheayes, by us the seven Cities, shewing like seven Castles, standing a league from each other, the highest like a walled City, and lyeth West North-west from Cape Goudel sixe and twentie leagues, you may see it fourteene or fifteene leagues off, like Ilands, and may runne within a league of the shoare, in ten or twentie fathome, within a mile soft Ozie ground without danger: Variation, eightene degrees, I found no Current out or in.

On the seven and twentieth, latitude five and twenty degrees, two minutes: variation eightene degrees, thirty minutes land, as before.

The first of December, we stood off with the Persian shoare, having been put over on the Coast of Arabia, with a North-west and North North-west wind, we had much raine divers dayes: and on the second at night, we anchored five or sixe leagues to the West of Jasques, in two and twenty fathome Ozie ground. *December 1.*

The next I rode still, and sent the Pinnasse to see if they could speake with any people, but they could see no mention of any. At three of the clocke I set saile, and stood toward the Cape about a league, and anchored in eleven fathome Ozie ground. *Cape of Jasques.*

The fourth, I sent my chiefe Mate with the Frigat and Pinnasse, to see if hee could discover the Road of Jasques; but before he came ashoare, the Governour of the place, seeing us lye off and in with the shoare, sent a Fisher-boat to them, and they returned aboard with her. After some conference, wee sent Master Bell ashoare to the Governour, with his man and a Guzerat, to his

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Castle, a little mile from the waters side, with a Present, to sound what welcome: I kept two of their men for a pawne.

The fift, I weighed and went two leagues neerer the shoare, and anchored within a league of it, in five fathome at low water, tough Ozie ground, and a faire Bay. There runs no streame, but it flowes a fathome in the spring, and three or foure foot otherwise: a South-east and by East Moone makes high water. The Eastermost low point hath a Pagod or Meskite on it, and the Fisher-towne did beare North-east, in latitude five and twentie degrees, five and thirtie minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Diu ten degrees, fortie minutes West, and the Variation nineteene degrees, twenty minutes, from North to West, M. Bell returned with two of the Governours Souldiers, commending his entertaynment, and promised welcome to us.

The eight, M. Conock our Cape Merchant went ashoare, with M. Barker, and two other Factors, and returned at night with like newes.

The seventh, the Purser bought us foure Beeves and Goates, not fat at that time of the yeere, but such as gave us content.

*Mogustan.* The tenth, our Merchants went ashoare with their baggage, for their journey to Mogustan, and on the twelfth tooke their way thither.

*Rain scarce.* The thirteenth, I sent the Boat and Pinnasse to fetch water: the country-people that brought it downe, had after foure shillings English-money the tunne: it was raine-water (for they have no other) it raines but little in December, but in January it will raine sixe or seven dayes together, that it fils all their Cisternes and places of provision for the whole yeere following. I take it not whole-some being full of small wormes, that we were faine to straine our beverage.

The sixteenth, I sent my Mate about Ballast, wherein they found them unreasonable. I sent the Pinnasse to the Eastermost low point, for stones for Ballast. It is

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the worthiest place for fish in all the Indies. They laded *Fish & Ballast.* eighteene or twentie tunne of Ballast.

On the nineteenth, we received a Letter from M. Connock, halfe on-ward of his way to Mogustan, of their peaceable travell.

The first of January I received a Letter from Jasques, *January 1.* which came from our Merchants, & made us glad. On

the fifth, M. Connock would have had me gone with the ship to a place called Costake within seven leagues over *Costake.* against Ormus, whereto I was loath to yeeld, being out

of season of the yeere. The next day they talked of Piloting the ship to Sireck; but I was the same man. The *Sireck.* Merchants reported that they hoped it would be a good *Persian Trade* place of Trade, and in time, as good as any in India. *hopefull.*

The Pilot confessed it was dangerous then to carry the ship to Sireck, it was so foule, stormie, and a lee shoare, *[I. v. 608.]* the sea high, anchorage unsure, and Master Connock seeing the storme we there abode, so extreme, altered his mind, and speeded to land the goods at Jasques.

The twentieth, I set saile from the Road of Jasques: and the eight of Februarie, at ten of the clocke, wee anchored in Swally Road.

[Chap. III. -

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### Chap. III.

A Letter of Master Thomas Spurway, Merchant, touching the wrongs done at Banda to the English by the Hollanders (the former unkind disgusto and brabbling quarrels breaking now out into a furious, unexpected, injurious warre) Written in a Letter to the Companie.

Laus Deo in Bantam, the twentieth of November, 1617.

Honourable and Right Worshipfull, my humble dutie alwayes remembred, And may it please you to understand, &c.

*The beginning of this Letter was torne, and therefore as that, so this, a little imperfect: but what is here defective, hereafter you shall find supplied in Master Nathaniel Corthops relation, with the continuation of these Bandan affairs, and Dutch insolencies, in him, Master Haies and others. This I thought good to premise, as in time, so in cause preceded*



He nineteenth of November 1616. wee arrived at Moccasor, the Swan and the Defence, where we stayed to take in one hundred quoyne of Rice. In the time of our being there, and the fourth of December, we discried off at sea, a great ship, and comming at an anchor five leagues off. The fift dicto, they sent their skiffe ashoare, making directly to the English house, having eight men in her, which, as soone as wee perceived, wee ran to the sea side, and before we could come to them, two of their men were landed; so wee acquainted them with the danger they were runne into; for that the King of Moccasor, and all the Kings thereabouts, were their mortall enemies, in regard of the many abuses their people the Hollanders had done unto them, and that lately the Hollanders had carried away a principall Sabander, and others of Moccasor perforce, and therefore would be revenged; also acquainted them, that if the King were not the more mercifull, they were all dead men: so they would presently have gone into their skiffe. But the Moccasors flocking about us, layed hands on them; I presently, the Factor, and other English rode post unto the King,



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acquainting him what had happened, wee having a Guard of English neere the Hollanders for our better discharge, that the King might not conceive amisse of us, and that we were not accessarie to any treacherie that they might pretend. The King gave us thankses, and willed us to take these two men which were come on land, into the English house, and to learne of them their intent in comming thither, which we did. They said they were of the Fleet lately from Holland, having lost the rest of their consorts, and fell with the backside of Java: The one called John Stanch under-Merchant, as hee reported; The other an English man a Sayler: who perceiving the great danger they were in, desired us most earnestly, that wee would stand their friends, and get them free againe, bewayling their hard happe; we promised to doe our best for their good, and so to be gone. Presently comes the King of Moccasor, the King of Tallow, and divers others, to the number of two thousand men presently levied, and came by the sea side upon the sands, and sate in counsell upon these men: the King of Tallow would have had them all killed, but wee used our best meanes for their freedome. At last command was given, they should into their boat and be gone, the King saying, they were too small a revenge, he expecting a greater, so they departed into their ship. They had all beene presently killed, if wee had not beene.

The next day, wee perceived another boat comming towards land from the same ship; the King having notice thereof by his people, presently commanded twentie Prawes and Corre-corries to be manned, and to goe forth, which was on an instant effected, and made towards the Hollanders boat, the Hollanders still rowing in for the shoare, and directly to the English house: the Prawes and the Corre-corries still edging neere the boat, betweene the shoare and them. The Hollanders perceiving their intent, turned their boat, and made toward their ship againe, being foure leagues off, but it was too late, for the Moccasors in short time had fetcht them up, and boarded their

*ing the fights in the ensuing Voyages mentioned.*

*The King of Moccasor, and all the Kings thereabouts mortal enemies to the Flemmings. Novemb. 7. Two Hollanders land at Moccasor.*

*The King of Moccasor levieth two thousand men.*

*The English procure the life of the Hollanders.*

*The Hollanders attempted to land againe at Moccasor, whom the Moccasorians intercepted, slew them all, being sixteene.*

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*The English  
courteous to the  
Hollanders,  
going towards  
Banda.*

boat on each side, entred, and instantly killed every man of the Hollanders, being in number sixteene, and brought away their boat: wee were that time commanded to keepe house. There were about that time neere five thousand people on the sea side. This Holland-ship called the Indrought, imagining us bound for the Moluccas, or Banda, stayed off at sea.

[I. v. 609.]

Wee set sayle out of Moccasor Road the eighth of December, 1616. The said Holland-ship seeing us under sayle, they also weighed and kept us companie: wee would gladly have gone from them, but could not, in regard of the Defence her bad sayling. They sent their boat aboard of us, desiring two quoynes of Rice, foure tunnes of water and hennes, all which wee spared them, paying onely fortie Rials of eight for two quoynes of Rice: the rest wee gave unto them. Wee demanded of them why they would attempt to come to land at Moccasor, they said that their first boat was not then returned unto their ship, so they thought their factorie had still beene there: but I verily beleewe, it was their obstinate boldnesse, and presuming that their first boat was denied onely upon the instigation of us the English, wherefore they would make triall againe, purposing to have flattered the King, and to have come there againe, and to have settled a Factorie, and so to have hindered the English: for it is a manifest token of such a project, both of their boats comming by our ships, and within Musket shot, yet would not come aboard to inquire what newes on shoare, as they went on shoareward, which if they had, wee could have fore-warned them of that danger. So now their obstinacie and rash proceedings purchased them a just reward, &c. They kept us companie untill wee came neere Ambina, and so stood in for that place, wee standing our course. Now, since wee understand that they have reported, that wee were the occasion that their men were killed at Moccasor, which is most false: for, I protest, wee used our best meanes to free them, the first eight men had else also died.

*The Hollanders  
slander  
us.*

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The thirteenth of December, 1616. the Swan and Defence arrived in the Road of Polaroone. The fourteenth dicto, the people of the said Iland came aboard the ships with whom we had conference about the surrendring of their Iland of Polaroone. Also our Nation had many times beene at their Iland to our great charges, and partly upon their requests, to settle a Factorie, and to have friendly trade with them, in bringing them commodities, as Rice, Cloth, and other provisions for their Spices, and that we desired not to usurpe, and bring them in subjection, or bondage, as the Hollanders, and other Nations have formerly; and that wee now came to settle a factorie, if they would surrender their Ilands of Polaroone, unto our Kings Majestie of England by writing: also by delivering earth, with a tree and fruits of the said Iland, as true token of their fidelitie, and so every yeare a nut-tree in remembrance, and in so doing, wee would furnish them with Rice, and Cloth, and other commodities, for present and also yeerly. And being settled on the said Iland of Polaroone, sufficient supplies should come every yeere in better manner then now at present, and that we would to the uttermost of our powers, with our men and shippes, defend them against any their enemies, if they came to doe us or them wrong. Wee also demanded of them, whether they had made any contract with the Hollanders, and given them any surrender; they all replied, they had not, nor never would: but held them as mortall enemies, confessing and averring unto us (both Polaroone men and divers of the principals, which once lived upon Polaway and fled to Polaroone upon the Hollanders comming there, and getting it by force of Armes.) They doe all still averre, and doe maintaine the Iland of Polaway to belong unto our Kings Majestie of England, by a lawfull surrender unto Richard Hunt, before the Hollanders came into the Road, and caused the English Colours to be set up in the Castle, which the Hollanders shot downe severall times, and used many disgracefull words of his Majestie. This the Bandanese doe still confirme, and that they did

*Surrender of Polaroone. For their sollicitation of the English to this trade, see Milwards Journall, also Capp. Keelings, Middletons, &c.*

*The men of Polaroone and Polaway protest that they nor had, nor would make contract with the Hollander. Polaway was delivered over to the English before the Hollanders came into their road. The Bandanese desire to have the English Colours set up.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

defend it, as long as possibly they could, to his Majesties use, untill perforce they must leave the said Iland, and so fled to Polarroone, Lantor, and Serran.

This Councell continued all the day, and so concluded: the writings being drawne and confirmed by the principals of Polarroone and Polaway, and so delivered by their owne hands unto us, viz. Nathaniel Corthop, Thomas Spurway, and Sophonie Cozocke, to his Majesties use. Also the same instant delivered us a Nutmeg-tree with the fruits thereon in the Earth, with other fruits, and a living Goat: and further, desired to have the English Colours set up upon the Iland, and to have Gunnes shot off. All which was presently effected, the Colours set up, and sixe and thirtie peeces of Ordnance shot off: and so at night they parted in friendly manner, repaying to the shoare.

*Hollanders  
invade Polar-  
roone with  
bravades and  
bloudie  
Ancients.*

The five and twentieth of December being Christmas day, we discovered two great Holland ships edging neere Polarroone. They discovering our ships in the Road bore roome for Nero: and the six and twentieth another did the like. The eight and twentieth, another Holland Pinasse standing right over for Polarroone, came braving within shot of our Fort, having the Flemmish Colours on the poope, and presently tacked about, and taking them downe, sets up in lieu thereof a bloudie Ancient, and stands over for Nero. By this we expected their coming daily, according to their old custome of injuring us. On the thirtieth, we landed foure Peeces of Ordnance, besides two other on Christmas day, and went to worke to fortifie for our defence. And with the helpe of the Banderes we made two Forts, one called the Swan-Fort, the other the Defence-Fort, and mounted on each three Peeces. The Swans Fort is within Caliver shot of the ships, commands the Road at pleasure to the Easterne side, where the principall Road is for the Westerly Monson.

*Holland ships  
approch to our  
ships at  
Polarroone.*

The third of Januarie there came into the Road three Holland ships from Nero, the Horne, of eight hundred

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tunnes; the Starre, five hundred; the Yaugar, one hundred and sixtie: which came to anchor close by our ships; the Horne by the Swan, the Starre by the Defence, the Yaugar a head of all to cut off supplie from the shoare: all these ships full of men, &c.

Now our commission directed us that having received [I. v. 610.] the surrender, and settled at Polaroone, we should give notice unto the Hollanders thereof by writing, that they should not come there to molest us, as formerly they were accustomed, pretending ignorance. A Letter to the same effect we had readie written, but could not tell how to convey it to them, not daring to send English or Bandanese for feare of detention. These ships therefore comming into the Road wee sent George Muschamp aboard their Admirall the Starre, and hee delivered the Letter to the Commander, called Dedall, advising them to depart the Road before sixe Glasses were run, for that the Ilanders would not have them stay in the Road, nor come neere them; and would have shot unto them from the shore, had not we caused them to forbear. Presently their Commander Dedall and their Predicant, came aboard the Swan to know the reason: wee told them that their comming was to doe us injurie, as formerly they had done at Polaway, Cambella, and other places; and how they had turned the Glasse for Master Ball, having him in their possession, and threatning to hang him presently if hee caused not the English to come from Land forthwith. Also we then shewed them the surrender of Polaroone, and our right and possession there for his Majestie of England, which we would hold and maintayne to our utmost power: and wished them to be well advised what they did, and that they would be shortly called to an account for their disgracefull words and abuses done to the English: demanding also of them the Iland of Polaway, as in right due to his Majestie by lawfull surrender: further, demanding of them if they had any surrender of the Iland of Polaroone. But they could not say of any they had; and when wee shewed the surrender wee had

*The English  
make knowne  
to the Hollan-  
ders that the  
Iland was  
English.*

*The Hollan-  
ders could  
make no  
clayme to  
Polaroone.*

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unto them, the Predicant having the same in his hand aboard the Swan, perusing it, said with these words, This is a true Surrender.

All this time the Glasse running in the great Cabin before their faces, put them in mind of being gone. We also told them, that their comming was onely to betray us, and to put us from the Iland by their treacherie, which our Nation hath divers times had experience of: wherefore we neither could nor would trust them any more; and so put them in mind of being gone, for the Glasse sixe times run, they must expect shot from the shore: and if in case they did reply and did shoote unto the Land, or shewed any discourtesie or wrong unto the people of Polarooke, we would take it as done to us, and would defend them being now becomne our Kings subjects. They would have stayed untill the next day, but wee would not grant it, doubting that more of their Ships might have comne over. They then desired till mid-night, which wee granted if wee might see them about to way their Anchors: and that wee would send unto the shore and perswade the Bandaneses to forbear. Also I demanded of Dedall the cause of their comming to molest us, who answered, It had beene formerly a custome in passing by the Iland. I told him that was untruth, for that the people of the Iland had reported unto us, that there was never any Christian ship in the Road till wee came, and that wee were the first. So hee was silent and would not mantayne his report. They came into the Road about three of the clocke in the afternoone, and departed thence about eleven at night. Wee have beene since informed that they came purposely to betray us, and to have beaten us out of the Road, or to have taken our ships; and have given the attempt, but that they perceived we were fortified on the Land. If they had then begun, wee doubted not but to have made our parties good with them. For wee had both Forts readie, and our Gunners readie to give fire upon our watchword or signe from the ships.

The tenth of Januarie, a Holland Ship and Pinnasse

*The English  
were the first  
Christians  
that ever came  
into the Road  
of Polarooke.  
The Hollan-  
ders came to  
beat us out of  
the Road.*

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came forth from Nero: the Pinnasse came edging neere the small Iland or high sand adjoyning to Polarooone, called Nylacka, belonging unto Polarooone, and consequently to the English. There are no Inhabitants upon the said Iland or sand, but it is full of Trees and Bushes, and Polarooone men resort thither daily to fish about the said small Iland. Now the said Pinnasse came neerer the said Iland and did sound the depth as shee went, which we perceiving made foure shot at her from the Defences Fort, not intending to strike her, but shot wide, giving them notice to forbear and be gone. The Pinnasse at every shot replied with a Base, or some such like peece, unto the small Iland amongst the Trees, where there were some English and some Bandanese of Polarooone, which were in danger of their shot. And seeing they braved us in such manner, the Gunner was bid to doe his best, who then made a shot, which fell close over them at the Sterne of their Pinnasse or Frigat, which made them crie out and presently get off. They were Hollanders, and seemed men which came to sound the depth and where to land, purposing to come with their forces, and there to fortifie and so to put us from the great Iland.

*The Hollanders send a Pinnasse to sound the depth by Polarooone, and to invade us.*

Januarie the thirteenth, Master Davey complayning he wanted water, and purposing to goe over for Wayre upon Lantore side and there to water, we acquainted the people of Polarooone heerewith, who would by no meanes consent hee should goe out of the Road: neither would wee, doubting some injurie from the Hollanders. And the people of Polarooone told us, that they would rather fetch them water over upon Lantore with their Prawes. I went presently aboard and acquainted Master Davey herewith; but He and the Companie would not yeeld hereunto, but spake all in generall against it, and said, that the Bandanese would bring them raine water, or such as might bee unholosome for his men to drinke: saying, it was but sixe or eight dayes time.

*John Davies in the Swan would goe out of the Road to fetch water.*

The same time there came over unto us from Wayre, a [I. v. 611.] free Towne upon Lantore, also from the Ile of Rosinging

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*The Ile of  
Rosing and  
Towne of  
Wayre desire  
to surrender  
themselves,  
and to have  
some goe to  
take the same  
surrender.  
The Swan  
and four Mer-  
chants goe to  
Rosing, and  
take the sur-  
render.*

*The people of  
Rosing and  
Wayre goe  
with goods to  
the Swan.*

*The Starre  
takes the Swan,  
slaying five  
men, using  
cruell violence,  
and proud  
insultation.*

(an Iland of it selfe) the Principalls of both those places, to have parley with us, to surrender both the said Wayre and Rosing unto his Majestie, as the people of Polarroone had lately done. Now, the surrender of both those places being drawne, and all concluded upon at Polarroone, they desired that some English might goe over to receive the same from all their hands, and to see all rights thereunto performed. Now, Master Daveys resolution being to goe over to water, we concluded that Master Sophonie Cozock, George Muschamp, Robert Fuller, and Thomas Hodges, should goe over for Wayre and Rosing in the Swan, to performe the said businesse, or see it done, and the Swan there to water; after which dispatched, it was ordered that Master Sophonie should returne againe in the Swan, and the other three should remayne upon the Iland of Rosing for possession, till further order. All businesse being there ended according to our expectation, divers men of Wayre and Rosing desired, to lade Nuts and Mace in the Swan, and passage for Polarroone, there to sell their Spices to us for Rice and Cloth. All being granted, they shipped twelve of themselves with Nuts and Mace, a great quantitie.

The Swan set saile and went for Geulegola, being but a little way from Wayre, as I understand, and there watered; after which they set saile and eight leagues off land, a Holland ship or two gave them chase; which they in the Swan perceiving, asked the Master what he meant to doe, thinking that hee purposed to fight with them. Master Davey answered; they see my Colours and I see theirs, I know him to be a Hollander, they me to be an Englishman; I know no hurt I have done them, and I stand for my Port of Polarroone. And in short time, the Holland ship the Starre, being come within shot, never haled the Swan, nor said word of their intent, but let flie great shot and small in most violent manner; the Swan having received two or three great shot thorow and thorow, before shee ever replied, and some of the men killed. The fight continued, as Master Davey writes, one houre and halfe,



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wherein five men of the Swan were killed, viz. Sophonie Cozock, Merchant, beaten in pieces with a great shot; Robert Morten, quarter-master and Drummer; Christopher Droope, Edward Murtkin, and a Bandanese of Wayre, a passenger. Three others were mayned, having lost Legs and Armes, and almost all hope of life, if not dead already: More, eight men wounded, most of their wounds deadly. And in this their crueltie, a villaine of the Starre standing upon the Poope with a drawne Sword, braved with these words, English Villaines and Rogues, we will kill you all (thus he spake in Dutch.) It seemeth that the Swans men were much discouraged, seeing many of their men lye dead, wounded, lamenting; insomuch that none would stand by the sailes to trimme the ship for their best advantage: so that the Holland ship lay still in her quarter powring in small shot and great, and so tooke her, bording her both Souldiers and others; brake up Cabbins and pillaged them, and the men also in most base manner, both of clothes and all things else, throwing over bord what they liked not. The Spaniard never used more crueltie in their professed Warre. The Starre had in her one hundred and three score men, most Souldiers, taken from Nero and Polaway Castle: the Swan having not above thirtie able men to fight, the rest sicke and lame: and the men somewhat wearied out in toilsome labour at Polarroone, in landing the Ordnance and making two Forts. Ten also of their companie were left in Polarroone to defend the Forts, two of which were Gunners, viz. Harman Hammon, and John Day.

The Swan being taken they carried her presently under Nero Castle and all the men, shee being much battered and torne; they much glorying in their victorie, and shewing the Bandanese their exploit, in the great disgrace of the English, what they could, saying, that the King of England might not compare with their great King of Holland, and that one Holland ship would take ten of the English ships, and that Saint George is now turned child, and that they care not for the King of England.

*Egregium vere  
laudent!*

*The surrender  
of Polarroone  
was taken in  
the Swan, so  
we procured  
another verba-  
tim from the  
Polarroone men,  
which I have  
brought with  
the Surrender  
of Resinging,  
and delivered  
both at  
Bantam, &c.*

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The Swan being brought to Nero, they presently sent our men on shore and keepe them all prisoners, many of them in yrons, neither Man nor Boy having libertie. The Swan set saile from Polaroone the sixteenth of Januarie, 1616. wee expecting her returne in eight or ten dayes at furthest; but never heard of her till the five and twentieth of Februarie by Robert Fuller, who being at Rosinging and Wayre, heard of an English ship under Nero Castle, and came over to Polaroone to acquaint us therewith.

*A Messenger  
sent to know  
why they took  
our ship. Their  
borish usage of  
him.*

*Their vaunts  
and threats.*

[I. v. 612.]

Presently we dispeeded away Robert Hayes, Purser of the Defence, with some principall men of Polaroone, to land upon Lantore side being our friends, so to goe as neere as might bee to the Holland ships, and to make signe to them by a white Flagge of Truce. Our Messenger stayd almost two houres. At last they came with their Boat to fetch him, but made him wade to the middle, and so carried him aboard one of the Holland ships. The Principall and Assistants of Nero meeting him aboard, our Messenger demanded, why they had taken the Swan, and what was become of the men, the reason of detayning the Ship, men and goods. They answered, that Time should bring to light. Our Messenger still urging to know, and therefore he was sent, they used many disgracefull words of the English, and that they would come over to Polaroone with their forces, and drive us from the Iland and other places. Hayes replied, they had alreadie done more then they could answer: and returned, without sight of any man of the Swans companie. The poore ship there lay rent and torne in view of the Countrey people. In short time after, they sent over unto us a Messenger with a Letter, which we answered, as we did others after sent, their Messenger still comming with a Flagge of Truce, all which said Letters and Surrenders I brought with me to Bantam and delivered to Captayne Ball.

Now we were still threatned by their Letters, as also by word of mouth from their Messenger, that as they had

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the Swan, so would they also come to fetch the Defence, and drive us from the Iland. Wee still answered, that wee expected their comming in regard they had so often threatned us, and that we would defend it as long as life lasted. Many bravado's they made, daily shooting at Nero and Polaway, fortie, fiftie and sixtie pieces of Ordnance, thinking to affright us therewith. Also the people of Lantore brought us word that they were fitting their ships, and shipping Planke and Earth, which wee imagined was for Land service, having then seven Ships, foure Gallies and Frigats, and many men: and that they pretended to come over to fight with us. And that they had instigated their Blacks (which are Slaves) that if they could by any meanes goe over to Polaroone, and there set on fire the Defence, they should be Free-men, as also some other reward they should have. Also the Hollanders reported, that wee should carry no Spices from the Iland, or any the Ilands of Banda. Hereupon wee considered, that having made a contract with the people of Polaroone, Wayre and Rosinging, and had trusted our goods unto them: Also a good quantitie of Nuts and Mace being readie to dispatch away, lying readie upon Polaroone: The Hollanders threatning to come over and force us from the said Iland of Polaroone, and to take the Defence: Hereupon we resolved, to maintayne the Honour of our King, and good of the honourable Companie our employers; to land all the gunnes out of the Defence, and all provisions else, and to fortifie upon the small Iland adjoyning unto Polaroone, there being no people on the small Iland, but full of Trees and Bushes. And there the Hollanders purposed to have landed and to have fortified, which had they performed they would have commanded the Road and done us much injurie; for that the people also of the Iland Polaroone, could not have fished as they were accustomed, neither could the English have come into the Road, but that they on the small Iland would have beaten them off. And to prevent all dangers, we landed all the Defences Ordnance (onely foure great

*Reports that  
the Hollanders  
were prepar-  
ing ships  
against Pola-  
roon.*

*Hollanders  
practise to fire  
the ship  
Defence.  
Hollanders  
threaten that  
we should have  
no Spice from  
those Ilands.*

*Our people  
fortifie Pola-  
roone.*

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peeces, and some Bread and two Butts of Syder, also a Terce of wine) and were all fortifying upon the said small Iland, with the helpe of the Bandanesees.

*Nine men went  
away in the  
Defence unto  
the Hollan-  
ders: John  
Christmas  
Boatsons mate  
John Owers,  
William Car-  
ter, Richard  
Taylor, Ed-  
ward Bridges,  
John Harris,  
Will. Rock-  
well, Hugh  
Woodlock.*

The Master of the Defence, Master Hynsley, being also on the small Iland, and all men else at worke, and landing things, some men being left aboard the said Defence to keepe the Ship, a conspiracy was plotted, and the same night the twentieth of March, 1616. either they let the Ship drive, or cut the Cables, and so drove off in the night, which we perceiving from the small Iland, presently sent a Boate after them; advising them to returne with the said Ship: but those Villaines would not heare them, neither suffer the Boate to come neere them, but bent their peeces against them, and discharged a Musket shot at them. They being not able to over-come them, forsooke the said Ship and came backe unto us at the small Iland, acquainting us what had passed. The next day we perceived they run into Nero Road, under saile, and under the command of Nero Castle; some of the men went presently, as we understand, on shoare, and meeting with the Hollanders, reported unto them of their exploit, and contending amongst themselves who should be the best Pilot in conducting the Ship thither; one reporting it was I; and another, it was I: and as the Hollanders Messenger reported unto us, afterwards comming over unto us, that they brought a kan of Wine ashoare and dranke unto the Hollanders, as soone as they came on shoare. Presently the Hollanders tooke possession of the said Ship the Defence, and had all the Villaines into their Castle, and examined them of all our proceedings at Polaroone; and they discovered all how we were fortified, and what passed amongst us. These Villaines tooke the course to cut all our throats upon Polaroone; for the going away of the Ship bred a jealousie in the Bandanesees, that it was a pretended plot amongst us to joyne with the Hollanders, and so to betray them. Also their discovering our weaknesse upon Polaroone might have encouraged the Hollanders to have attempted that in which else they

*The Hollan-  
ders encour-  
aged by the  
Villaines that  
run away.*

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perchance would have doubted of victorie. And indeed, many sharpe threats wee had after the running away of these fellowes, and expected daily their comming over; which had they come it would have cost many mans life. For their having taken the Swan, and killed our men, abusing them with imprisonment and fetters, and all the disgrace that might bee, hath much hardned the hearts of the English against them.

The three and twentieth of March, 1616. we dispeeded away a Letter unto the Hollanders at Nero, by Robert Fuller, who being landed upon Lantore, the people of Lantore being then in parley with the Hollanders, about a Factorie, that the Hollanders desired upon Lantore, and also would build a Fort there, but the people of Lantore would not graunt it; This time our Messenger could not passe, but desired to stay three or foure dayes with kind words from the Lantore people, so our Messenger returned. The effect, to demand the Defence, Men and Goods.

*The people of  
Lantore wil  
not accord  
with the  
Hollanders.*

The five and twentieth dicto, a Messenger came over unto us from Laurence Ryall, principall Generall, being newly come to Nero from the Moluccas, understanding what had passed, desiring to have parley with us, and would have Master Corthop and my selfe to come in a Praw, and two of his principall Merchants should doe the like, and so to meete each other halfe way betwixt Polaroway and Polarooone, to parley. But we refused their demand, doubting the treacherie, for they might have men lye secret, and so carry us away perforce.

*[I. v. 613.]  
Offers of parly  
betweene the  
Hollanders  
Agents and  
Factors of  
Polarooone.*

Also the same time, and by the Hollanders Messenger, we received a Letter from Master Davey being prisoner at Nero. The effect, disliking of what we had done and still did maintayne, in keeping the said Iland of Polarooone, and that our commission could not warrant what we had done, and advising us to have parley with the Generall, Laurence Ryall, and to come to some agreement that no more blood might be spilt. All which he hath written, I conceive, was by the instigation of the Hollanders, pos-

*John Davis his  
judgement by  
information of  
the Hollanders.*

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sessing him with many untruths, as hereafter it plainly appeareth: the first and principall they had so wrought him in humouring him, and made him beleeeve that they had our Kings Majesties Letters to take any English ships, if they found them to the Eastward of the Selebes, which newes made us much to marvaile: and that if any such things were, we must obey it.

Hereupon we did write a Letter unto Laurence Ryall Generall, by his Messenger, that if he would send over unto us two of his principall Merchants, viz. Henrick de Watterfoord, and Peeter Younge, and to land them upon the small Iland; and having received them into our charge, Master Corthop, and one more to attend upon him, would presently goe over, so their Messenger departed; and two dayes after, viz. the third of Aprill, returned with his answer, The two Merchants, before named, which we desired for pledges could not come: the one gone to Sea in the Horne, the other his businesse such, being principall Booke-keeper, could not be spared. The said Laurence Ryall propounding two others lately come over, and principall Merchants, called Cornelius Neep and Hans Rogers. Wee returned the said Messenger, accepting them: And the sixt of Aprill their Galley came over unto us and brought these two men. Presently received them into our charge, and a Tent being set up neere the place where they landed, there lodged them, because they should not come neere our Forts to take any view how we were fortified, and placed a Guard alwayes about the Tent, twelve English men with small shot, and that they might receive no wrong of the Bandaneses. Presently Master Corthop went into their Galley and went over to Nero, and arrived there neere night and was received; no words passed that night but referred untill next day: so the next day did discourse, many Oppositions on both sides, which I leave to relate because of the Letter of Master Corthop, which I brought from Banda, and delivered unto Captayne Ball, will certifie your Worships at large. Onely a little I will touch, Many threatning words they used, and spake

*Nath. Corthop  
upon pledge  
goeth to parly  
with the Hol-  
landers at  
Nero.*

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of many abuses they had received by the English. Imprimus, that Sir Henrie Middleton did weare the Hollands colours in the Red Sea, in the Trade, and gave out they were Hollanders. Master Corthop replied, that was an untruth, for that hee came forth in the said Ship, and continued in her as long as shee raigned, and never knew her to weare Hollands colours; and replied, That Sir Henrie was a Gentleman that much scorned to weare the Hollands colours. Also reported, That they had the King of Englands Letters to take any English to the Eastward of the Selebes. So Master Corthop urged them that he might see the same, and that if they could shew him that we would obey it and begone, but they could shew no such Letter. Divers other things they alleaged, but no truth; and many perswasions to leave the Iland of Polaroone, perswading him the great error we were run into in holding the same. All this while, Master Davey, neither any the English were permitted to come neere Master Corthop. The Generall, Laurence Ryall, seeing hee could not prevaile and to have his desire, grew much discontented, and threw his Hat on the ground, and pulled his Beard for anger: Master Corthop answering him, that hee could doe nothing of himselfe, but was joynd to a counsaile being Assistants, and would relate what had passed when he came to Polaroone, and that we would consider of it, and so write our direct answer. Thus I advised him to say, that he might get the more freely away: Also Master Corthop demanded the Defence, Men and Goods in their possession, but they would deliver neither Ships nor Men except upon composition. Thus being Laurence Ryalls demand, that we would permit him to come with his Ships and Gallies unto the small Iland adjoyning to Polaroone, where our Castle is and twelve peeces of Ordnance, and there to land his Men and his Ordnance, and being possessed, would deliver unto us the Swan and Defence, and all our Men; and for the goods, he would make restitution to all to a penny. All this would not doe; then to conclude, Desired Master Corthop

*The Hollanders accuse our people of untruths.*

*The Hollanders report that they have our Kings Letters for taking of ships, &c. all untruths.*

*The Hollander denie to restore our ships, but upon conditions to render Polaroone.*

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to set his hand unto a Note which hee had drawne, The effect, That the said Laurence Ryall had made these proffers unto us; Master Corthop likewise refused and would not put his hand hereunto.

*Laurence  
Ly-all.*

[I. v. 614.]

*The men of  
the Swan did  
complaine of  
want of food  
and clothing,  
in their impri-  
sonment in the  
Hollanders  
hands, and  
that they had  
sate in Judge-  
ment upon  
them, and  
given sentence  
upon them.  
A Praw sent  
toward Ban-  
tam from  
Polaroon.*

Now, they had so wrought with Master Davie, that they were perswaded that hee would perswade somewhat: he was sent for by the Generall, and admitted into the roome with Master Corthop. So Master Corthop and he had much discourse, speaking of the Letter which they should have, and was perswaded that it was true, and that we continued in a great error. Then Master Corthop acquainted him what had passed in discourse with Laurence Ryall, and what proffer we had made him, if he would shew us the said Letters: which Master Davie perceiving so reasonable a proffer, which they could not, according as they had verified unto him, make good: Master Davie presently in great furie railed against them all, saying, they had done him great injurie, in telling him and possessing him with so many falshoods: and further said, that they promised him and his men good quarter, but his men complained much of want of food, and clothing, and hard usage; and that they had sate in Judgement upon him and his companie, and had given them all condemnation, there to remaine untill they heard out of Holland; and could be content to remaine, so as we could keepe them from the Iland of Polaroon, &c. So Master Corthop tooke his leave and was brought over againe unto us, and being landed, we presently released their hostage, and so departed for Nero. Now the easterly Monson being come, we fitted a Bandan Praw to dispeed away from Bantam, to give advise what had passed. It was concluded, my selfe, Mr Hynsley Master of the Defence, and others, to the number of foure English, and fourteene Bandanese of Polaroon should goe. Wee had the greater number of men, doubting of the Hollanders laying wait for us, whereby we might by rowing free our selves, and indeed the Principals of Polaroon desired it. These which wee brought, five of them are principall men,



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one is the Sabandors sonne, the principall of the Iland his father is ; the other foure are Orencayas, and the rest their servants : These also came to deliver the Nutmeg tree and earth of the said Iland, and to manifest their loves unto the English.

Wee set sayle from Polarooone the seventeenth of Aprill, 1617. and as wee fell with Bottone, standing our course for Moccasor, we discovered a great ship and pinnasse, they seeing us, gave us chase baring a presse saile, so that wee had no way to escape them, onely wee must perforce stand in for Bottone, and did. Halfe a day they gave us chase, and had fetcht us up had we not rowed hard, so we were neere the Towne of Bottone by night, thinking they would not have come so farre into the river. Next morning wee perceived this ship and pinnasse, almost within Musket shot of us, presently we landed most of what we had in our Praw, and carried it into the Woods, and went presently unto the King, and gave him a Present (such things as we had) to the value of thirtie Rials, desiring his protection, which he promised us in all kind manner, and sent his servants to put all our things in house, and put us into two severall houses to lodge, and to keepe in, that we were not seene abroad ; so wee tooke our leave. Wee were no sooner gone but presently comes the Hollanders, and gives a Present three times the value of what wee gave, enquiring what we were that were landed : but the King replied, that he did not know. The King demanding them how long they meant to stay, they said, sixe dayes : hereupon the King advised us to stay so long time, to see if they will goe or not, that wee might goe with the more securitie. The sixe dayes being expired, they would stay sixe dayes longer to mend their Mast, as they reported. So, seeing their intent, and our Praw lying in view of their ship and Pinnasse, that we could not goe about to fit our Praw, but they would have taken notice thereof. Wherefore I bought a Praw, and the King commanded all our things to bee carried by his slaves into the same, lying out of sight of the ship. And all things being

*A Holland ship  
and pinnasse  
gave chase.*

*Heathen  
kinder then  
Hollanders to  
the English.*

*We by the help  
of the King of  
Bottone, got  
another praw,  
and came to  
Bantam.*

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fitted, sent his men out of the river, passing neere the Holland ship with the praw, and to carrie her about on the backside of the Iland, and sent fiftie men with us, and conveighed us over land unto the said Praw, where we went presently aboard, and kept under the Iland untill neere night, and so stood our course for Moccasor, heard no more of them. Wee were enformed that the Hollanders kept watch every night upon the water neere our Bandan Praw at Bottone.

Wee arrived at Mocassor the seventh of May, 1617. and there we found the Attendance pretended for Banda, but could not beat it up, the Easterly Monson being come. So we shipped in the Attendance, an hundred and eightie suckets of Mace which was bought at Moccasor, and sent the Praw for Benjarmasin and Suckadania for advice, and that a supplie of goods was not yet come to furnish those parts, as was pretended, for that the Salomon was not arrived yet at Bantam, being long expected.

*The surren-  
drie of the Ile  
of Banda,  
brought to  
Bantam, and  
delivered to  
Master Ball.*

The third of June wee arrived with the Attendance at Bantam, understanding of the death of Captaine George Barkley. And Master Ball succeeding him Captaine of the house: unto him I delivered all things, viz. two Surrenders, the Hollanders Letters, and other Copies of Letters to them written by us, and all things else of our proceedings in Banda; all which, I doubt not, but your Worships shall receive by the first convayance.

Also, may it please your Worships to understand, the Messenger that came over first unto us from the Hollanders, having beene with us two severall times, with Letters from the Principals of the Hollanders at Banda; This Fellow called Christopher van Loare, as he reported, came over unto us in a Praw, and three Blackes with him, saying, that he was runne from the Hollanders upon discontent, the Captaine of Nero having abused him, and that he loved the English, and would serve us: also was exceeding earnest with us, presently upon his comming over, and importuned us extraordinarily, that we should goe that night upon the Iland of Polaway with fiftie men,

## THOMAS SPURWAY

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and he would warrant us the Iland of Polaway, and would bring us so that we should take the Castle, discovering unto us his plots. I could not beleeeve him, but told him, that hee was sent to betray us; This fellow hereupon protested, and swore most deeply to the contrarie, and that the Hollanders would presently hang him, if ever they did take him. Wee told him, we would not seeke it by force of Armes, for wee had no commission so to doe: not doubting but they would be made to deliver the said Iland, by right of Law and Justice: the English having the first possession and surrender of the said Iland, and were by force of Armes put from it. Upon his protestations, Master Corthop accepted of him, and gave him libertie, and went with him wheresoever he went upon the Iland, so that he saw all our fortifications and occurrences of businesse (which much grieved me, for I counsailed him many times to lay him fast, at the first place where he was received, which was upon the Defencefort, and told him often my opinion, that he was a villaine, and was sent to betray us; also it was the opinion of the Bandaneses :) yet all would not perswade Master Corthop: so I thought good to have him with mee to Bantam, and that he might bee sent for England, for that hee knew of all wrongs the Hollanders have done unto us. And he hath said unto mee and others, that the three ships that were with us at Polaroone, which before I noted, came purposely to fight with us, and to have beaten us from the Iland; and that the Horne had plancke, bricke, and lime and other provision to fortifie upon Polaroone, or the small Iland, but that wee were before hand. Also hee did manifest unto us of foure other great ships that were sent from Nero, which ships wee saw come forth, and plied for Polaroone: but they were by the strong currant put to leeward, and so forced for Amboyna. Also he told us, that their condemned slaves were set to worke to fire the Defence at Polaroone; and if they could performe it, they should have their libertie, and bee free-men. All this he manifested and averred to be true. Within three dayes

*The Ile of  
Polaway taken  
from us by  
force of Arms.  
A counterfeit  
messenger or  
dissembling  
run-away.*

*The Hollan-  
ders suborned  
their slaves to  
set fire upon  
the ship  
Defence.*

A.D.  
1617.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Captaine Ball.*

*The counter-  
feit Hollander  
suffered to  
escape by the  
toleration of  
G. Ball.*

after our arrivall at Moccasor, this Fellow published that the Swan was taken by one of their Pinnasses, and other disgracefull words tending to the disgrace of the English: which as soone as I heard thereof, I presently charged the Master of the Attendance with him, and so sent him aboard: hereupon hee vowed to have my life. Shortly after we set sayle for Bantam, and comming neere, put him in the Bilboes, and searched him and his Chest for Letters which he might have of advice, to convey unto the Hollanders, and found a draught, which (hee said) was of Polaway Castle; also a Letter pretended unto the principall of the Hollanders, or English at Bantam: all which I delivered unto Captaine Ball. This fellow reported he was a director in the building of the Forts at Polaway, and that he had experience therein: and when hee came over to us, brought two hundred Rials of eight. So at my arrivall at Bantam, I did acquaint Captaine Ball of businesses, and advised that the fellow might be carefully looked to, and kept prisoner, that hee ranne not away, to doe us hurt. He willed to have him brought ashore; My selfe and others went and fetched him and delivered him prisoner in the house. Captayne Ball had some discourse with him, who it is likely gave him good words, as formerly he had done, with many protestations of his loyaltie: and had his libertie in the house (never made fast with yrons, nor in any roome.) And many times I spake to Captayne Ball, to make him sure, and told him he would watch his time to run away: whose answer was, he should run if he would, little regarding it, it much greeving me to harbour a Traytor in our bosomes. Hee having beene two moneths in the house, the second of August, 1617. got out, and ran into the Dutch house, whereas I had advised to keep him sure, and send him in the first ship for England, so to have witnessed against the Holanders, as he must have acknowledged and spoken truth upon oath; which would much have advantaged your Worships in the prosecution in Law, touching the mayne businesse.

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The foure and twentieth of August, 1617. departed from Bantam an Holland ship of advice directly for Holland: and two dayes after her departure, they reported here, that ten Englishmen were sent in the said ship for Holland. What they are, we cannot learne, but imagine them the men that ranne away in the Defence, the Hollanders thinking to make them say any thing, by their instigation, which may make for them. And it may be, they will say, that the Defence was left as a Wracke, which is not so. The Master and Companie would have gone away for Bantam, but we held it not good: for that the people of Polaway understanding thereof were discontented, and said, that we had built a Fort for the Hollanders. The Master writing a note, that he would set saile that night, having no goods at all in the ship, Master Corthop was going aboard to perswade the Master and Companie to the contrarie: which the Polarooone men understanding, called presently a Councell, and shewed many reasons that it was not fitting the ship should goe away, and would not let Master Corthop goe aboard by any meanes, doubting of his going away. It was propounded, that I might goe aboard to perswade the Master, or to command him and the rest to stay; and to charge them, that if they went, if wee lost lives and goods, it should be laid to their charge. Long it was before the Bandanesees would permit mee, so jealous were they; but at last, through our earnest request granted it, and sent sixe men with me of Polarooone. I acquainted Master Hinsley the Master, and the Companie, of the many inconveniences and dangers, both of losse of goods and lives, and scandall to our Nation, and that if we should have gone about to have laden Spices, the Hollanders would presently have had notice thereof, and laid wait to have taken the ship, and brought all into their hands: neither had wee men, munition, or victuall, to maintayne the Iland of Polarooone, nor the small Iland Nelaro adjoining. All the ships companie would have gone away, being unruly and perverse, saying, they came not to be

*Hollanders  
sent ten  
English men  
from Bantam  
to Holland.*

*The Mariners  
were kept at  
Polarooone  
with much  
difficultie.*

A.D.  
1617.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

[I. v. 616.]

souldiers, nor would they stay: so that we were faine to give way, and intreat them by faire meanes, like children, so little in their resolution regard they what may ensue, caring for nothing so they may get free. The people of Polarooone perceiving a difference amongst us, did murmure, taxing us with our promises before mentioned: and that if the Defence and men went away, wee could not resist the Hollanders our mortall enemies, whom wee expected daily. And if they came and had the victorie, wee that should there remaine, must expect none other but rigour on both sides. The People of Polarooone would have conceited that we betrayed them, and the Hollanders would have had no remorse, setting their slaves a worke to murder, wherein themselves would not have beene seene. And should they have gayned either the great Iland, or the small (as they might and would have done, had not the ship stayed) we had lost all, goods, debts, credit of our Nation, without hope ever to bee there respected. All things considered, we resolved the Defence to stay and land all things: and to let her ride it out untill further opportunities. But in the meane time, these villaines ranne away with the said Defence, endangering all, and therefore worthie of death.

*The run  
awaies in the  
Defence in  
many respects  
worthie of  
death.*

At my comming from Polarooone, it was concluded by us, that another Praw should bee sent for Bantam for advice, twentie dayes after our departure, doubting the Hollanders might have pursued and taken us (as they did their best) and so all our proceedings had beene obscure. Accordingly a Praw was sent, and therein laden an hundred and seventie suckles Mace (contayning three thousand three hundred sixtie sixe Catees, at a Riall the Catee, each Catee sixe English and neere two ounces better) which if it might have come safe, it would have yeilded in England five thousand pound. In the said Praw were eight English, and thirtie Bandaneses: the charge committed to one Walter Stacie, once Master Hinsleys Mate in the Defence. But it seemeth his knowledge and care answered not our expectation: for neere

*170. suckles of  
Mace shipped  
in a Junk with  
eight English,  
which was lost  
by the negli-  
gence of one  
Stacie, who had  
charge of her.*

## THOMAS SPURWAY

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the Iland of Bottone, he ranne the Praw upon the sholes, being rockie ground, and there bilged her, and lost all the Mace; the men got ashore. Stacie is put in fault by the rest of the companie, for that some of them told him they saw land on the lee bowe, but he being peevish and headstrong, called them all fooles, not regarding it.

Also may it please your Worships to understand, that the Hollanders having beene by some of our people, told of their vile abuses done unto us, and that it will lie heavie upon them at home, being knowne; the better sort of them have replied, that they can make as good friends in the Court of England as you (the Honourable Companie our Employers) can: and that this which they have done, will cause you, the Honourable Companie, and them to joyne, and that a chaine of gold will recompence all, and that they have Rials enough in Holland to pay for a ship or two, so as they may hinder us from the trade at Banda.

*Hollanders  
brags that  
they can make  
friends in  
Court, &c.*

All being considered, we hope, you the right Honourable and Worshipfull, our Employers, will so prize the bloud of your servants, by them murthered, maymed, and wounded, the rest all prisoners: also all damages, interests, and hinderances in the returne of ships and goods; also poore mens particular losses, as also Master Corthop, my selfe, Sophonie Cozocke, and George Muschampe; wee all presuming what we had in the Swan to be as sure as on the shoare, and now have lost all: that they may better advise themselves how they attempt the like againe. Likewise Master Davie told me many times, that if it pleased God to send him well home, he would come forth no more, finding himselfe decayed and weake in bodie, and that hee had sixe or seven hundred Rials to employ, with which returne, and other his wages, hee should have a competent living: all which money (as farre as I can learne) he had by him when hee was taken: now these crosses, I am perswaded, will kill him; or else, I doubt, they will make him away by poysoning him, that he shall never see England againe.

*John Davie  
had 700.  
Rials of eight  
by him when  
he was taken:  
and further  
feare.*

A.D.  
1617.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Description of  
Polaroone, &c.*

*The profitable  
trade.*

[I. iv. 617.]  
*A land  
quarrel at  
Bantam  
with the Hol-  
landers.*

Now, for advice as touching the trade at Banda, the Iland of Polaroone is reported to be the worst Iland, and is about eight English miles compasse: and the small Iland adjoyning called Neluco, about one English mile compasse. There is prettie store of Mace and Nuts growing upon Polaroone, and more would be if it were well husbanded. Lantore and Rosinging yeeld great store. Rosinging is a fine Iland, and yeeldeth the largest Nuts and Mace. Now, if we hold Polaroone, we cannot want Spice: for the people of Lantore, Rosinging, and other places thereabouts, will come over to us, and bring their Spices, if we bring Rice, Cloth, Salt, Pepper, Mellases, and other necessities for food, and some Moccasor gold, which will passe at Banda, as currant as Rials of eight, and at the same rate, being worth at Bantam but two shillings foure pence, or two shillings six pence the piece, called Masse. Our Cargason which we had was but small, having but one hundred quoynes of Rice, our Cloth at Moccasor much decayed, lying there two or three yeeres. If we had had three times as much Cloth and Spices, we could have sold it all for Nuts and Mace at Polaroone: and were intreated for Rice and Cloth by Lantore and Rosinging men, and others; but had it not for them: and some returned with part of their Spices home againe. They come over to Polaroone with Prawes and Correcorries in the night. The Mace and Nuts were very good, but lying so long must needs decay, by the many molestations of the Hollanders; we having no time, nor lime to make wherewith to preserve the Nuts. The Trade will prove profitable, if we may quietly enjoy the Iland, and we must buy Rice at a lower rate then at Moccasor, it being by report at Japan about halfe the price.

May it please your Worships to understand, that after my arrivall at Bantam, the Steward of the House being at the Market to buy provisions, the Hollanders Steward there present quarrelled with him, whereof (whiles they contended) notice was given at the Dutch house: and



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A.D.  
1617.

*A very  
Timon.*

presently Tymon (the second Merchant) ran forth with twentie Japons, and Hollanders, and Blacks, to the Basar or Market, running upon our Steward with their drawne weapons, he having but two English all disarmed, enforcing them to shift and give way. Meane while Richard Hunt, chanced to come by and drew his sword, when presently they assaulted and gave him three wounds, whereof he dyed within fifteene dayes after on the foure and twentieth of July, 1617. Notice hereof being brought to the English house, we with our Japons ran forth and met with them, before they could recover their House, and wounded two Hollanders, whereof both dyed shortly after; also one of their Blacks then killed out-right, and one or two more of them were hurt; and so drave them home to their House. They gave after that great words, that they would put us all to the Sword, and did lye in wait for our people with their Pistolls and Peeces, whereof wee had notice by the Javans and stood upon our Guard night and day to receive them, if they had given any attempt on the House, or abroad.

Now concerning the Ilands of Banda, and especially Polaway, Captaine Castleton might have made it sure unto the English, as I have heard reported by divers: and the English have still more right on that Iland, both by Law and Justice, then the Hollander, although by force of Armes they put the English from it. The easie obtayning, and Captaine Castleton denying the right and possession the English had there (as it is reported) emboldened the Hollanders to use the violence at Polaroone. And except it bee supplied this yeere, and the possession maintayned, the name of English is utterly disgraced, and little hope of being received there againe: which if we hold untill your Worships have resolved what to doe herein, wee shall in short time procure as much Nuts and Mace as they; which may in time proove an entrance into the Moluccas for Cloves. The Hollanders pretend they have right unto the Moluccas and Banda by the King of

*Our right by  
Law and  
Equitie unto  
Polaway.*

A.D.  
1617.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Ternates \* sonne, having him prisoner. But the Bandanese denie any right the King of Ternate hath in their Ilands, every Iland being free of it selfe, and governed by Sabandars and Orencayes, generally appointed. Now it is meet that a supply be sent the Bandanese and English, for Rice, Victuals and Cloth, and other necessaries, to hold the possession, and bring away the Nuts and Mace there in readinesse, in Godownes. The Hollanders give out that they will take your ships that shall goe into those parts and cut them off, so to famish both English and Bandanese. So your Worships may charge them of all damage already done, and may expect to heare of further abuses from them. Wherefore it requireth an earnest and speedie prosecution, that wee may quietly trade without molestation unto those parts, that have surrendred and desired Trade with us: viz. Polaway, a Paradise by report (the Hollanders report it to bee as good unto them, as Scotland to his Majestie) Polarooone, Rosinging and Wayre, Wayre being a Towne upon Lantore. And if in case of necessitie your Worships cannot agree for Polaway, yet if you may enjoy the three last, we shall procure Nuts and Mace enough for England, as also to transport both thence and hence for Surat, and other places in the Indies. Now is the time or never upon the vile abuse of bloudshed and murther committed by the Hollanders. And for the Trade there, it will prove very profitable, I make no doubt. What hath passed formerly, I doubt not, but Captaine Jordan hath certified at large; what since, my selfe. It is requisite that I should relate the particulars of all Occurrences, in respect the businesse is of so great importance. Here is bound home for England the Charles and Hope, I pray God send them well at London. I have sent your Worships a briefe abstract of our Cargason for Banda, and sales there made. If I seeme tedious, I humbly crave pardon: with my humble dutie I end, be-

\* In the quarrels first mooved betwixt Capt. Keeling and them, 1609, they never make such Title, but pretended agreement, and intended and extended force. See above pag. 202. their own Articles of their right.

## THOMAS SPURWAY

A.D.  
1617.

seeching the Almighty to prosper and give good successe  
to all your designes: humbly taking leave.

Your Worships most humble servant in all dutie,

THOMAS SPURWAY.

Endorsed. To the Honorable and Right Wor-  
shipfull Companie of the Merchants of London,  
Trading to the East Indies, these be delivered.

By Captaine Henrie Pepwell, whom God preserve.

### Chap. IIII.

[I. v. 618.]

Relations and Remembrances, taken out of a large  
Journall of a Voyage, set forth by the East  
Indian Societie, wherein were employed, the  
James, the Anne, the New-yeeres Gift, the  
Bull, and the Bee; written by John Hatch,  
Master of the Bee, and after in the New-yeeres  
Gift; and lastly, came home in the James.



He fift of March, 1616. we set saile from  
the Downes. The seven and twentieth  
1617. we saw the Canaries. Aprill the  
tenth, we met the Tornadas in sixe degr.  
From thence to the twentieth, wee ob-  
served a Current setting to the North.

The thirtieth, the Tornadas left us, in  
latitude thirtie minutes North, longitude three hundred  
and fiftie degrees fiftene minutes, that night we crossed  
the Line. June the one and twentieth, we came to anchor  
in Soldania Bay, accompanied with the Gift and the Bull,  
having lost our Admirall and Vice-Admirall the night  
before, by fogs and hazie weather. They came in the  
next day. There we found riding the Hound,  
wherein was Master William Jourdain. Here we could  
get no refreshing for our sicke men, wherefore on the first  
of July, some were sent to march up into the Countrey  
to get provision, which they did (without losse of any,

*Soldania Bay.*

*The Hound.*

A.D.  
1617.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Molala or  
Mohelia.*

onely two hurt) in great abundance. The thirteenth, wee set saile from the Bay. August the thirteenth, we anchored in the Road of Molala. The seventeenth, we had both our Cables cut with the Rocks. The eighteenth, we set saile from thence.

*Sea white.*

The five and twentieth, in latitude at noone foure degrees fortie foure minutes, longitude fiftie three degrees five minutes by judgement, we found our selves hindred by some Current: at sixe in the evening the water was changed white, and at seven as white as any Whay, which made the Skie also white and hazie. This night we sounded often and had no ground: thus the water continued all night in the strangest manner that ever I saw, untill the day light did alter it. It so continued

*Current to the  
South South  
West.  
Socotora.*

together with the Current: the sixe and seven and twentieth was but little whitish, and the Current also forsooke us. The fourth of September, we passed by Socatra, but came not within sight by reason of the Monson, lest it should be done before we came to Surat. Wee found in

*A great Cur-  
rent to the  
North.*

the foure dayes before that by helpe of a Current, the ship had passed three score leagues more then otherwise shee could have run; which now left us. The seventh, a leake sprung in the Admirall (which Master Copeland, their Minister, hath with much feeling related how dangerous, either by villanie or negligence of the Shipwrights, as after appeared, when they came to careene her; being a great hole slightly stopped, and much hazarding ship, goods and men: they had none other meane there in deepe water to stop it, but by stitching a Bonet or piece of a saile full of Ockam or calking stuffe, which by force of the water running into the ship, being haled downe to the place, was sucked and forced in, and so stayed the leake till it selfe decayed in time, then the leake renewing, and again stopped; which in the careening was found and remedied.) On the eleventh, it was stopped. The

*Danger by  
leake, of this  
you have  
Master Prings  
owne report,  
in his relation  
written since  
this, which  
hereafter fol-  
loweth.*

*A prize.*

twelfth, we tooke a Portugall ship which came from Mosambeek, laden principally with Elephants teeth, and bound for Diu.

## JOHN HATCH

A.D.  
1618.

In the sixteenth, we saw two Junks, one of them chased by two Ships, which were the Francis and the Lion, Ships set forth by ( ) The Junke they chased was the Great Mogols Mothers, of the burthen of twelve or fourteene hundred Tunnes, having in her above a thousand persons, and nine and twentie Tunne of silver (some report more a great deale) wee chased the Chasers, and in the evening came up unto them with the Bee and the Gift, and so saved the Junke, with whom and her two Chasers, we anchored on the twentieth, betweene the River of Surat and the Barre of Swally.

*English men of warre.*

*Surat.*

The thirteenth of March, wee weighed: the fifteenth at night, wee anchored to the South west of Damon. The seventeenth, the Anne departed from us to the \* Red Sea. The seven and twentieth, 1618. wee espyed many sailes and fetched them up with the Bee, being five and twentie saile (fourteene saile of Frigats men of Warre, eleven of Merchants, the Molucca fleet) and two great Gallies of Goa, which exchanged some shot with us, but assoone as they could cleare themselves from us, went away: and being so farre off at Sea, they all escaped us, not without great trouble, in three Vessels, whence they heaved Chists and other things over-board, to make roome for their Oares, and eight of them got into Cochin, the rest to Goa.

*Damon.  
\*This voyage  
you have here-  
after.  
1618.*

The nine and twentieth, came aboard a Boat with one Woman and foure Men from the King of Calecut. The Woman was interpreter and spake Portuguese. Aprill the first, we came to anchor two miles to the North of the Road of Bring John. About two leagues to the North of Brim John is a red Cliffe, and to the South of it a low sandie shoare, and the next high Land or Cliffe is within a mile of the Road of Brim John, where on the second wee anchored. Master Coytmore and I agreed the next day with the Governour for fortie Rialls to water there, and seventie men were landed to guard the watering place for feare of poysoning; for they are treacherous people, which also came armed the next day very

*Brinion, Brim  
John or Bring  
John.  
How to know  
it.*

A.D.  
1618.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

strong, and would not permit us under twentie Rials more.

[I. v. 619.]

*Master Hatch  
made Master  
of the New-  
yeeres Gift.*

*Nicobar.*

The twelfth of Aprill, we had much adoe (the Current setting us right on the Iland of Zelon, halfe a league from Cape de Galia) to double it with tacking off and on that night. The thirteenth, the Generall came aboard the Gift, and established mee Master of her. The fourteenth, the Bee departed from us for the Coast of Coromandell. The sixe and twentieth, we were neere the Southerly Iland of Nicobar. The nine and twentieth, wee anchored on the Mayne of Sumatra, the high Hill Lambre (by some called Pedire bearing South South east halfe East from us, and the East point of Achen Road West by North halfe North, foure leagues and halfe off. The King his Courtiers with his Women were there on hunting, who the next day sent his Chop by the Sabander and William Nicholas, our chiefe Factor there: at whose parting wee gave twentie pieces of Ordnance to honour the Kings presence and his Women, which was well taken, and went the same night neerer to Achen: and anchored the first of May, a little to the West of the Court.

The tenth of June, wee weighed to goe for Teco, but with foule weather were put backe againe. The nineteenth, we againe set saile. The fourth of August, we came to an anchor in the Road of Teco. The first of September, we set saile for Bantam, where on the two and twentieth we anchored. On the five and twentieth, arrived there the French Pinnasse from Jambe, on the Coast of Sumatra. On the thirtieth, came in the Unicorne from Musulpatan. The fourth of October, we set saile for Jaquatra, and then anchored on the sixt; and thence againe on the twentieth to Bantam, with the James, Unicorne and Bee. The seven and twentieth, the James had her leake brake out againe, which did increase by report two foot water in a glasse, and five foot in hold before they knew of it. The eight and twentieth, they stitched a Bonnet with Ockam, and haled it under her, which having beene there a quarter of an houre, the leake

*Leake againe  
in the James.*

## JOHN HATCH

A.D.  
1618.

stopped, so that the water increased not above halfe an inch in an houre. They resolved to careene her, and we hasted to get out our Ordnance and Provisions. The twelfth of November, shee was in like case, and men were sent from every ship to pump her (and haling the Bonnet againe to her keele, shee was thight as before) at the Iland where shee was to be careened.

The fifteenth, the Rose anchored at Palamban point from Teco. The nineteenth, foure Ships out of England, the Moone, the Clove, the Samson, and the Pepper-corne; Sir Thomas Dale and Captaine Jourdain being both in the Clove; the Sunne being lost at the Iland of Inganio, and the Globe lost their companie betweene the Cape of Good Hope and Saint Laurence. They had most of their men sicke at their arrivall. The eight and twentieth, they anchored by us at the Iland, being in all thirteene saile, the James, Gift, Unicorne, Clove, Samson, Moone, Pepper-corne, Thomas, Bee, Advise, Rose, little Francis, and the Prize. This afternoone the Sunnes Skiffe came aboard the Moone from Inganio with the Master and Cape Merchant, the Minister, and twentie men more, the Ship being split in pieces, and all her sicke men drowned, being eightie or ninetie of them. The Inhabitants of Inganio came downe on them which were gotten on land, and slue seven or eight, hurt the Master and others, with wooden Darts. Then they made them another Boat of boords and broken pieces that came from the ship. So there came sixtie or seventie men in the Skiffe and this Boat; and nineteene or twentie were left on the Iland sicke and hurt, which were after taken in by Iowa Prawes and brought aboard the ships, being in miserable case, with want of clothes, bruses with the Rocks, and burning with the Sunne and salt Water. The nine and twentieth, the Globe arrived.

*Sir Tho. Dale.*

*English ships,  
thirteene saile  
together.*

*Sunne  
perished*

The third of December, the Bee set saile for Inganio, to see if they could have any thing, but was forced backe with crosse windes. The fourth, the Blacke Lion of the Hollanders arrived from the Coast of China, Palatina,

*Blacke Lion.*

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and other places; her lading, Pepper, Rice, Sugar, and some China commodities, by report, to the quantitie of sixe hundred tunnes. This night Sir Thomas Dale caused men to goe out of other ships aboard the Moone, the Clove, the Samson, the Globe, being but weakly manned: which the next day anchored close by the Blacke Lion, which yeilded on composition. Shee was, by report, of eight hundred tunnes, had in her eightie men, and two or foure and twentie peeces of Ordnance. The nineteenth, Sir Thomas Dale in the Moone, Captaine Pring in the Gift, with the Unicorne, Clove, Samson, Globe, Pepper-corne, Thomas, Bee, Rose and Blacke Lion, set saile for Jaquatra, where they found riding seven saile of Hollanders, readie to fight. The one and twentieth, came a Holland ship from Jambe, which sent their Boat for Jaquatra with twelve men, two great murtherers and eight small shot, with each man his sword: but we way-laid her and tooke her with the Barge, and the Ship put to Sea againe.

*Fight with the  
Hollanders  
fleet. See  
Capt. Pring  
and Master  
Corthops  
Journall.*

*Hollanders  
fled.*

*Little James  
sunke.  
[I. v. 620.]*

The two and twentieth, we thought to have fought, and plyed to and againe as occasion offered. The three and twentieth, we began the fight, and the Jambe ship got in amongst them. This fight continued about three houres, in which time wee received in the Hull and Masts betweene fiftie and sixtie great shot, most in the Hull, yet had but one hurt in the fight, and hee died of it. The Hollanders and wee came to an anchor all night close by each other. The next morning wee set saile and plyed to windward: but the Hollanders seeing wee would get up to them, waighed and fled betweene halfe way Iland and the other Iland to the East, and so bore away to the East, betweene the Ilands and the Mayne. And when they came thwart of their Iland, they saw a little English Pinnasse, which in flight from them had run on a ledge of Rocks, and was there cast away. They sent their Boates, which by our pursuit they were forced to recall; and we stood after them amayne and chased them (being now by addition of another from Jaquatra nine ships) three or foure miles to



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the East of Jaquatra, and night comming on, anchored. The five and twentieth, came a China Juncke on fire driving thwart our halse, but we perceived it betime, let slip and avoided it, so that it did no harme at all. We made after them, but they were under sayle to the East, and the wind at South South-west. The same day we tooke out the Thomas Ordnance, beeing an old ship, and sunke her neere the Hollanders Iland. The eight and twentieth, they aboard the Blacke Lion, cryed out, fire, and shee was suddenly on a light fire, and nothing saved, but her company, which went into the Boat and Skiffe. This happened by some which had beene at Dice all night, and went and broke up a Scuttle where there was Rackuppee, which so soone as they had broched, tooke fire with the light they had, as it is reported.

*Thomas sunke.*

*Blacke Lion  
burnt.*

*Rackuppee, or  
Aracape a hot  
Drinke.*

The third of January, Master Jackson, the Land Capitaine of the James, dyed of a shot which had taken away his legge at Jaquatra. The seventh, Shot and Powder were sent to the King of Jaquatra to take the Hollanders Castle. The ninth, we wayed from this place to the Westward. The twentieth, we espyed two sayles to whom we gave chase in vaine, they sailing better then wee: the next day wee espyed foure, which wee chased as the wind would give leave till night. The five and twentieth, the Bee was sent to Marough for provision; The one and thirtieth, we anchored in the Road of Bantam.

The three and twentieth of February, Sir Thomas Dale weighed to go for Jaquatra, with the Moone, Clove, Globe, Samson, Pepper-corne, Hound, Bee, Rose. The seven and twentieth, the Great James, the Gift, the Unicorne, and the little James weighed from Bantam leaving in the Road the Advice and the Mosambecke or Prize.

The first of March, the Flemmings saw us and weighed, and we made all the sayle we could to get up to them, and they keeping the weather of us, their Admirall let flye two Peecces at the Great James first: and then we went to it on all hands. As wee fought, one of the Flemmings ranne aboard their Admirall by chance, and bore

*Another fight.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

over-boord his owne Botspret and Beak-head, and the Admirals Ancient. The other two Flemmings seeing that, shooting a shot or two, ranne away and the rest after. We tacked and chased them, but they going better, went from us exceedingly, and wee gave over. The thirteenth, the Bee came to us in Bantam Road, from Sir Thomas Dales Fleet at Jaquatra.

The seven and twentieth of Aprill, 1619. there came a Juncke amongst our Fleet from Patania with Flemmings goods and a Flemming in her, which we tooke. The eight and twentieth, the Dragons Clawe came to an anchor at Palambam from Surat.

*Marough.* The twentieth of May, we set saile in the Road of Marough, to goe for the Coast of Coromandel, being eleven Sayle in company, the Great James, Moone, Gift, Unicorne, Clove, Globe, Pepper-corne, Bee, Rose, Advise, and the Surat Pinnasse. At five in the afternoone wee anchored betwixt Besse and \*Cracatawe. The one and twentieth, a Councell was held aboard the Admiral (the Moone) wherein Owen Bodman was condemned for burning the Blacke Lion and other trespasses, who was hanged the next day aboard the Moone at the Yards arme.

*\*The Blackes  
call the Salt  
hill so.  
Owen  
Bodman.*

The thirtieth of June, we came to an anchor nine leagues East from Masulipatan. We stayed in these parts till the tenth of December.

The nine and twentieth of July, the Unicornes Shallop was cast away at Penara, wherein M. Rice and Harris, and foure men more were drowned.

*A new fleet.* The five and twentieth, we anchored neere Teco, and saw three shippes, which the next day came to us, being a new Fleet; the Palsgrave Admirall, the Elizabeth Vice-Admirall, the Merchants Hope Rere-Admirall. We all wayed and went into the Road of Teco.

*Shoalds.* The fourth of March, we all set sayle in Teco. The fifth, the James met with a shoald, and they had much to doe to save her from grounding. This shoald lyeth from the White Iland, South-east, two thirds East, three leagues within two Glasses, the James and Unicorne met with

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another shoald, and stayed upon it at five fathome water, and within a Cables length of fiftie fathomes, and then the White Iland bore North-west by West eight miles and an halfe off. The ninth, we bore up to goe to the South of Nimtan. This Iland is neere twentie leagues long, and lyeth South South-east, and North North-west. On the Wester-side is great shoalding, on the East deepe water hard by the shoare. The twentieth, at night wee had a great storme, and had many Corpo-Santos, viz. at the head of the Maine-top-mast, and on the Meson yard, the Fore-top-mast, and the Mezon Top-mast. The next morning, the storme beganne to breake up, and we saw the high-land of Manning Cabo.

*Nimtan.*

*Foure Corpo-Santos.*

The five and twentieth of March, 1620. we anchored neere the point of Ballambin; where on the sixe and twentieth our Cable was cut a-sunder with a Rocke, which wee recovered the seven and twentieth.

At the South-west point of Sumatra lyeth the Iland Pola Tellore in five degrees fiftie seven minutes of South latitude, South South-east from which is Ballambin, where is good refreshing and watering, thence to the South point called Cape Bublathore, is two leagues South South-east three quarters East, and from thence to the next Easter point is three leagues, and in the second Bay from the said point is a River where we watered, but the water not very good.

*Pola Tellore  
and Ballam-  
bin.*

[I. v. 621.]

The sixth of Aprill, 1620. we weighed to goe for Bantam, with a full resolution to make an end with the Hollanders one way or other, they being eightene Sayle, and wee ten, little and great. The eight, betweene two and three of the clocke in the morning, beeing short of Sangang we met with the Bull and two Hollanders bound to looke us to bring newes of the peace betwixt us and them. The eleventh, their Fleet being thirteene besides the former two came unto us from Jaquatra: and wee saluted each other with many Peeces of Ordnance. The twelfth we went for Bantam where we found two Hollanders more. The seven and twentieth, the James and

*Peace betwixt  
us and Hol-  
landers.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

the Unicorne departed from us for Japan, to careene there. The thirtieth, we anchored in Jaquatra Road.

*Leque Pequena.*

*Fleet for Japan and Manillas.*

The one and twentieth of May, the Elizabeth, the Bull, and the Hope, set sayle with the Harlem, and the Dutch Hope. The Elizabeth and Harlem were bound for Leque Pequena, there to stay for the Bull and the Dutch Hope which were appointed to goe for Moccow, and the English Hope for Patania, and then to meete with the other foure at Leque Pequena, thence to goe all for Japan, there to meete the rest of the Fleet for the Manillas. The thirtieth, peace was published at Jaquatra on shoare and aboard the ships.

*Shoald.*

The fourth of June, the Moone, the Palsgrave, the Bantam and the Praw, set sayle from Jaquatra for Japan, and the Manilla's. The seventeenth, wee set saile to goe to Cracatow to cut new Masts and Timber to sheath our ship, and beeing a league and halfe from the Roade, met with a shoald where we had but two fathomes water (being suddenly on ground) at the shippes head, and five at her sterne: but praysed be God, got off without hurt. It is Rockes and Corall and lyeth halfe way betwixt Jaquatra Road, and the Sand to the East of Hectors Iland. If you keepe the Flemmish Castle and the top of the highest hill one right over the other; you shall goe cleere in or out. If you cannot see the hill keepe the Castle South South-east, but if you keepe it South by East, You will be neere it, or on it. On the neerest part of the next Iland to the East of Pola Lacka is a dangerous shoald two miles off, and seldome sheweth it selfe. The one and twentieth, we anchored and moored our ship a Cables length North-west of the little round Iland, and rode till the one and twentieth of July, in which time wee cut about seventie pieces of square Timber for our decayed ship, and to pay the Hollanders two and twentie borrowed, for their house at Jaquatra by our Merchants. This place is so infectious that most of our men were taken with swolne legges, or bodies, some breaking out with Sores and Byles, others taken with dizzinesse and dimnesse of sight, almost every

*Cracatow a very sickly place.*

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one losing his stomache, and given to vomiting with a strange costivenesse: sixe dyed, and thirtie seven were sicke and lame, all weake, vomiting, sacke, racke, beverage; nothing stayed.

The seven and twentieth, we anchored in Morough Road neere the shoare, which is no good Road, but we were forced, so to command the Towne with our Ordnance in succour of our Boats, if the people should have betrayed them, as they had done the Hollanders of whom they slew eight men. We lost an Anchor there (they cut off the Boyes that we could not after finde it) and could get little refreshing, or none. *Morough.*

The nineteenth of August, we anchored at Jaquatra, having beene from thence two moneths, and in one moneth which we were returning from Cracatow, we lost with the former sixe, one and fortie men, besides fortie five sicke in the ship; nor had we above twentie of our owne Company that could goe up and downe the ship. The eight and twentieth, the Hollanders surrendred the Starre againe to the English. *Starre rendred.*

The first of September came in a Flemming from Holland, which told us of the Lion arrived at the Cape from Surat; and of sixe English ships with her in Soldania from England, two bound for Bantam, and foure to Surat, which were to stay in Soldania for foure Flemmings to goe to Surat with them. The one and twentieth, the Dragons Claw arrived from Achen with newes that the Charles, the Rubie, and the Diamond, were all at Sea comming for Jaquatra; and that the Bee saw a French-man of Warre on the Coast of Sumatra, which would by no meanes speake with her. They were in all foure ships, but she had lost her consorts. *Newes of English ships.*

The first of October, the Schedam arrived with newes of three English ships in the Straits of Sunda, the Royall Exchange, the Unitie, and the Beare, the Bee also with them, which on the second, and the tenth arrived here. The foure and twentieth, the Dragons Claw departed hence for the Moluccas. The sixe and twentieth, one of *French man of Warre.* *New fleet.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Japara.*

our men suspected for stealing Cloves, was drowned. Hee had wished before mee a little afore, if hee knew of the Cloves, that hee were so farre under water that he might never rise againe; and going over the ships side, a step of the ladder broke, and he fell over-boord, & never rose againe. The thirtieth, the Beare and Diamond were sent for Jambe in hope of Pepper. The eleventh of November, the Globe departed from Jaquatra for Japara, to fetch sheathing boord and cattell: and the fifteenth, the Unitie set sail for Achen.

*Unicorne lost.*  
[I. v. 622.]

The second of December, the Roe-bucke arrived from Tecu with Pepper. The third, the Samson arrived from Patania, and brought in her the Purser and three others of the Unicorne, which was cast on the Coast of China. The fifteenth, the Globe arrived with boords and planks from Japara. The sixteenth, arrived a Juncke which brought some of the Samsons men, some of the Unicornes, and those which were left on shoare at Patania, when the Samson and the Hound were taken. The one and twentieth, the Rubie departed for the Moluccas. The sixe and twentieth, the Clove arrived from Jambe and Patania. The nine and twentieth, the Royall Exchange, the Starre and the Roe-bucke, set sayle for Amboino with a Holland ship in their company.

*The Dragon  
stil serving  
the Dutch.*

*Returne of the  
James.*

The second of January, the Bee went to Hectors Iland to careene. The same day the Hollanders had foure ships that went for the Moluccas, the Dragon being one, and the next day the New Holland, and in her John Peterson Coen Generall of all the Indies, for the Hollanders: who carryed a float with eight or ten Demicanons, and fortie great Prawes to land men, and a great company of Souldiers. The eighteenth, the James Royall arrived in Jaquatra Road from Japan, where she careened both sides to the keele. The one and twentieth, arrived the new Zeland from Masulipatan, and brought in her Captaine Ball, Thomas Jones, and Richard Thomas. The thirtieth, the James began to take in Pepper to goe for England. The one and thirtieth, the Bee returned from Hectors

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Iland, careened to the keele, and the Globe foure or five strakes on a side. In the James Royall bound for England, the sixe and twentieth of February we set saile.

The nineteenth of May, we anchored in the Bay of Soldania: where we set sayle the second of June. We found there riding the Anne, wherein was Captaine Walter Bennet, and the Fortune a Victualler, and three Hollanders bound for Bantam. The one and twentieth of June, wee saw the Iland of Saint Helena, bearing West by North sixteene leagues, and on the two and twentieth anchored there. Here we tooke store of fresh fish by the shippes side. The nine and twentieth, wee set sayle, and the eighteenth of September anchored in the Downes:

*Their returne  
home, 1621.*

*Saint Helena.*

### Chap. V.

The Voyage of the Anne Royall from Surat to Moha, in the Red Sea, for setting an English Trade in those parts: Anno Dom. 1618. extracted out of Master Edward Heynes, his Journall, written thereof.



Ir Thomas Roe, Lord Embassadour for his Majestie with the Mogoll, having given divers Articles of instructions unto Captaine Andrew Shilling, Master of the Anne Royall, together with Joseph Salbanke, Edward Heynes, and Richard Barbar, Merchants; for Trade at Dabul, and after as they saw occasion in the Red Sea: it was thought meet by Captaine Martin Pring Generall, and Thomas Kerridge, and Thomas Rastell (the twelfth of March, aboard the James Royall, the time being too farre spent for Dabul) that the said ship should sayle directly for the Red Sea. Thus they sayled from the Road of Swally.

The tenth of Aprill, we had sight of Aden. The thirteenth, we past the Strait of the Bab or Babel Mandel (an

*Aden.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Mocha.*

Iland in the entrance or mouth of the Red Sea, which causeth the Strait) about seven in the morning : and about five in the evening, wee had sight of Mocha five leagues off. Night comming on, we anchored, and a Canon came aboard us from the Governour to know what we were and our intent, which we answered, and they having begged a few Biskets departed.

The next morning wee anchored a league and halfe from the shoare, and saluted the Towne with nine Peeces. The Water-Bayly brought us a Present from the Governour, a young Bullocke, two Goates, Mangoes, Limes, Cucumers, and Water Melons, welcommed us, and desired to send one on shoare to acquaint the Governour with the cause of our comming. We answered, we were Englishmen, which came to seeke Trade there, but durst not adventure on shoare without sufficient pledges. About three in the afternoone, came a Jew aboard (borne in Lisbone) together with an old Venetian turned Turke (one in good respect with the Governour) which from the Governour assured us of all content.

*They goe on  
shoare.*

The fifteenth, Allee Asgee, the Chiefe Scrivano sent a Present of Goates and Fruites to welcome us, with two old men of good qualitie : sent from the Governour to remayne as pledges for such as went on shoare, with many protestations of good usage. Hereupon Master Salbanke and I went with our two Linguists and one Attendant, with a Present for the Governour, viz. sixe yards of broad-cloth Stammell, sixe yards of greene, a Fowling Peece, and Looking-glasse. At our landing, a thousand people expected, and divers Officers were readie to receive and conduct us to the Governour. His house was faire and large, built of stone and bricke. At the entrance was a faire gate with a Porters lodge, and divers servants there attending. Within is a great Court, whence arise winding staires about thirtie steps to a square Tarris ; out of which we were brought into a large roome, having at one end a great bay window opening to the Sea, in which the Governour sate : on the sides others of like bignesse, looking

*The Governors house and  
state.*

[I. v. 623.]



unto the Wharfe or landing place. The floore was covered with fine Mats, and neere the Governour, with faire Turkie Carpets and Persian Felts. That whereon himselfe sate was a partie coloured Sattin Quilt, with rich Damaske and Velvet Cushions. Hee was clothed in a Violet colour Sattin Vest, his under-coats fine India Linnen, having on a Sattin Cap wreathed about with a fine white Shash. He was accompanied with the Chiefe Scrivano, the Principall Customers, some Turkes of better fashion, many Indian Merchants, and one hundred servants. Hee is about fiftie yeeres old, and named Mahomet Aga.

When we came neere, he bowed himselfe and wee did reverence: then bade us sit downe, and demanded our Nation and businesse. Wee answered, we were Englishmen, of London, Merchants, who by command of the Ambassadour of His Majestie of England, resident with the Great Mogoll (with whom we hold league and amitie) are comne to this Towne to treat for licence of free Trade: That we were friends to the Grand Signior, and had traffique at Constantinople, Aleppo, and in other places of his Dominion, and hoped the like here: that wee were come to desire his, and the Bashas Firman, for like liberties heere as is granted us by the Grand Signior, both for present and future times, as intending to visit their Ports yearly with plentie of English and Indian goods: that we had likewise in command from the said Embassador (which had heard of divers Pirats, English, Dutch, French, Portugals, Malabars, and others which infested the quiet Trades of this Port, and principally the Guzerats, our friends) to take them, and free those Seas of such incombrances, protecting all honest Merchants ships and Junckes from injurie: and these were the true causes of our coming. Hee then rose up and bad us welcome; applauded our designe, and demanded why wee were so fearefull to come on shoare without pledge. We answered, that about sixe yeeres since, some of our Countrymen were here with kind shewes and promises entised ashore, and by the then Governour betrayed, emprisoned, and many murthered:

*Their conference.*

*They still suspected our ship a man of Warre, by reason of some excesses of some of our Country-men in those Seas.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Constantinople.*

whose harmes made us cautelous for our owne safetie. But that we were no otherwise then we professed, they should shortly know by the testimonie of two Guzerat Juncks, one of which had not come this yeare, but for the passe and promise of the said Embassador that our ship should defend them home-ward bound from Men of Warre in these Seas; having escaped rifling last yeere by men of our Nation, through our opportune comming to their rescue; who delivered her safe at her Port, and sent their chiefe Commanders into England to answeere those wrongs to our Kings friends. Hee acknowledged our Nation good and friendly, promised that we should live on shoare and negotiate as secure as in our owne Countrey, that hee would also procure the Basha to confirme the same, and would give us any content. That for the ill usage formerly, the Governour then was an ill man, long since removed, and now living in disgrace at Stambola: and sware by his Mahomet and by his Beard, that not one haire of us should be diminished, nor any wrong offered: that he would therefore proclayme our liberties that none might pretend ignorance to discourtesie. Hee wished us also to looke out a house in Towne fit for our persons and goods, commanded two of his principall Chauses to attend us, and till wee could fit our selves better, recommended us to the Jew-Merchant his entertainment, desiring him to assist us in all things.

*The visit to the Scrivano.*

Thus after our Present delivered as from our Captaine and many kind thankes, wee went by the Jewes perswasion to visit the Scrivano, who is likewise chiefe Customer, whose servants (himselfe not being then at home) entertayned us with much civilitie, and brought us into a faire roome, not much inferiour in building, or furniture to that of the Governour, where we had left him, and whence he soone returned and welcommed us with much courtesie, assuring us of whatsoever the Governour had promised, and that he himselfe would see all executed, who had power also to right us. We were informed that this mans authoritie was no lesse in the Towne then the

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Governours, who was by him directed in matters of weight: hee seemed a heartie old man. After he had made us drinke Coho and Sherbet, we tooke our leave and rested that night with our Jew.

The next morning, wee spent an houre to view the Towne and observe the countenances of the people towards us, whom we found gentle and courteous, especially the Banians and Guzerats, of which here lives continually great store, as Merchants, Shop-keepers, and Mechanike Trades, their shops neatly built and cleanly kept. Their Market or Bazar appeared well furnished with all necessaries, besides fruits daily brought out of the Countrey. The Towne for the most part built with bricke and stone fairely playstered over with Playster of Paris: the building flat-roofed some two stories high, with Tarrises on the top, whereon they build Summer houses of Canes and Mats, in which they rest in the nights and passe the first quarter of the day, having at that time a fresh breese from the Sea; all the rest of the day so hot, that men cannot well endure any clothes, not so much as a shirt. It lyeth levell alongst the Sea-side, being about two miles from North to South. There are many faire houses and three principall Moschees; the streets kept cleane, each mans doore every morning and evening watered and swept, seeming liker sandie bowling allies then streets: no filth suffered to be cast abroad, but carryed to a place appointed scowred by the Sea: In fine, I have not lightly seene, a sweeter, cleaner, better governed Towne then this of Mocha. Betwixt the Governours and Scrivanoes is the Wharfe, about twelve score square, neere which adjoyning to the Governours house is a platforme raysed, built with hewen stones, with Battlements towards the Sea, about fortie paces square, in which are mounted thirteene or fourteene small Peeces of little force. Against the landing-place are two faire Brasse Peeces about five foot in length; on the other end is the Alsandica, and a Brasse Peece of sixe foot, which carryeth a Bullet as bigge as a Canon. This is their strength for defence of the Towne. Yet at

*They view the  
Towne.  
The descrip-  
tion thereof.*

*Heat at  
Mocha.  
Their neatnes.*

[I. v. 624.]

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

the North end is a stone house in manner of a Fort, and in it some few Peeces, but they put small trust in their Ordnance, relying most on their Souldiers, of which two hundred reside continually in the Towne, the rest (beeing in all to the number of five hundred) live within a day or two dayes journey, and are in readinesse upon any occasion.

*Another  
Governour  
expected.*

Hoja Nassans sonne, the principall India Merchant of the Towne, professed and promised all kindnesse (for wee went to his house) and after a cup of Coho and Tobacco (which is usually amongst these people) we went againe to visit the Governour before wee went aboard, who rose and met us, caused us to sit by him, welcommed us, promised as free Trade heere, as in any other place of the Grand Signiors Dominion, nor would denie us any thing reasonable: said that another Governour should shortly succeed him, but one as his brother, honester then himselfe, who should performe all the promises which he had now made; at our request, commanded the Water-Bayliffe to furnish us with Boats at all times to carrie us, or water from shoare for the ship aboard. After this we visited the Scrivano, and found him very courteous, promising to come aboard to see our ship, and bid our Captaine welcome, and after a health of Coho dismissed us to returne to the ship, where our two pledges approved their kind usages, whose departure was honoured with five Peeces.

*Feast on ship-  
board.*

On the seventeenth, the Scrivano, our pledges, the Jew, and twentie persons attending came aboard, brought a Bullocke, Bread, Quinces, and other Fruites, and a Cake of great roundnesse and thicknesse like puffe-past, wherein were baked Hennes and Chickens very well dressed, and pleasing enough to a daintie palate; we also with a Quince Pye, Crabs, Sacke and Strong-water, added our best welcome. He would needs bee sworne brother to the Captaine, which was solemnized with a Cup of Sacke, and after much mirth and view of our ship, hee departed with great content.

We had water brought by poore people at reasonable

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rates. We also had given good reason to the Governour and Scrivano (who approoved it) to make every Juncke that should arrive to anchor by us, and there to ride till they had discharged their goods. The Governour was willing, we should examine and compell them hereto, because some Junckes passed by their Towne to other Ports for Trade, to the losse of this.

The one and twentieth, sixe at night, we had a storme of wind off the shoare with Thunder and Lightning very vehement, but no raine, which continued halfe an houre, the rest of the night extreame hot. This storme brought sand and dust aboard in abundance, notwithstanding, we roade a good league from shoare. The five and twentieth, we had a message from the Scrivano, that the Governour and himselfe had received Letters from the Basha of Sinan, commanding them to receive and entertaine us with all kindnesse, to permit us to live and Trade amongst them freely and quietly. *Storme and heate.*

Ignorance of a new Governour must excuse us of the charge of a new Present to him. His arrivall was on the seven and twentieth, the Ordnance of the Towne, and Junkes, and of our ship welcomming him. Hee sent our former Pledges aboard with thanks, and a Present of Plantans, Limes, Mangos, Melons, Bread, and one Bullocke, promising in the Bashas name like trade here, as at Constantinople. The two Pledges remained aboard all night, and went with us on shoare the next day, where we found the new Governour, and the old sitting at the end of a large roome, adorned much what as at our first arrivall, or better. He is about foure yeares old, named Rajab Aga, was accompanied with divers principall Turkes, and all chiefe Merchants now in trade of Surat, Diu, Dabul, Sindu, Calicut, and Cananor. At our approch he onely moved, so did the Turkes: the Merchants rose, and saluted us. He caused us to sit downe by him, told us that the Basha, the Vizier of the Province, informed of us, had commanded to give us content: and besides his Lords command, he knew us to be friends of the Grand Signior, *New Governour arrived.*

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*English fleet of  
five ships.*

*Factory  
intended at  
Mocha.*

[I. v. 625.]

and to have Trade at Constantinople, Aleppo, and other places of his Dominion, a Nation of friendly and honest disposition, and therefore we should find him our good friend, and readie to doe us any courtesie, and give us as free Trade, as wee any where had under the Grand Signior, or Great Mogoll. We told him we were Merchants, and our ship Vice-admirall to a Fleet of five ships, one of which, was departed from Surat homewards, three from Bantam and other places to the South, and our ship by his Majesties Embassador employed hither (with such circumstances as before are delivered) that if our just requests of free Trade be granted, wee purposed at our next comming to settle a Factorie here, and yeerely to frequent this Port with shipping with English and Indian goods: signified our intents against Rovers, and what alreadie we had done in that case against our owne Countymen: intimating that it was needlesse to presse with the inconveniences which might arise from denying us Trade, who were able to force it, and hinder others from comming; the feare of which had caused some alreadie to passe by this Towne to Gudda, the Port of Mecca, one hundred and fifty leagues farther up, a Towne of great Trade, and others to other places. He replied, we should be as welcome as to any place in our owne Countrey, and vowed by God, Mahomet his head and beard, we should live as secure from hurt as in our owne Land. We asked what securitie he would give us; besides his oath (he answered) his Firman under his Chop, and procure the like from the Basha. With this wee seemed content, and gave him thanks: nor did ever people seeme more willing to give content then they: which, I thinke, ariseth not from conscience, or love, but feare, seeing us able to intervert their Trade. After some questions of our Embassador, now residing at Constantinople, and touching the Portugals, and Spaniards, (which he said were proud and unfaithfull Nations) some speech happened of Sir H. Middleton: we demanded the cause of that treacherie towards him: hee answered, the Vizier at that time was a

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bloudie, cruell, and ill-minded man of himselfe, and made worse by the instigation of others, Turkes, and Arabs of this Towne, who observing the uncivill behaviour of our people, as pissing at the gates of their Churches; forcing into mens houses to their women; and being daily drunke in the streets, would fight and quarrell with the people; things hatefull in these parts: these things were in part, but the Governours covetousnesse (hoping to get their ship and goods) was the maine cause of that ill dealing, for which and many other bad actions, he was not long after sent to Constantinople to answere it, and is either dead, or lives in disgrace to this day. Wee dined with the Scrivano, and hired a house of Hassana Ga, one of our Pledges, at seventie Rials of eight the Monson, (which is all one with the yeerely Rent.) The Scrivano would needs sweare himselfe our friend on his Alchoran: yet denied this Governour to be the man which captived Sir H. Middleton, which was after found Turkish faith. We agreed for Custome three by the hundred, both inwards and outwards (which he vowed all others paid five) and for silver, and gold, and money, to pay none. Wee supped with him also, and gave him a Present.

*Cause of Turkish treacherie to Sir H. Middleton. Let English Christians read, blush, and amend.*

The nine and twentieth, wee had thought to have had our Firman read before all the Merchants, and proclaimed to the people; but the most part of the day was spent in a ceremonie by the Governour and chiefe at their high Church for the death of the Grand Signior, and the establishing his brother in his roome. They came riding afront our house, we sitting in our window open to the street: they seeing us, bowed themselves, and we did reverence: their horses were accommodated with rich furniture. At foure of the clocke, wee were sent for, but our Linguist had got to a Jewes house that sold Racke, and was drunken, and wee pretending Master Salbankes present in disposition, promised attendance the next day. On the one and thirtieth, the Governour sent for us, and made knowne to all the Merchants our welcome, causing his Scrivano to draw a Firman as large as we could require,

*Death of the Grand-Signior Achmet.*

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which he would signe with his Chop, and at his principall Scrivanoes, in the afternoone we should have it. The Copie whereof is as followeth, translated out of the Arabicke.

*Mahomet  
Basha.*

*Rajab Aga.*

**A** Faithfull and perfect Firman given by the grace of God to the worthie Captaine of the English, Andrew Shilling, to the Merchants, and to all such as are come with him at this present; and to all the Nation of the English, which shall come to this Port hereafter: For their good usage, and friendly entertainment by the grace of God, and by the Faith we have in our holy Prophet Mahomet: with the licence of our Great Lord and King, to whom the great God of the World give long life: by the fidelitie, trueth, and authoritie of the great Vizier of Sinan, Mahomet Basha; whom the Great God give strength, and power in his Kingdome: and by the faithfulnessesse, and true meaning, and command of me Rajab Aga, now Governour of the Towne of Mocha; to be given to the Great Nation of the English, with all faithfulnessesse.

**I** The Governour Rajab Aga, doe give libertie and licence to the English Nation, to come hither to this Port, to receive friendly entertainment, to bring ashore their goods, to buy and sell with all freedome; to carrie such goods as they buy aboard, without let or hindrance: and have made contract with them, that for all goods they land, they shall pay three by the hundred, not in readie money, but in goods; and for what they carrie away aboard, so it be Merchandise, and not provision for their ship, as Victuals, or such like, that they shall pay readie money at three by the hundred likewise, neither more nor lesse, but as it is contracted by our agreement. That no Inhabitants of this Towne, nor People of the Countrey, neither Turke nor Arab, shall injure them; but they shall have their libertie to their contents. And that this my Firman and Contract is given them with a good heart, and true mean-



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ing to see it performed, I witnesse the trueth before the most high God, and our holy Prophet. Signed with my Chop, the fourteenth \* day of May, in the yeare of our Prophet Mahomet 1027.

I have thought good to adde the Basha of Sinan his Firman, translated as before.

**I**N the name of God. This Letter written with the word of trueth of the most high God: To all Nations, Governours and Officers over the people under my government: God keepe you all.

Know yee, that we have given our faithfull Firman unto the hands of Signior Andrew Shilling Captaine of the English, Joseph Salbanke his Companion, and to their friend Edward Heynes Merchant, which are come to the Port of Mocha, for them to goe and come with their ships to the said Port, and there to buy and sell all manner of Merchandise freely, and with all content. And wee doe further give them by vertue of this our Firman in the Faith of the Great God, and our holy Prophet Mahomet; in the Faith of our Great Lord, whom God preserve; and in the Faith of Our selfe, Governour of the Province and Citie of Sinan; free licence for to sell and buy there, heere, and in all other of our Ports, and Townes of Trade within our Government, as freely and quietly, without injurie, let, or molestation, as any of the Traders and Merchants which come to that Port of Mocha, or any other, of what Nation soever. And doe consent and agree with them, to pay for Custome of such goods as they bring, three by the hundred, and for what they buy and carrie forth, three by the hundred likewise. And doe promise and sweare, in the true way of an Oath, to keepe our word with them in this Agreement: and give you all hereby to know that they shall pay neither more nor lesse. And further, that they shall receive neither injurie, hurt nor danger, nor any discontent given them, either to their persons or goods, but they and their Nation shall have, as from their first ship that came to this Kingdome, now

*\*Either the difference is from their different computation, or that the Seale was deferred to this day.*  
[I. v. 626.]

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this, so ever to the last ship that shall arrive hereafter, the like friendly entertainment, and good usage, as we have commanded to be given them at this present. And that this is my faithfull meaning, This our Firman which comes to your hands shall be a witnesse of the trueth. Written and signed with my Royall Chop, from our Court of Sinan this eighteenth day of Julie, in the yeere of our Prophet Mahomet 1027.

The Copie of the Governour of Moha his Firman, given to Master Salbank for good usage in his way to Sinan, is this.

**I**N the Name of the Great God. This Letter of commandment in the name of our great Lord (whom God keep) to all people, Governors of Townes and Cities. Know yee that it is our will and commandement, that when the Bearer hereof Joseph Salbank, or any of his people, or any of the Nation of the English, come to your places of Government, you use them, him, and all whomsoever, friendly and with all courtesies: that you make them pay for victuall, or other necessities, no more then ordinarie; but rather make provision for them, and assist them. And for what goods they shall carrie away, or bring up into the Citie of Sinan, you shall take no duties of them, as is the custome to other men, but let them passe free, doing them neither wrong or injurie. Wherefore, all you to whom this Letter or Command shall come, which I have given into his hand, I command you all, in the name of the Basha, (whom God blesse) to see this performed with all diligence. Given at Mocha, the twentieth of June, A. 1027. of our Prophet Mahomet.

It was agreed betwixt us, that Master Salbanke and I should follow the businesse on land, and Mr. Barber should remaine aboard to prepare such things as should be sent for. The fift of May, wee went to the Scrivano to get leave for Racke to be made for our sicke men: for by reason that our Linguist, and others of our companie had

*Racke is a  
wine or strong  
drinke made  
of Rice.*

beene drunke in a Jewes house, we complained and desired the Jew might be prohibited to sell them any : whereupon the Governour forbade the Jewes and Turkes the selling of Wine or Racke in the Towne. The Governour, at our and the Scrivano's request, gave leave onely that a Jew by his appointment, should brew it in our house ; but to prevent disorders, would permit none elsewhere. On the eight in the afternoone, understanding the Governour and principall men were set in the Custome house, expecting the Surat Captaine then comming ashoare, he went also to see the manner of his entertainment. At our comming, we found the Governour sitting at the upper end of a long roome upon a Bench of stone, on a Carpet : by him in a row, on the same Bench covered with fine mattes divers Merchants, and men of qualitie about twentie ; on the other side against him, were about as many set in Chaires : betweene them was made a lane reaching downe to a square place, three steps high from the floore railed in and matted, in which the Scrivano and Officers of the Custome house sate on Carpets. The Governour bade us welcome, told us hee had given the chiefe Broker order to come see our goods, and procure their sale ; caused us to sit downe, two Merchants offering us their places, and called for Cohoh and Tobacco. After halfe an houre thus spent, the Captaine came ashoare, in his owne boat curiously painted, rowed by twentie of his owne servants, all in white linnen, with a Tilt of red silke, many silk Streamers, his Saile of fine Callico, with divers Drummes, Waits, and ill Trumpets, his owne Junke, and the Towne-Chambers adding their reports to make up the musicke (if such confused sounds may be so called) Attended by a few slaves trimmed up with Silkes, and course Sattins, hee entred the place where we sate, [I. v. 627.] where the Governour rose and saluted him, and placed him next him : and many complements of welcome passed from him, and from the rest of the Merchants : only he in the height of his pride, neglected us, and wee accordingly him, though wee thought, the Captaines courtesie to him,

*Entertainment  
of the Surat  
Captaine.*

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sending his long-boat and men to free his Junke (being foure or five hundred tunnes, and aground) with his kind entertainment aboard our ship, had deserved better respect. After a litle time in complements, Cohoh was againe brought to all the company, and after it six Vests, two given to the Captaine, and foure to his foure Merchants, which being put on, and Salams given, they againe tooke their seats, sitting like so many painted Images, their Coats being of course Gold and Silver Velvet. One thing wee observed as the usuall custome of this Towne, at the arrivall of any Junke, and the landing of the Captaine, there is free libertie to all the Mariners and Passengers of the same Junke, to bring ashore as much of their goods as each man can carrie on his backe, free from paying any Custome: in which manner passed by at this present, three hundred persons of that Junke, with their luggage, to their habitation without molestation. On the ninth, our Landlord and the Scrivano told us of three Junkes of Diu, and foure Malabars that stayed at Aden, hearing of our ship, and would not come without our Passe, which they intreated us to grant. The forme of our Passe subscribed by the Captaine and three Merchants, was this.

*Feare of the  
English.*

**W**Hereas the Governour of the Towne of Mocha, understanding that there are divers Junkes now riding before Aden, fearing to come to this Port, as doubting good usage from us the English; hath intreated us to give unto him, our Certificate or Passe, for the said Junkes, or for any other that usually trade to this Port, to come in freely, without any injurie done unto them, either in bodie or goods by us, and to have good and friendly quarter, as loving friends and Merchants amongst us: Wee finding good usage by the Governour himselfe, and forwardnesse by all men to give us free Trade and commerce, and as well out of our good disposition, and inclination to peace, as for the satisfaction of the Governour, in his request; Wee, by these presents, doe promise and give them all freedome to passe quietly, and assure

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them friendly usage, to their content: so as they be not enemies to our dread Sovereigne, the Kings Majestie of England, or his Subjects. In witnesse whereof, wee have put to our Firmes, &c.

A larger Passe at the Governours request, and more generall, for the quiet departure of all Junkes, &c. was after made, which I forbear to transcribe.

The tenth, the Captaine of the Dabull Juncke invited us to his house to a Banquet, where we found the Governour with fiftie principall persons, besides Attendants; All rose and bade us welcome: wee sate not long but Coho and Sherbet were brought, Tobacco, and diversitie of Fruits, as Plummes, Apricockes and Mangos, we thinking these to bee our Feast, and readie soone after to depart. But the Governour and Captaine desired us to stay, and eate Bread and Salt with them, which we did; at last, though late, our greatest cheere comming, being about sixtie Dishes of sundry sorts of meats, baked, roasted, boyled, stewed, and sodde, but all mingled with Rice, with divers sorts of Sallets, in manner as in India.

Our Cargason was of bad wares for the most part, which had lien in India, till they were neere spoyled, and so hang on our hands; wee therefore importuned the Governour, and hee charged the Broker to procure our sale with great earnestnesse: we obtayned leave also, contrary to the common custome, to come and goe aboard and ashoare at our pleasure without demanding any leave, and charged the Water-Bayliffe not to molest us. On the twentieth, it was observed in generall that the Monson changed.

The foure and twentieth, The Scrivano told me that he understood that our men of the Ship, at their comming ashoare, sold in the Bazar, Bastas and Sword Blades: he said, the Governour had promised for the poore mens goods to demand no custome, and therefore they should not feare to bring it ashoare, but to sell it at the house; for at the Bazar, was a disgrace to us and our Nation. On the one and thirtieth, the ship was in danger to have



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*Danger by  
Tobacco.*

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*The ship goes  
over to Assab.*

beene burnt, one taking Tobacco in the sprit-saile yard arme, and the cole falling in a fold of the saile, which there burned two or three breadths, and was long smelt before it could be found: and Tobacco taking was prohibited, except in the Cook-roome or Captaines Cabin. In regard of recovering our sicke men, discovering the cost, and procuring ballast in stead of Lead, taken out of the ship, it was concluded, that the ship should goe over to Assab on the Coast of Africa: and Master Baffen Masters Mate, was sent to sound and discover before.

The tenth of June, we had speech with the Governour, and in other discourse learned of him, that hee was Governour of Aden when the Ascension came thither, where hee imprisoned the Captaine and Jos. Salbanke two dayes; as he said, doubting they were not Merchants, but a man of Warre: that he was Governour here at Sir H. Middletons apprehension, which he excused by the ill rule of our people, and bad disposition of the Basha; that he was blamed for the fact; but the Basha, whose servant he then was, commanded that a great deale more, God knew his unwillingnesse to it, and sorrow for it: but these things are past, feare you nothing. Here wee saw how farre he and the Scrivano were to be trusted.

[I. v. 628.]

On the thirteenth, the Governour sent for us, told us that he had acquainted the Basha with our purpose, to send up one to him for his Firman, who had promised his welcome whether wee came or sent; he thought it our best course that one should goe, and we should have Horse, Camels and Servants of his to attend us; and he would write in our behalfe.

*Losse of a  
Monson, how  
dangerous.*

The nineteenth, arrived a Junke expected from Gudda, which brought Chamlets, bad Corall, Amber beads, much Silver to invest in Spices and Indian Linnen, many passengers from Mecca. Shee brought newes of a Ship laden hence the last yeere for Grand Cairo, by losse of her Monson through contrarie windes, forced to stay a little above Gudda till next yeere. By this Junke the Governour received letters, that the Gran Signior had sent

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divers ornaments of State to the Basha of Synan, and had confirmed to him his government for seven yeeres longer, and himselfe in this Towne of Mocha under him for the like time, whereof hee seemed not a little proud. In regard of my continuall indisposition, it was thought fit Master Salbank should goe, and a Present for the Basha to be prepared, with some merchandise also to carry with him. The Scrivano offered Master Salbank his Mule to ride upon, which he accepted with thanks. He was furnished with two Camels, one Cooke, one Horse-keeper, three Servants of the Governours, whose wages he had compounded to pay, with Alberto a Linguist, and taking leave and letters of the Governour. On the three and twentieth, he departed about sixe in the evening, the nights being the accustomed time of travell. That morning wee received a Letter from our Captaine of his safe arrivall at Assab; of their good health, and finding ballast and other provisions.

*M. Salbanks  
journey to  
Sinan.*

On the sixe and twentieth, the Governour sent me a Horse by one of his Servants, desiring mee to ride with him in companie of other Merchants to his banketting house, some halfe mile out of Towne, there to spend the day in mirth. About halfe an houre after came the chiefe Scrivano to call me, with whom I rid and met the Governour in the way, whom we accompanied to the place. It was in the midst of a grove of Date Trees, in which was a faire house, and within it a large Tanke, and other roomes of pleasure to sit in. After a little while, He with divers others went into the Tanke, and sported therein halfe an houre. Then was Cohoh brought and given the companie; after that, Grapes, Peaches, Muske, and water Melons, Almonds blanched with others, Raisins in great abundance (for he had at least fiftie or sixtie Ghests, besides attendants) and alwayes betweene whiles Coho and Tobacco. Thus with Musicke, indifferent good, he spent the forenoone. After prayers he went againe into the Tanke with others, wherein hee spent an houre in sport with his companie: after which, the rest of the time was

*The Gover-  
nours feast.*

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*Cards, chesses,  
jugglers.*

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spent, some at Cards, some at Chesse, himselfe beholding juggling tricks untill foure at evening. Then were brought in at least a hundred dishes of divers sorts, good meat, but cold and ill dressed. Every dish might well have served foure men with good stomacks. Hee used me well, and was earnest to have me into the Tanke, which I excused by my late sicknesse. He answered, if at any time I had a desire to wash, he would have me come hither and take my pleasure, and the Keeper should permit me and use me well.

*Good fire-  
worke, figures.*

The twelfth of July, at evening was a great shew made by the Surat Captaine before the Governour, being the time of the New Moone: Many figures artificially made in fire-works, rare and excellent. The Governour sent for me to see them, placed me in a Chaire by him, told mee of Letters that day received from Sinan of the Basha's Firman, granted before Master Salbanke came, who hearing of his comming staid it and made another, as he gave instructions, and delivered it with his owne hand.

*Gudda of great  
Trade.  
Kitchine.*

On the thirteenth, passed by the Road of Gudda a Junke of foure or five hundred tunnes, bound for Kitchine, a dayes saile within the entrance of the Red Sea; I suppose it not farre from Cape Guardefui on the Coast of Affrike. Shee is reported to be rich in gold, Royalls of plate, and many sorts of Merchandise: yeerly comes to Mocha, brings Myrrhe, Trunkes for Coho seeds, at the first beginning of the westerly Monson, and dispatching here, goes up to Gudda or Aliambo, and there sells her Coho and Indian goods which shee taketh in at Kitchine, brought thither by Portugall Frigats from Diu, and other places. Her lading outward is Indico's, all manner of Indian Linnen, Gumme, Lac and Myrrhe; shee is freighted by the Portugalls, and the Governour wished we might meet with her, which it is likely we had done, had not our ship beene absent, which returned into the Road on the one and twentieth. I went aboard, and was told, that the King of Assab with his brother and brothers sonne, had beene aboard and received good entertainment, in

*Aliambo.*

*Portugall  
Junk.*

*Returne of the  
ship.*



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requittall whereof, the King promised to send for store of Beeves and Goats: but in the evening, by signe of a light given, fled with all his people up into the Mountaynes, pretending a pursuit of his enemies, and never returned so much as thanks.

The seven and twentieth, before day, Master Salbanke returned in perfect health and content with his Firmans. He related to me of his hard journey, good respect given him by the way in all places; being alway met before he entred any Towne of note, with Horse and Foot, to guard him to the Governours, and of them received with good welcome; his provisions provided by their Officers (but at his owne charge) the Governour of Mochas servant in the name of the Basha, procuring his good usage. Before he came into Sinan he was met a mile without the Citie by fortie or fiftie brave Turks well horsed, sent by the Basha to bring him in; which conveyed him to a house readie and richly furnished against his comming. He received friendly entertainment of the principall Xeriffe and the Basha's chiefe Treasurer, which were both appointed to welcome him. And two dayes after, the Basha himselfe gave him hearing, of whom he received courteous entertainment and two Firmans, both of one Tenor, but one written in a fairer Character then the other, to shew to the Grand Signior, if occasion required.

*M. Salbanke  
his returne.*

*Relation of his  
voyage and  
entertainment.*

[I. v. 629.]

I find, by his report, that the Citie of Sinan with the Countrey adjoyning, will vent yeerly some quantitie of English cloth, those parts for three quarters of the yeere being cold; yea, in this Summer time a man might well have endured a furred Gowne. Besides, there is a Court kept, to which belong fortie or fiftie thousand gallant Turks, most of which wore garments of Venetian cloth of great prices. Also not farre from thence lyeth a Leskar of Souldiers, to the number of thirtie thousand, that continually are in the field against an Arab King not yet conquered, which liveth in the Mountaynes adjoyning, all which, he saith, are reported to weare Coats quilted of Cotton made of India Pintado's, which is deare and little

*Sale of English  
cloth likely.*

*Arabia, not  
wholly subject  
to the Turks.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*The Captaine  
vested.*

serviceable, for want of cloth to keepe them from cold, which there is extreme. To this I may adde the Citie of Tyeis, and the Leskar of thirtie or fortie thousand Souldiers, governed by an Almaine turned Moore, subject to the Basha of Sinan, where is much cloth worne, not above five dayes journey from Mocha, yet very cold.

The second of August, the Governour sent our Captaine a vest, a rich one, by his chiefe Shabander with Drummes and Trumpets, his Boat bedecked with Flags and Streamers in great braverie, which was delivered with great reverence, and received accordingly.

The eleventh, the Captaine of Dabul Melic Marvet, and Nakada Rooswan the Chaul Captaine, sent us their Letters of recommendations to their Kings, according to our desire, certifying of our friendly usage here, and promise to defend them homewards bound from Pyrates, and therefore beseeching, in our behalfe, freedome of Trade and friendly usage in their Kingdomes. The fourteenth, we gave our Passes (as at other times to others) unto two Captaines of the Malabarres, Amet Ben Mahomet of Cannanor under Sultan Ala Raja, and to Abu Buker of Calicut under the Samorine.

*Many passengers both for  
Merchandize  
and Pilgrimage to Mecca.*

This day came into the Road a small Galley from Cairo, with many passengers, Turks and Jewes, rich in Royals, Chekines, Corall, Damaskes, Sattins, Chamlet, Opium, Velvets and Taffata's. Shee had beene in her voyage but thirtie dayes. I had conference with the Jewes, one of which had beene of my acquaintance in Barbarie. They report, that the Grand Signiors brother, being made Emperour, had imprisoned his two Nephewes, done to death some Grandes, and otherwise discontented the great Ones, and that he was deposed, imprisoned, and the eldest of his Nephewes created. That there were two hundred thousand Souldiers sent against the Persian, for the conquest of Gurgistan, with other things; whereof some proved true, others false, according to the fate of Merchants newes. Some Jewes and Turks desired passage for them and their goods in our ship to Surat; and it is likely when they

## EDWARD HEYNES

A.D.  
1614.

know us better, much profit may be made this way, their Junkes being so pestered usually with uncivill people.

Thus having sold and bartered our goods as well as we might hope of such a Cargason, and dispatched our businesse, wee visited the Governour and desired his Letter testimoniall to the Lord Embassador, which he gave us; we tooke our leave the nineteenth of him, the Scrivano and principall men of the Towne, from whom wee received protestations of much kindnesse alwayes, came aboard, intending the next day to set saile for India, in companie of the Surat Junke, according to our instructions.

### Chap. VI.

Briefe Notes of two Voyages of Master Martin Pring into the East Indies; the first with Capitaine Nicholas Downton, Generall of foure ships, in which he went Master in the New-yeeres Gift Admirall.



From England to the Canaries, we used our Chanell Compasses, and from thence our Meridionall. Whiles we used our Chanell Compasses, we got not any allowance for the variation; which afterwards we did in all our Courses. Wednesday, the fifteenth of June, 1614. we anchored in the Road of Soldania, the latitude whereof is foure and thirtie degrees, the longitude from the Lizard eight and twentie degrees, of a great circle East, the variation one degree, thirtie minutes, North westing.

*Compasses.*

*Soldania.*

The fourth of July, we had the Cape of Good Hope East seven leagues off. On Saturday, the sixt of August, we escried the Land of Saint Laurence. The River of Saint Augustine hath in latitude twentie three degrees, thirtie eight minutes, and longitude from the Cape of Good Hope twentie three degrees, of a great Circle. We

*The River of  
Saint Augus-  
tine.  
[I. v. 630.]*

A.D.

1614.

*Westminster  
Hall.*

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

left it on the twelfth: and the thirteenth wee had Westminster Hall (which is a flat Hill, lying North-east by North from the Road of Saint Augustine) South-east by South nine leagues off, being in latitude three and twentie degrees, variation seventeene degrees and twentie minutes, North westing. On the fourteenth and fifteenth, we found that the Current had set us to the North, of our account, sixe leagues.

*Joanna.*

On the eighteenth, by observation of the Sunne at noone, wee found the elevation of the South Pole to be seventeene degrees and twentie sixe minutes. The three and twentieth, wee descried the land of Joanna.

The second of September, we passed the Line: the ninth, wee anchored in Delisha Road on the North side of Socotora, in twelve degrees and thirtie five minutes, variation eighteene degrees and thirtie minutes, longitude eleven degrees and twentie minutes, of a great Circle to the East of Saint Augustine.

*Whirlewinds.*

Their anchoring, and what passed at Swally, yee had before in Captaine Downton. The second of March, we left the Road of Swally. On the fourth, we were as low as Damon, and saw the Vice-roy with his Paderosa Armada, which chased us till the sixt at noone, and then left us. The night before wee came in sight of Damon, wee had many Whirlewinds, the weather being cleere, as if the two Monsons had beene striving for victorie. The sixteenth, Cochin bare three leagues off East halfe North. It stands in ten degrees close by the waters side; the Land so low that we could see nothing but Trees: but up in the Countrey are Mountaynes: variation fifteen degrees North North-easting, this evening.

*Eclipse.*

The nineteenth, at noone being Sunday, there was an Eclipse of the Sunne, the end whereof by my observation, continued till one in the afternoone and fortie five minutes. The distance of the Sunne from the Zenith, was twentie seven degrees and thirtie minutes, just as the Eclipse was ended. Munday, by observation of the Crosiers we were in sixe degrees, and by the Starres of the

## MARTIN PRING

A.D.  
1615.

great Beare also. Tuesday, at five in the morning, we descried the Coast of Seyloan five leagues off, which neere the water side riseth full of small Hummocks, and up in the Countrey are Mountaynes, whereof one like a Friers Cowle. Friday, Punta de Galia North-east halfe North eight leagues off, wee perceived that the Current set westward. By observation of the Starre in the great Beares backe, we were in five degrees and thirtie minutes. *Zeilan.*

The fourth and fift of Aprill, we perceived the Current had set us five leagues and two third parts to the North, being in one degree and fiftie minutes, when by our way wee should have been in one degree thirtie three minutes. We found a like Current on the ninth. The two and twentieth, wee found that the Current had carried us in foure dayes thirteene leagues to the South of our computation. The third of May, at noone, wee were in foure degrees and thirtie minutes, and found that since the former noone the Current had carried us foure leagues South of our computation. We had sight of Sumatra. The like we found at noone the next day. Wee saw the Ile of Enganio, the North point bearing South-west eight leagues off. The sixt, at noon, we were in five degrees and thirtie seven minutes, caried to the South of our accounts five leagues by the Current. We saw the South point of Sumatra East South-east low by the water. *1615. Currents.*

On the seventh, we were at noone in sixe degrees and ten minutes, the Current having set us sixe degrees and an halfe to the South of our accounts.

This morning we saw the Salt Ile, which is in the entrance of the Straights of Sunda, bearing East, two third parts North. The tenth of May, the South-east winds began to blow fresh, onely now and then a gust which would sometimes alter it, and that about the change or full of the Moone, or else we had it alway betweene the South South-east and the East South-east: but most commonly at South-east. On the tenth, the Generall (wee being able to doe no good the other way) thought best to beare up to the North of the Salt Iles, where under the North *Salt Ilands.*

A.D.  
1615.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Pumicestone  
Ile.  
These Marine  
discourses are  
here abridged  
and cut off,  
partly because  
I thinke few  
will much  
affect that  
part, and now  
many Mari-  
ners know them  
by experience;  
and in the  
borrowed  
books of the  
Campanie, I  
was forced to  
be Scribe my  
selfe, the  
tediousnesse of  
which wearied  
me. Yet have I  
now in one,  
and another  
while in  
another,  
expressed the  
most materiall  
in this kinde.  
[I. v. 631.]*

end of the Northermost, wee anchored in twentie fadoms oaze, within three quarters of a mile of the shoare, finding the like depth all alongst the North end of this Iland in that distance. Betweene the high Salt-Ile and this, is Pumicestone-Ile, which alwaies burneth, and casts forth Pumicestones like to Fuego. The Northermost we called Coco, of the fruit found there. These Pumicestones we cast into the water, which swam like Corke. The twelfth, the Pinnasse was sent to Pulo-Beced for water: it was brackish. On the sixteenth, our men found a Pond of fresh water, on the North end of the Salt Ile, in the flat ground by the waters side, and filled water there. We set saile thinking to have gotten to the South of the Salt Ile, the winde being at North-east, but could not prevaile against the Currant. The nineteenth, we were in sixe degrees, five minutes of South latitude.

The twentieth, the Current North North-west and North-west, whereas before for ten degrees it had set directly West betweene those Ilands.

After much contending with the weather and Current, having had very good water from Palmeto Ile, halfe a mile within the East point in a sandy Cove.

The first of June, we set saile and stood to the South, making a South-west way by meanes of the Current that sets West South-west, alongst the shoare. On the three and twentieth of June, Master Jordan came aboard: and the next our Generall sent a Present to the King of Bantam. Note, that while we rid in the Straits mouth, we found the Current from twelve at noone, till foure in the morning to runne very swift, and from thence till noone very easie. Sunday the sixth of August, our Generall departed this life.

The tenth of October, Captaine Jordan came in the Juncke from Jacatra, and related his kind entertainment, the King being wholly devoted to us, and hating the Dutch.

The seven and twentieth of November, the Flemmings set upon Kewee his house (he was our Merchant to buy

## MARTIN PRING

A.D.  
1615.

Pepper for us) with intent to keepe him Prisoner in their owne house: But Captaine Jordan having notice thereof presently went and rescued him in despight of the Flemmings, and brought him to the English-house. The two and twentieth of December, having received our lading, we left the Road of Bantam.

The seventh of January, we were in seven degrees five minutes of South latitude, wee found that the Current had set us South South-east nine leagues in twentie houres, the variation this evening was three degrees fortie minutes North-westing. The two and twentieth, our Generall Master Thomas Elkington departed this life. *Their returne.*

The first of March, we anchored in the Bay of Soldania, our Company most part in good health. The next day we set up our Tents ashoare, landed our sicke men and our water caske. On Sunday the third, Cory came downe *Soldania.*

unto us, who told us of one Captaine Crosse, which lived upon Penguin Iland with eight men and a Boy: to whom Master Dodsworth had given a Boat. I sent the Pin-nasse which brought three, and left there other three. *Cory.* These reported, that on Saturday last, Captaine Crosse with two others, their Boat being split in pieces, made a Gingada of Timber, and had gotten halfe way betwixt the Iland and the ship, when two Whales rose up by them, one of them so neere, that they strooke him on the backe with a wooden spit; after which they sunke downe and left them. Captaine Crosse thus terrified with the Whales, and benumbed with the water, returned to the Iland, and having shifted a shirt and refreshed himselfe, adventured the second time, giving charge to one of the Company, to have an eye on him so long as he could see him. This fellow saith, he saw him a great way from the Iland, and on the sudden lost sight of him; which is the last newes of him. *Crosse with other condemned persons left to inhabit there.*

The eight of March, (all things ready) we departed, having gotten good store of sheepe and some Bullockes. From the Tropike till we were in one degree eightene minutes of South latitude, we met alway with a Southerly *Crosse lost.*

A.D.  
1616.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Current, which set us to the South about seven or eight miles in foure and twentie houres. The reason I guess to be, because we were alway to the Eastwards of that Current, which sets towards the North-west from Saint Helena, so that wee went in the edge of the Eddy of the North-west Current. The five and twentieth of June, 1616. we arrived in the Downes.



END OF VOLUME IV.



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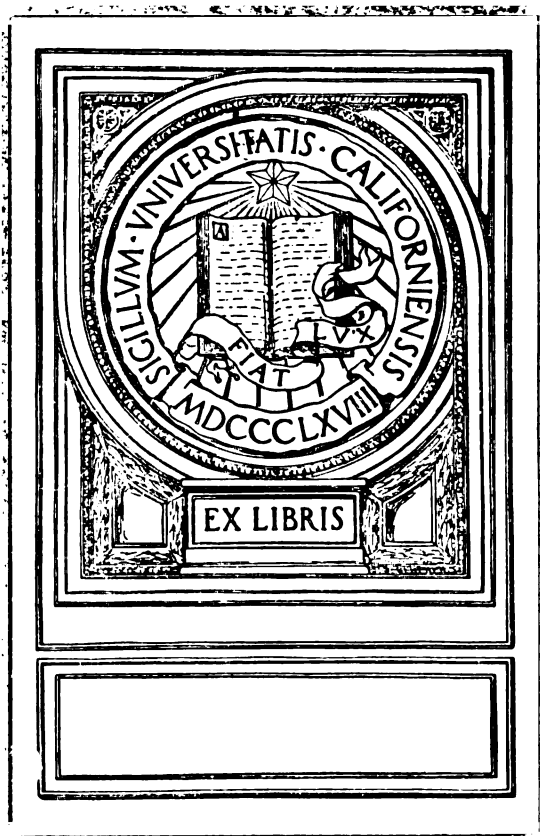
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**Hakluytus Posthumus**  
or  
**Purchas His Pilgrimes**

**In Twenty Volumes**

**Volume VI**

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Hakluytus Posthumus  
or  
Purchas His Pilgrimes.

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Contayning a History of the World  
in Sea Voyages and Lande Travells  
by Englishmen and others

By  
SAMUEL PURCHAS, B.D.  
"

VOLUME VI



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THE SIXTH VOLUME  
OF  
Purchas His Pilgrimes

Contayning Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries  
of the Sea-Coasts and In-land Regions of  
Africa, which is generally called  
Æthiopia, by Englishmen  
and others





## §. VIII.

Notes of principall things in John Leo his eight  
Booke of the Historie of Africa.

**T**He most noble and famous Province of Egypt [II. vi. 832.]  
bordering Westward upon the Desarts of Barca,  
Numidia, and Libya; Eastward upon the Desarts  
lying betweene Egypt it selfe and the Red Sea; and  
Northward upon the Mediterran Sea; is inclosed South-  
ward with the Land of the foresaid people called Bugiha,  
and with the River of Nilus. It stretcheth in length from  
the Mediterran Sea to the Land of the people called  
Bugiha, about foure hundred and fiftie miles: but in  
breadth it is very narrow; so that it containeth nought but  
a small distance betweene both the bankes of Nilus, and  
the barren Mountaynes bordering upon the foresaid  
Desarts, being inhabited onely in that place where Nilus  
is separate from the said Mountaynes: albeit, towards the  
Mediterran Sea it extendeth it selfe somewhat broader.  
For Nilus about fourescore miles from the great Citie of  
Cairo is divided into two branches, one whereof running  
in his Chanell Westward, returneth at length into the  
mayne streame from whence hee tooke his originall, and  
having passed about threescore miles beyond Cairo, it  
divideth it selfe into two other branches, whereof the one  
runneth to Damiata, and the other to Rosetto. And out  
of that which trendeth to Damiata issueth another branch,  
which discharging it selfe into a Lake, passeth through a  
certaine gullet or strait into the Mediterran Sea, upon  
the banke whereof standeth the most ancient Citie of

*Egypt foure  
hundred and  
fiftie miles  
long.*

*The Course of  
Nilus.*

A.D.  
c. 1526.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Turbant.*

Tenese: and this division of Nilus into so many streames and branches causeth Egypt (as I have before said) to be so narrow. All this Province is plaine, and is most fruitfull for all kind of Graine and Pulse. There are most pleasant and greene Medowes, and great store of Geese and other Fowles. The Countrey people are of a swart and browne colour: but the Citizens are white. Garments they weare which are strait downe to their wastes, and broad beneath, and the sleeves likewise are strait. They cover their heads with a round and high habit, called by the Italians a Dulipan. Their shooes are made according to the ancient fashion. In Summer they weare Garments of parti-coloured Cotton: but in Winter they use a certayne Garment lined with Cotton, which they call Chebre: but the chiefe Citizens and Merchants are apparelled in cloth of Europe. The Inhabitants are of an honest, cheerefull, and liberall disposition. For their victuals they use a kind of new and extreme salt Cheeses, and sowre Milke also artificially congealed: which fare albeit they account very daintie, yet cannot strangers digest it, and into every Dish almost they put sowre Milke.

*A division of  
Egypt.*

Since the Mahumetans were Lords of Egypt, it hath bene divided into three parts. For the Region from Cairo to Rosetto is called the shoare of Errif: and from Cairo to the Land of Bugiha, it is called Sahid, that is to say, The firme Land: but the Region adjoyning upon that branch of Nilus, which runneth towards Damiata and Tenese, they call by the name of Bechria or Maremma. All Egypt is exceeding fertile: but the Province of Sahid excelleth the two other parts for abundance of Corne, Cattle, Fowles and Flaxe: and Maremma aboundeth with Cotton and Sugar. Howbeit, the Inhabitants of Maremma, and Errif are farre more civill then the people of Sahid: because those two Provinces lye neerer unto the Sea, and are more frequented by European, Barbarian, and Assyrian Merchants: but the people of Sahid have no conversation with strangers, except it be with a few Æthiopians.

## JOHN LEO ON AFRICA

A.D.

c. 1526.

The Egyptians (as Moses writeth) fetch their originall from \*Mesraim the Sonne of Chus, the Sonne of Cham, the Sonne of Noe; and the Hebrewes call both the Countrey and the Inhabitants of Egypt by the name of Mesraim. The Arabians call Egypt it selfe Mesre, but the Inhabitants Chibith. And Chibith (they say) was the man, that first tooke upon him the Government of this Region, and beganne first to build houses thereon. Also the Inhabitants call themselves by the same name: neither are there left any true Egyptians, besides a few Christians, which are at this present remayning. The residue embracing the Mahumetan Religion, have mingled themselves amongst the Arabians and the Moores. This Kingdome was governed many yeares by the Egyptians themselves, as namely, by the Kings that were called Pharao, (who by their Monuments and admirable Buildings, seeme to have beene mightie Princes) and also by the Kings called Ptolomæi. Afterward, being subdued unto the Romane Empire, this Kingdome since the comming of Christ was converted unto the Christian Religion, under the said Romane Government: since the decay of which Empire, it fell into the possession of the Emperours of Constantinople; who being very carefull to maintayne this Kingdome, were at length deprived thereof by the Mahumetans, under the conduct of Hamrus the Sonne of Hasi, being appointed Captaine Generall over the Arabian Armie of Homar, the second Califa or Mahumetan Patriarke of that name: who permitting all men to have their owne Religion, required nought but Tribute at their hands. The said Captaine built upon the banke of Nilus, a certaine Towne called by the Arabians Fustato, which word signifieth in their Language a Tabernacle: for when he first undertooke this Expedition, he marched through wild and desart places void of Inhabitants, so that his Armie was constrayned to lye in Tents. The common people call this Towne Mesre Hatichi, that is to say, the ancient Citie; in comparison of which Cairo may not unfitly be called the New Citie.

*The ancient  
Pédigree and  
Originall of  
the Egyptians.  
Gen. 10. 6.*

*\*Mesraim is  
recorded to be  
the Brother of  
Chus, and the  
Sonne of Cham  
Chibith.*

*Fustato.*

A.D.  
c. 1526.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

[II. vi. 833.] Neither Cairo nor any place neere unto it, ~~can~~ by any likelihood challenge that they ~~were~~ at any time inhabited by the ancient Pharaos. But heere it is to be noted, that the Nobilitie of the ancient Egyptians dwelt in times past in the Region of Sahid beyond Cairo, in the Cities of Fium, of Manfichmin, and in other such famous Cities. Howbeit, after Egypt was conquered by the Romanes, the Egyptian Nobilitie planted themselves in the Region of Errif, upon the Sea shoare thereof, namely, about the Cities of Alexandria, Rosetto, and other famous Townes retayning as yet the Latine names. Also when the Romane Empire was translated into Greece, the said Nobilitie still inhabited upon the Sea shoare, the Emperours Lieutenant residing at Alexandria: but after the Mahumetans got the Dominion of Egypt, the foresaid Nobilitie retyred themselves into the in-land, hoping thereby to reape a double commoditie: namely, first, in that they might bee a meanes to pacifie the Kingdome on both sides of them; and secondly, that they might bee free from the invasions of the Christians, whereof they should have beene in danger, had they remayned any longer upon the Sea Coast.

*The qualitie  
of tempera-  
ture of the  
Ayre in Egypt.  
Raine unwhol-  
some.*

*Extream  
Pestilence.*

✱ The Ayre of this Countrey is hot and unwholesome: and it rayneth heere very seldome or never. And Raine is the cause of many Diseases in Egypt: for in raynie weather some of the Egyptians are subject unto dangerous Rheumes, and Fevers; and others unto a strange kinde of swelling in their privy Members: which swelling the Physicians impute unto Salt Cheese and Beeffe, which are the common Dyet of the Egyptians. In Sommer time this Countrey is most extremely hot, for a remedie of which heat they build in every Towne certaine high Towres, having one doore aloft, another beneath, right over against the houses, through the tops whereof the wind passing down-ward, doth somewhat coole and refresh the Ayre: otherwise in regard of the intolerable heat of the Sunne it were impossible for any man to live there. Sometime the Pestilence is so hot among them, especially

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c. 1526.

at Cairo, that sometimes there dye twelve thousand persons thereof on a day. But with the French Poxe, I thinke, that no other Countrey under Heaven is so molested, nor that contayneth so many people infected therewith. About the beginning of Aprill, they reape their Corne, and having reaped it, they presently thrash the same; neyther shall you see one eate of their Corne standing till the twentieth of May.

*The French  
Maladie most  
rise in Egypt.*

The inundation or overflow of Nilus beginneth about the middest of June, increasing afterward for the space of fortie dayes, and for the space of other fortie dayes also decreasing: during which time all the Cities and Townes of Egypt are like unto Ilands, which none can come unto but by Boats and Barges. At this time also Nilus is very fit to be sailed upon with vessels of burthen; some whereof are so bigge that they will contayne sixe or seven thousand bushels \*of Corne: and some hundreds of Cattell together: and in these Vessels they sayle onely downe the streame: for against the streame or without the overflowing time they would scarsly passe emptie. The Egyptians according to the increase of Nilus, doe foresee the plentie or dearth of the yeere following: as wee will more at large declare, when wee come to speake of the Iland of Nilus over against the olde Citie, where the inundation of Nilus is measured. Neither is it our purpose in this place particularly to describe all the Cities of Egypt, because our African Writers are of divers opinions thereabout; for some would have Egypt to bee a part of Africa, but others are of a contrary minde. Divers there are that affirme, that part of Egypt adjoyning upon the Desarts of Barbarie, Numidia and Libya, to belong unto Africa. Some others ascribe unto Africa all those places that border upon the principall and mayne Channell of Nilus: but as for other places, as namely, Manf, Fium, Semenud, Damanhore, Berelles, Tenesse, and Damiata, they thinke them not to be situate in Africa: which opinion, I my selfe, also upon many and great reasons take to be true. Wherefore my purpose is to

*The increase of  
Nilus.*  
\* In burthen \*

\*Moggia.

A.D.  
c. 1526.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*The Citie of  
Bosiri.*

describe none other Cities but such as stand neere the mayne and principall Channell of Nilus.

The ancient Citie of Bosiri built by the Egyptians upon the Mediterran Sea, and standing twentie miles Westward from Alexandria, was in times past environed with most strong wals, and adorned with most beautifull and stately Buildings. At this present, it is compassed with many possessions or grounds bearing Dates, whereof no man taketh charge nor reapeth any commoditie: for when Alexandria was wonne by the Christians, the Inhabitants abandoned this Citie, and fled towards the Lake called Buchaira.

*The great  
Citie of  
Alexandria in  
Egypt.*

The great Citie of Alexandria in Egypt, founded by Alexander the Great, not without the advise of most famous and skilfull Architects, upon a beautifull point of Land stretching into the Mediterran Sea, and being distant fortie miles Westward of Nilus, was in times past, till it grew subject unto the Mahumetans, most sumptuously and strongly built, as divers and sundry Authors beare record. Afterward this Citie decaying, many yeares together, was deprived of the ancient renowne and honour, and remayned in manner desolate, because no Merchants of Greece nor of any other part of Europe exercised any longer Traffique therein. Howbeit, a certaine craftie Mahumetan Patriarke made the rude people beleeve, that by the Prophetie of Mahumet, most ample Indulgences were granted unto all such as would inhabit the Citie or guard it for certaine dayes, and would bestow some Almes for a publike benefit: by which wily stratageme the Citie was in short time filled with forraine people, which from all places resorted thereunto: by whom were built many houses neere unto the Citie wals, and many Colledges of Students, and divers Monasteries for the reliefe of Pilgrims.

*Indulgences of  
Mahumet.*

[II. vi. 834.] The Citie it selfe is foure square, and hath foure Gates to enter in at: one standing on the East side towards Nilus, another on the South side towards the Lake of Buchaira, the third Westward towards the Desart of Barca,



## JOHN LEO ON AFRICA

A.D.  
C. 1526.

and the fourth towards the Meditterran Sea and the Haven ; whereat stand the Searchers and Customers, which ransacke strangers even to their very shirts : for they demand custome, not onely for wares and Merchandize, but also some allowance in the hundred for all kinde of money. Neere unto this Citie-walles there are two other Gates also, being divided asunder by a faire walke, and a most impregnable Castle, which standeth upon the Strand or Wharfe of the Port, commonly called Marsa el Bargi, that is to say, the Port of the Castle : in which Port ride the principall and best ships, namely, such as come from Venice, Genoa, Ragusa, with other Ships of Europe. For hither resort the English, the Low Dutch, the Biscaines, the Portugals, and men of all other Nations in Europe for traffique sake. Howbeit, this Port is most usually frequented by the Ships of Appulia, Sicilia, and of Greece, which are Turkish Ships ; all which resort into this Harbour to save themselves from Pyrats, and from tempestuous weather. Another Port there is also, called Marsa Essil Sela, that is to say, the Port of the Chaîne, wherein the Ships of Barbary, namely, those of Tunis and of the Ile of Gerbi harbour themselves. The Christians are constrained to pay about the tenth part of all wares that they bring in and carry out, but the Mahumetans pay but the twentieth part : and whatsoever wares are carried by land to Cairo pay no custom at all. And at this present that part of the Citie which is next unto Cairo, is the most famous and best furnished with Merchandize brought by Merchants from all places of the world. The other parts of this Citie are destitute both of Civility and Inhabitants : for except one long street, and that part of the Citie next the Haven which is full of Merchants shops, and inhabited by Christians, the residue is void and desolate. Which desolation happened at that time, when Lewis the fourth, King of France, being restored to liberty by the Soldan, the King of Cyprus with a fleet, partly of Venetians, and partly of French-men suddenly assailed Alexandria, and with great slaughter surprized and sacked the same. But

*Searchers  
indeed.*

*Ancient traf-  
fique of the  
English unto  
Alexandria.*

*This in Leos  
time 1526.*

*Alexandria  
surprised and  
sacked by the  
king of  
Cyprus.*

A.D.  
c. 1526.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

the Soldan comming with an huge armie to rescue Alexandria, so discouraged the Cyprians, that they burnt downe the houses thereof, and betooke themselves to flight. Whereupon the Soldan repairing the walles, and building a Castle neere unto the Haven, the Citie grew by little and little into that estate, wherein it standeth at this present.

*Pharos.*

In the Citie of Alexandria there is a certaine high Mount, fashioned like unto the place called Testaccio at Rome, whereon, although it hath no naturall situation, are found divers earthen Vessels of great antiquity. Upon the

*Watch Tower.*

top of the said Mount standeth a Turret, where a certaine officer is appointed to watch for such Ships as direct their course towards the Citie, who for every ship that he giveth notice of unto the Customers, receiveth a certain fee: but if he chanceth to fall asleepe, or to be out of the way at the arrivall of any Ship, whereof he certifieth not the Customers, he paieth double for his negligence into the Soldans Exchequer. Under each house of this Citie there

*Alexandria vaulted.*

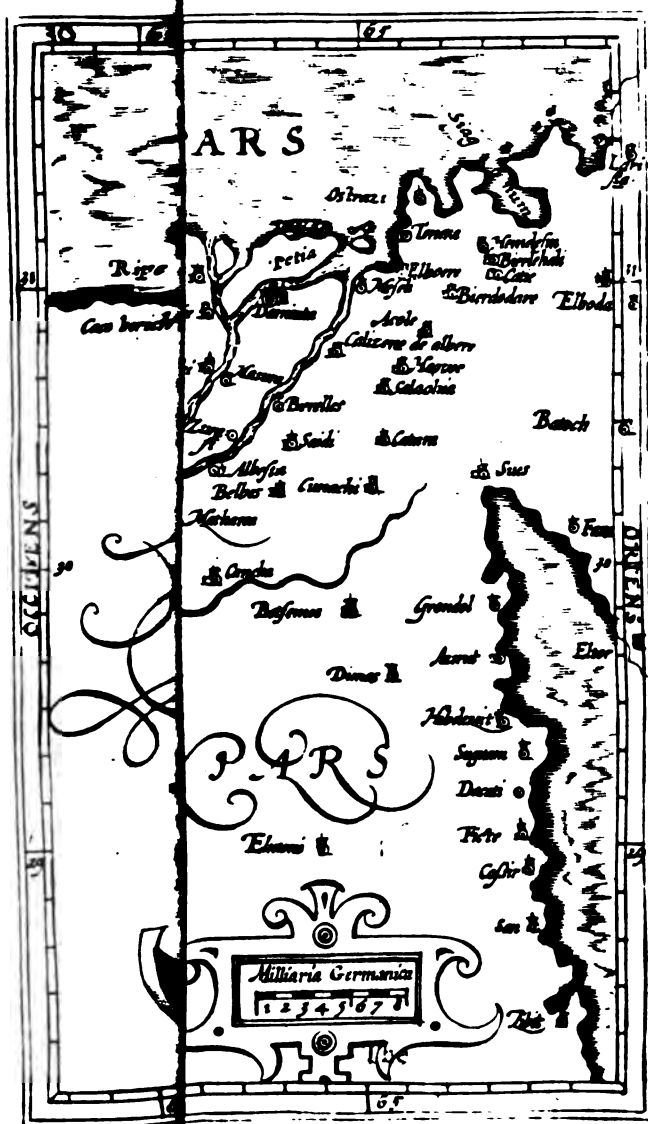
*The water of Nilus brought by a sluice into Alexandria.*

is a great vaulted Cisterne built upon mighty Pillars and Arches: whereinto the water of Nilus at every inundation is conveyed under the walles of the Citie, by a certaine wonderfull and most artificiall sluice standing without the Citie it selfe. But these Cjsternes growing sometime corrupt and foule, are often in Summer the occasion of many diseases and infirmities. This Citie standeth in the midst of a sandy Desart, and is destitute of Gardens and Vines, neither is the soile round about it apt to beare Corne; so that their Corne is brought them from places forty miles distant. Howbeit, neere the foresaid sluice, whereby the water of Nilus is conveyed into the Citie,

*Sickely fruits.*

are certaine little Gardens, the fruits whereof being growen to ripenesse, are so unwholesome, that they breed Fevers and other noysome diseases among the Citizens. Sixe miles Westward of Alexandria, among certaine ancient buildings, standeth a pillar of a wonderfull height and thicknesse, which the Arabians call Hernadussaoar, that is to say, the pillar of trees. Of this pillar there is a Fable

*The pillar and a pilla Fable thereof.*



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## JOHN LEO ON AFRICA

A.D.  
c. 1526.

reported, that Ptolemey one of the Kings of Alexandria built it upon an extreme point of land stretching from the Haven, whereby to the end he might defend the Citie from the invasion of forraine enemies, and make it invincible, he placed a certaine Steele-glasse upon the top thereof, by the hidden vertue of which glasse, as many Ships as passed by while the glasse was uncovered should immediately be set on fire: but the said glasse being broken by the Mahumetans, the secret vertue thereof vanished, and the great pillar whereon it stood was remooved out of the place. But this is a most ridiculous narration, and fit for babes to give credite unto. At this present there are amongst the ancient Inhabitants of Alexandria many Christians called Jacobites, being all of them Artizans and Merchants: these Jacobites have a Church of their owne to resort unto, wherein the body of S. Marke the Evangelist lay in times past interred, which hath since beene privily stolne by the Venetians, and carried unto Venice. And the said Jacobites pay Tribute unto the Governour of Cairo. Neither is it to be passed over in silence, that in the midst of the ruinous Monuments of Alexandria, there remaineth as yet a certaine little house built in forme of a Chappell, and containing a Sepulchre much honoured by the Mahumetans, wherein they affirme, out of the authoritie of their Alcoron, that the body of the High Prophet and King (as they terme him) Alexander the great lieth buried. And thither resort yeerely great multitudes of Pilgrimes from forraine Nations, to adore and reverence the said Sepulchre, and oftentimes do bestow large Almes thereupon.

The Citie of Rosetto was built by a slave of a certaine Mahumetan Patriarke and Governour of Egypt, upon the Easterne banke of Nilus three miles from the Meditterran Sea, not far from the place where Nilus dischargeth his streames into the said Sea. Heere is a stately Bath-stove also, having fountaines both of cold and hot water belonging thereunto, the like whereof for stately and commodious building is not to be found in all Egypt besides. I my selfe was in this Citie when Selim the great

*Certain  
Christians  
called  
Jacobites.*

*Alexanders  
Sepulchre  
resorted to in  
Pilgrimage.  
Fœlix terra-  
rum prado: a  
Saint.*

*[II. vi. 835.]  
The Citie of  
Rasid called by  
the Italians  
Rosetto.  
John Leo was  
at Rasid the  
same time  
when Selim the  
great Turke  
passed that  
way.*

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c. 1526.

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Turke returned this way from Alexandria, who with his private and familiar friends beholding the said Bath-stove, seemed to take great delight and contentment therein.

*Thebe.*

Thebe, at this present, containeth but three hundred Families in all, being most of them very stately and sumptuously built. It aboundeth with Corne, Rice, and Sugar, and with certaine fruits of a most excellent taste, called Muse. It is also furnished with great store of Merchants and Artificers: but the most part of the Inhabitants are husbandmen: and if a man walke the streets in the day-time, he shall see none but trim and beautifull women. The Territorie adjacent aboundeth with Date-trees, which grow so thicke, that a man cannot see the Citie, till he approacheth nigh unto the walles. Here grow likewise store of Grapes, Figs, and Peaches, which are carried in great plentie unto Cairo. Without the Citie there are many ancient Monuments, as namely, pillars, inscriptions in Latine, Greeke, and Egyptian Characters, and wals of a great thicknesse, built of excellent stone, and such a number of ruinous places, that this Citie seemeth, in times past, to have beene very large.

*The fruits  
called Muse.*

*Fuoa.*

The women of Fuoa, fortie miles South from Rosecco, live in so great libertie, that they may goe whither they will at the day-time, returning home at night, without any controlement of their husbands. The fields adjacent abound greatly with Dates, and neere unto them there is a certaine Plaine which is very apt for Sugar and Corne: howbeit, the Sugar Canes there bring not forth perfect Sugar, but in stead thereof a certaine kinde of Honie like sope, which they use throughout all Egypt, because there is but little Honie in the whole Countrey.

*Sugar.  
Gezirat  
Eddheeb, that  
is to say, the  
golden Ile.  
Great abund-  
ance of  
Sugar.*

Over against the foresaid Citie the River of Nilus maketh an Ile, which being situate on an high place, bringeth forth all kinde of fruitfull trees except Olives.

*\*It was soone  
after in Leos  
time taken by  
the Turke and  
the Soldan  
extirpate.*

They have a most beautifull Temple at Deretto, and the Citizens are exceeding rich: for their ground yeeldeth such abundance of Sugar, that they pay yeerely unto the Soldan\* an hundred thousand peeces of Gold, called in

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their language Saraffi, for their libertie of making and refining thereof. In this Citie standeth a certaine great house like unto a Castle, wherein are their Presses and Caldrons, for the boyling and preparing of their Sugar. Neither did I ever in all my life see so many workemen employed about that businesse, whose daily wages (as I understood by a certaine publike officer) amounted to two hundred Saraffi.

Cairo is commonly reputed to be one of the greatest and most famous cities in all the whole world. But leaving the common reports and opinions, thereof, I will exactly describe the forme and estate wherein it \*now standeth. And that I may begin with the Etymologie or derivation of the name, Cairo is an Arabian word, corruptly pronounced by the people of Europe: for the true Arabian word is El Chahira, which signifieth an inforcing or imperious Mistresse. This City built in ancient times by one Gehoar Chetib a Dalmatian slave (as I have before signified in the beginning of my Discourse) containeth within the walles not above eight thousand Families, being Inhabited by Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants that sell wares brought from all other places. The famous Temple of Cairo, commonly called, Gemih Hashare, that is to say, the glorious Temple, was built also by the foresaid slave, whom we affirmed to be the Founder of the City, and whose surname was Hashare, that is to say, Famous, being given him by the Mahumetan Patriarke that was his Prince. This Citie standeth upon a most beautifull Plaine, neere unto a certaine Mountaine called Mucatum, about two miles distant from Nilus, and is environed with stately walles, and fortified with Iron-gates: the principall of which gates is called Babe Nansre, that is, the gate of Victory, which standeth Eastward towards the Desart of the Red Sea; and the gate called Beb Zuaila, being next unto the old Citie and to Nilus; and also Bebel Futuh, that is to say, the gate of Triumph, standing towards the lake and the fields. And albeit, Cairo aboundeth every where with all kind of Merchants

*A Description  
of the huge &  
admirable  
Citie of Cairo.  
\*1526.*

*The Founder.*

*The Temple.*

A.D.  
c. 1526.

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*Delicate  
drinks made  
of all kind of  
fruits.*

[II. vi. 836.]

*Soldan  
Ghauri.*

and Artificers, yet that is the principall street of the whole Citie which stretcheth from the gate of Nansre, to the gate of Zuaila; for in it are built most stately and admirable Palaces and Colledges, and most sumptuous Temples, among which is the Temple of Gimith Elhechim, the third Schismaticall Califa of Cairo. Other Temples there are of a marvellous bignes, which to describe in particular, I thinke is superfluous. Here are many Bath-stoves also very artificially built. Next of all is the street called Beinel Casrain, containing to the number of threescore Cookes or Victuallers shops, furnished with vessels of Tinne: there are certaine other shops also, wherein are to be sold delicate waters or drinckes made of all kinds of fruits, being for Noblemen to drinke of, and these waters they keepe most charily in fine vessels, partly of glasse, and partly of Tinne: next unto these are shops where divers confections of Hony and Sugar, unlike unto the confections of Europe, are to be sold: then follow the Fruiterers shops, who bring out-landish fruits out of Syria, to wit, Quinces, Pomegranates, and other fruits which grow not in Egypt: next unto them are the shops of such as sell Egges, Cheese, and Pancakes fried with Oyle. And next of all there is a streete of the principall Artificers Shops. Beyond which streete standeth a Colledge built by the Soldan, called Ghauri, who was slaine in a battaile against Selim the great Turke. And next unto the Colledge are divers rankes of Drapers Shops. In the first ranke there is most excellent out-landish Linnen Cloth to be sold, as namely, fine Cloth of Cotten brought from Balabach, and Cloth called Mosall, that is, of Ninou, of a marvellous breadth and finenesse, whereof Noblemen and others of account, have Shirts made them, and Scarffes to weare upon their Dulipans. Besides these, there are certaine Mercers Shops where the rich Stuffles of Italy, namely, Silke, Damaske, Velvet, Cloth of Gold, and such like are to be bought, unto which Stuffles I never saw any comparable (to my remembrance) in Italy, where they use to be made. Next unto the Mercers are the Woollen



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Drapers, which bring Cloth out of Europe, as namely, from Florence, Venice, Flanders, and other places. Next of all there are Chamblets to be sold : and from thence the way lieth to the Gate of Zuaila, at which Gate dwell great store of Artificers. Neere unto the said way standeth the famous Burse, called Canen Halili, wherein the Persian Merchants dwell. It is built very stately in manner of a Kings Palace, and is of three stories high : beneath it are certaine convenient roomes, whither Merchants for the exchange of rich and costly Wares doe resort : for here doe the principal and most wealthie Merchants abide ; whose Wares are Spices, precious Stones, Cloth of India, & such like. Next unto the Burse standeth a street of Shops, where al kind of Perfumes, namely, Civet, Muske, Amber, and such like are to be sold : which commodities are here in so great plenty, that if you ask for twenty pounds of Musk, they wil presently shew you an hundred. Next followeth the street of the Paper-Merchants, where you may buy most excellent and smooth Paper : here also are to be sold Jewels and precious Stones of great value, which the Brokers carrie from one Shop to another. Then come you to the Gold-Smiths streete, being inhabited for the most part by Jewes, who deale for riches of great importance. And next unto the Gold-Smithes are certaine streetes of Upholsters or Brokers, who sell the apparell and rich furniture of Noblemen and other Citizens at the second hand, which are dot Cloakes, Coates, Napery, or such like, but things of exceeding price and value : amongst which I my selfe once saw a beautifull Pavillion embroydered with Needle-worke, and beset with Pearles that weighed fortie pounds, which Pearles being taken out of it, were sold for ten thousand Saraffi. In this Citie also there is a most stately Hospitall built by Piperis the first Soldan of the Mamalucks race : the yearely revenues whereof amount unto two hundred thousand Saraffi. Hither may any impotent or diseased persons resort, and bee well provided of Physicians, and of all things necessarie for those that are sicke, who if they

*A stately  
Hospitall.*

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chance to die here, all their goods are due unto the Hospitall.

*The Suburbs.*

The Suburbe, called Bed Zuaila, belonging unto Cairo, and containing about twelve thousand Families, beginneth at the Gate of Zuaila, and extendeth Westward almost a mile and a halfe; Southward it bordereth upon the Palace of the Soldan, and stretcheth Northward for the space of a mile unto the Suburbe, called Beb Elloch. Here dwell as many Noblemen and Gentlemen almost, as within the Citie it selfe: and the Citizens have Shops both here and in the Citie, as likewise many Inhabitants of this Suburbe maintaine Families in the Citie also. Amongst all the buildings of this Suburbe, the principall is that stately Colledge built by Soldan Hesen, being of such a wonderfull height and great strength, that oftentimes the Colledges have presumed to rebell against the Soldan, and therein to fortifie themselves against the whole Citie, and to discharge Ordnance against the Soldans Castle, which is but halfe a Crosse-bow shot distant.

*A stately  
Colledge.*

The Suburbe called Gemeh Tailon, confining Eastward upon the foresaid Suburbe of Beb Zuaila, extendeth Westward to certaine ruinous places neere unto the old Citie. Before the foundation of Cairo this Suburbe was erected by one Tailon, who was subject unto the Califa of Bagdet, and Governour of Egypt, and was a most famous and prudent man. This Tailon leaving the old Citie, inhabited this Suburbe, and adorned the same with a most admirable Palace, and sumptuous Temple. Here dwell also great store of Merchants and Artificers, especially such as are Moores of Barbary.

*Palace and  
Temple.*

The Suburbe, called Beb Elloch, being distant from the Walles of Cairo about the space of a mile, and containing almost three thousand Families, is inhabited by Merchants and Artizans of divers sorts, as well as the former. Upon a certaine large place of this Suburbe standeth a great Palace, and a stately Colledge, built by a certaine Mamma-luck, called Jazbach, being Counsellor unto the Soldan of those times; and the place it selfe is called after his name,

*Palace and  
Colledge.*

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Jazbachia. Hither, after Mahumetan Sermons & devotions, the common people of Cairo, together with the Bawds and Harlots, doe usually resort; and many Stage-Players also, and such as teach Camels, Asses, and Dogs, to dance; which dancing is a thing very delightfull to behold, and especially that of the Asse: who having frisked and danced a while, his Master comes unto him, and tells him with a loud voyce, That the Soldan being about to build some great Palace, must use all the Asses of Cairo to carry Morter, Stones, and other necessary provision. Then the Asse falling presently to the ground, and lying with his heeles upward, maketh his belly to swell, and closeth his eyes as if he were starke dead. In the meane while his Master lamenting the misfortune of the Asse unto the standers by, earnestly craveth their friendly assistance and liberalitie to buy him a new Asse. And having gathered of each one as much money as hee can get; You are much deceived my Masters (quoth he) that thinke mine Asse to be dead: for the hungry Jade knowing his Masters necessity, hath wrought this sleight, to the end hee might get some money to buy him Provender. Then turning about to the Asse, hee commandeth him with all speed to arise: but the Asse lyeth starke still, though hee command and beate him never so much: whereupon, turning againe to the people; Bee it knowne (quoth hee) unto you all, that the Soldan hath published an Edict or Proclamation, that to morrow next all the people shall goe forth of the Citie to behold a Triumph, and that all the honourable and beautifull Ladies and Gentlewomen shall ride upon the most comely Asses, and shall give them Oates to eate, and Christall water of Nilus to drinke. Which words being scarce ended, the Asse suddenly starteth from the ground, prancing and leaping for joy: then his Master prosecuting still his narration; But (saith he) the Warden of our streete hath borrowed this goodly Asse of mine for his deformed and old Wife to ride upon. At these words the Asse, as though he were indued with humaine reason, coucheth his

[IL vi, 837.]  
*These Asses  
are somewhat  
like to Banks  
his Curtall,  
that plaid his  
Prizes all  
England over.*

A.D.  
c. 1526.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*South-saying  
Birds.*

cares, and limpeth with one of his legges, as if it were quite out of joynt. Then saith his Master; What, sir Jade, are you so in love with faire women? The Asse nodding his head seemeth to say, yea. Come on therefore Sirra (quoth his Master) and let us see among all these pretty Damosels, which pleaseth your fancie best. Whereupon the Asse going about the company, and espying some woman more comely and beautifull then the rest, walketh directly unto her and toucheth her with his head: and then the beholders laugh and crie out amaine: Loe, the Asses Paramour, the Paramour of the Asse. Whereupon, the fellow that shewed all this sport leaping upon the backe of his Asse rideth to some other place. There is also another kind of Charmers or Juglers, which keep certaine little Birds in Cages made after the fashion of Cupboords, which birds will reach unto any man with their Beaks certaine skroules, containing either his good or evill successe in time to come. And whosoever desireth to know his fortune, must give the Bird an half-penny; which shee taking in her bill, carrieth into a little Boxe, and then comming forth againe, bringeth the said skroule in her beake. I my selfe had once a skroule of ill fortune given me, which although I little regarded, yet had I more unfortunate successe then was contained therein. Also, there are Masters of defence playing at all kind of weapons, and other that sing Songs of the Battels fought betweene the Arabians and Egyptians, when as the Arabians conquered Egypt, with divers others that sing such Toyes and Ballads unto the people.

The Suburbe Bulach, standing two miles distant from the Walles of the Citie upon the banke of Nilus, containeth foure thousand Families. Upon the way lying betweene the Suburbe and this Citie, stand divers Houses, and Mills turned about by the strength of beasts. In this Suburbe dwell many Artificers and Merchants, especially such as sell Corne, Oyle and Sugar. Moreover, it is full of stately Temples, Palaces, and Colledges: but the fairest buildings thereof stand along the River of Nilus, for from

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thence there is a most beautifull prospect upon the River, and thither doe the Vessels and Barkes of Nilus resort unto the common stathe of Cairo, being situate in this Suburbe : at which place you shall see at some times, and especially in the time of Harvest, above one thousand Barkes. And here the Officers appointed to receive Custome for Wares, brought from Alexandria and Damiata have their abroad : albeit, but little tribute be demanded for the said Wares, because it was paid before at the Port of their arrivall : but those Wares that come out of the firme land of Egypt allow entire custome.

The Suburbe of Carafa built in manner of a Towne, and standing from Mount Muccatim a stones cast, and from the Walles of the Citie about two miles, containeth almost two thousand Housholds. But at this day the greatest part thereof lyeth waste and destroyed. Here are many Sepulchers built with high and stately Vaults and Arches, and adorned on the inner side with divers Emblems and colours, which the fond people adore as the sacred Shrines and Monuments of Saints, spreading the pavement with sumptuous and rich Carpets. Hither every Friday morning resort out of the Citie it selfe, and the Suburbs, great multitudes of people for devotions sake, who bestow liberall and large almes.

*The Suburbe  
called  
Charafa.*

The Citie Mifrulhetich was the first that was built in Egypt in the time of the Mahumetans, founded by Hamre, Captaine Generall over the Forces of Homar, the second Mahumetan Patriarke upon the banke of Nilus, resembling a Suburbe because it is unwalled, and containing to the number of five thousand Families. It is adorned, especially by the River Nilus, with divers Palaces and Houses of Noblemen, and also with the famous Temple of Hamre, being of an huge bignesse, and most stately built. It is also indifferently well provided of Trades-men and Artificers. And here standeth the famous Sepulchre of a Woman, reputed most holy by the Mahumetans, and called by them Saint Nafissa, which was the daughter of one called Zenulhebidin, being the sonne

*The old Citie,  
called Mifrul-  
hetich.*

*Hamres huge  
Temple.*

*Saint Nafissa.*

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c. 1526.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

[II. vi. 838.]

*Pilgrimage  
and Offerings.*

*Cosening  
Priests.*

of Husein, the sonne of Heli, who was Cousen-german unto Mahumet. The said Nafissa seeing all of her Family to be deprived of the Mahumetan Patriarkship, left Cufa, a Citie of Arabia Fœlix, and came and dwelt in this Citie; unto whom, partly because shee was of the Linage of Mahumet, and partly for that she lived an innocent and blamelesse life, the people after her death ascribed divine honours, canonizing her for a Saint. Wherefore the Schismaticall Patriarcks of her Kindred having got the upper hand in Egypt, began to build for Nafissa a most beautifull Shrine or Sepulchre, which they adorned also with Silver Lamps, with Carpets of Silke, and such like precious ornaments. So great is the renowne of this Nafissa, that there commeth no Mahumetan either by Sea or Land unto Cairo, but he adoreth this Sepulchre, and bringeth his Offering thereunto, as likewise doe all the Mahumetans inhabiting thereabout: insomuch that the yearely Oblations and Almes offered at this Sepulchre, partly for the reliefe of the poore Kinsfolks of Mahumet, and partly for the maintenance of the Priests which keepe the said Sepulchre, amount unto one hundred thousand Saraffi; which Priests by fained and counterfeit Miracles doe daily delude the minds of the simple, to the end they may the more enflame their blind devotion, and may stirre them to greater liberalitie. When Selim the Great Turke wonne the Citie of Cairo, his Janizaries rifling this Sepulchre, found there the summe of five hundred thousand Saraffi in ready money, besides the Silver Lampes, the Chaines and Carpets: but Selim tooke away a great part of that treasure from them. Such as write the Lives of the Mahumetan Saints, making very honourable mention of this Nafissa, say that she was descended of the noble Familie of Heli, and that she was most famous for her vertuous and chaste life: but the fond people and the Priest of that execrable Sepulchre, have devised many fained and superstitious Miracles. In this Suburbe also, neere unto the River of Nilus, is the Customers Office, for such wares as are brought out of the Province of Sahid.

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Without the walled Citie stand the Magnificent and stately Sepulchres of the Soldans, built with admirable and huge Arches. But in my time a certaine Soldan caused a Walke to be built betweene two high Walls, from the Gate of the Citie to the place of the aforesaid Sepulchres, and at the ends of both Walls caused two Turrets of an exceeding height to be erected, for Markes and Directions unto such Merchants as came thither from the Port of Mount Sinai.

*Sepulchres of  
the Soldans.*

About a mile and an halfe from the said Sepulchres, in a certaine place called Amalthria, there is a Garden containing the onely Balme-tree, (for in the whole world besides there is not any other tree that beareth true Balme) which Balme-tree growing in the midst of a large Fountaine, and having a short Stocke or Body, beareth leaves like unto Vine-leaves, but that they are not so long: and this Tree (they say) would utterly wither and decay, if the water of the Fountaine should chance to be deminished. The Garden is environed with a strong Wall, whereinto no man may enter, without the speciall favour and licence of the Governour.

*The onely  
Balme-tree in  
the world.  
See P. Mart.  
Legat. Babyl.  
and Bellon. obs.*

In the midst of Nilus, over against the old Citie standeth the Ile called Michias, that is to say, The Ile of Measure; in which Ile (according to the Inundation of Nilus) they have a kind of device, invented by the ancient Egyptians, whereby they most certainly foresee the plentie or scarcitie of the yeare following throughout all the Land of Egypt. This Iland is well inhabited, and containeth about fifteene hundred Families; upon the extreme point or ende whereof standeth a most beautiful Palace, built in my remembrance by a Soldan, & a large Temple also, which is very pleasant, in regard of the coole Streames of Nilus. Upon another side of the Iland standeth an house alone by it selfe, in the midst whereof there is a fouresquare Cisterne or Chanell of eightene cubits deepe, whereinto the water of Nilus is conveyed by a certaine Sluce under the ground. And in the midst of the Cisterne there is erected a certaine Pillar, which is marked and divided into so many cubits, as the Cisterne it selfe containeth in depth. And upon

*The manner of  
measuring the  
increase of  
Nilus.  
This Pillar is  
called by  
Plinie Nilo-  
scopium.*

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES.

the seventeenth of June when Nilus beginneth to overflow, the water thereof conveyed by the said Sluce into the Chanell, increaseth daily, sometimes two, and sometimes three fingers, and sometimes halfe a cubit in height. Unto this place there daily resort certaine Officers appointed by the Senate, who viewing and observing the increase of Nilus, declare unto certaine Children how much it hath increased; which children wearing yellow Skarffes upon their Heads, doe publish the said increase of Nilus in every streete of the Citie and the Suburbs, and receive gifts every day of the Merchants, Artificers, and Women, so long as Nilus increaseth. The foresaid device or experiment of the increase of Nilus, is this that followeth: If the water reacheth onely to the fifteenth cubit of the foresaid Pillar, they hope for a fruitfull yeare following: but if it stayeth betweene the twelfth cubit and the fifteenth, then the increase of the yeare will proove but meane: if it resteth betweene the tenth and twelfth cubits, then is it a signe that Corne will be sold ten Duckats the bushell: But if it ariseth to the eighteenth cubite, there is like to follow great scarcitie, in regard of too much moysture: and if the eighteenth cubite be surmounted, all Egypt is in danger to be swallowed up by the inundation of Nilus. The Officers therefore declare unto the Children the height of the River, and the Children publish the same in all streets of the Citie, charging the people to feare God, and telling them how high Nilus is increased. And the people being astonied at the wonderfull increase of Nilus, wholly exercise themselves in Prayers, and giving of Almes. And thus Nilus continueth fortie dayes increasing, and fortie dayes decreasing; all which time Corne is sold very deare, because while the Inundation lasteth, every man may sell at his owne pleasure: but when the eightieth day is once past, the Clerke of the Market appointeth the price of all Victuals, and especially of Corne, according as hee knoweth by the foresaid experiment, that the high and low grounds of Egypt have received either too little, or too much or convenient moysture: all which Customes and Ceremonies

[II. vi. 839.]



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being duly performed, there followeth so great a Solemnitie, and such a thundering noyse of Drummes and Trumpets throughout all Cairo, that a man would suppose the whole Citie to be turned upside downe. And then every Family hath a Barge adorned with rich Coverings and Carpets, and with Torch-light, and furnished with most daintie meates and confections, wherewith they solace themselves. The Soldan\* also with all his Nobles and Courtiers resorteth unto that Sluce or Conduit, which is called the great Conduit, and is compassed round about with a wall, who taking an Axe in his hand breaketh the said wall, and so doe his Nobles and Courtiers likewise: insomuch, that the same part of the wall being cast downe, which stopped the passage of the water, the River of Nilus is so swiftly and forcibly carryed through that Conduit, and through all other Conduits and Sluces in the Citie and the Suburbes, that Cairo at that time seemeth to be another Venice; and then may you row over all places of the Land of Egypt. Seven dayes and seven nights together the foresaid Festivall Solemnitie continueth in Cairo; during which space the Merchants and Artificers of the Citie may (according to the custome of the ancient Egyptians) consume and spend in Torches, Perfumes, Confections, Musicke, and such like jollities, all their gaines that they have gotten the whole yeere past. Without the Citie of Cairo, neere unto the Suburbe of Beb Zuaila, standeth the Castle of the Soldan upon the side of the Mountain called Mochattan. This Castle is environed with high and impregnable wals, and containeth such stately and beautifull Palaces, that they can hardly be described. Paved they are with excellent Marble, on the Roofes they are gilt and curiously painted, their windowes are adorned with divers colours, like to the windowes in some places of Europe, and their gates be artificially carved and beautified with Gold and Azure. Some of these Palaces are for the Soldan and his Family; others for the Family of his Wife, and the residue for his Concubines, his Eunuches, and his Guard. Likewise the Soldan had one

*\* John Leo  
tooke these notes  
a little before  
the Turke had  
conquered  
Egypt, after  
which he  
travelled  
thrice into  
Egypt.*

*A solemne  
Feast of seven  
dayes for  
Nilus.*

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c. 1526.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

palace to keepe publike Feasts in; and another wherein to give audience unto forraine Ambassadors, and to exalt himselfe with great pompe and Ceremonies: and another also for the Governours and Officials of his Court. But all these are at this present abolished by Selim the great Turke.

*The customes,  
rites, and  
fashions of the  
Citizens of  
Cairo.*

The Inhabitants of Cairo are people of a merry, jocund, and cheerefull disposition, such as will promise much, but performe little. They exercise Merchandize and Mechanicall Arts, and yet travell they not out of their owne native soyle. Many Students there are of the Lawes, but very few of other liberall Arts and Sciences. And their Colledges are continually full of Students, yet few of them attayne unto perfection. The Citizens in Winter are clad in garments of cloth lined with Cotton: in Summer they weare fine shirts; over which shirts some put on linnen garments curiously wrought with silke, and others weare garments of Chamblet, and upon their heads they carry great Turbants covered with cloth of India.

*The attyre of  
the women of  
Cairo.*

The women goe costly attired, adorning their foreheads and neckes with frontlet and chaines of Pearle, and on their heads they weare a sharpe and slender bonet of a span high, being very precious and rich. Gownes they weare of woollen cloth with strait sleeves, being curiously imbroydered with needle-worke, over which they cast certaine veyles of most excellent fine cloth of India. They cover their heads and faces with a kind of blacke Skarfe, through which beholding others, they cannot bee seene themselves. Upon their feet they weare fine shooes and pantofles, somewhat after the Turkish fashion. These women are so ambitious and proud, that all of them disdaineyther to spinne or to play the Cookes: wherefore their Husbands are constrained to buy victuals ready drest at the Cookes shops: for very few, except such as have a great Family, use to prepare and dresse their victuals in their owne houses. Also they vouchsafe great libertie unto their Wives: for the good man being gone to the Taverne or Victualling house, his Wife tricking

*The libertie of  
the women of  
Cairo.*

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up her selfe in costly apparell, and being perfumed with sweet and precious Odours, walketh about the Citie to solace her selfe, and parley with her kinsfolkes and friends.

They use to ride upon Asses more then horses, which are broken to such a gentle pace, that they goe easier then any ambling horse. These Asses they cover with most costly Furniture, and let them out unto women to ride upon, together with a Boy to lead the Asse, and certain Footmen to run by. In this City, like as in divers others, great store of people carry about sundry kinds of victuals to be sold. Many there are also that sell water, which they carry up and downe in certayne Leather bags upon the backes of Camels: for the Citie (as I said before) is two miles distant from Nilus. Others carrie about a more fine and handsome Vessell with a Cocke or Spout of Brasse upon it, having a Cup of Myrrhe or Christall in their hands, and these sell water for men to drinke, and for every draught they take a farthing. Others sell young Chickens and other Fowles by measure, which they hatch after a wonderfull and strange manner. They put, great numbers of Egges into certayne Ovens built upon sundry lofts, which Ovens being moderately heat, will within seven dayes convert all the said Egges into Chickens. Their measures are bottomlesse, which being put into the basket of the buyer, and filled full of Chickens they lift it up, and so let the Chickens fall into the basket. Likewise, such as buy those Chickens having kept them a few dayes, carry them about to sell againe. The Cookes shops stand open very late: but the shops of other Artificers are shut up before ten of the clocke, who then walke abroad for their solace and recreation from one Suburbe to another. The Citizens in their common talke use ribald and filthy speeches: and (that I may passe over the rest in silence) it falleth out oftentimes that the Wife will complaine of her Husband unto the Judge, that he doth not his dutie nor contenteth her sufficiently in the night season wherupon (as it is permitted by the Mahumetan

*Birds hatched  
after a strange  
manner in  
Egypt.*

[II. vi. 840.]

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c. 1526.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Law) the women are divorced and maryed unto other Husbands.

*The reward  
of new and  
ingenious  
devices.  
One Marke  
Scalio in Lon-  
don made a  
Locke and Key  
and Chaine, of  
43. linkes all  
which a Flea  
did draw, and  
weighed but a  
graine and a  
halfe, Stow  
Chron. 1579.*

Among the Artizans whosoever is the first Inventor of any new and ingenuous Device, is clad in a Garment of cloth of Gold, and carryed with a noyse of Musicians after him, as it were in triumph from shop to shop, having some money given him at every place. I my selfe once saw one carryed about with solemne Musicke and with great pompe and triumph, because hee had bound a Flea in a Chaine, which lay before him on a piece of Paper for all men to behold.

Amongst the sundry Sects of Religion in this Citie, there is one Sect of the Moores called Chenefia: and this Sect liveth upon Horse-flesh, so that their Butchers when they can heare of any halting or lame Jade, buy him forthwith, and set him up a fattening, and having killed him, the said Sect of Chenefia come and buy up his flesh hand-smooth. This Sect is rife also among the Turkes, the Mamalukes, and the people of Asia; and albeit the Turkes might freely use the food before-mentioned, yet doe they not inure themselves thereunto.

*Foure severall  
Sects of the  
Mahumetan  
Religion, per-  
mitted in the  
Citie of Cairo.*

In Egypt and in the Citie of Cairo there are permitted foure severall Sects, differing each from other both in Canon and Civill Lawes: all which Sects have their originall from the Religion of Mahumet. For there were in times past foure men of singular Learning, who by subtiltie and sharpnesse of wit, found out a way to make particular deductions out of Mahumets generall Precepts. So that each of them would interpret the opinions of Mahumet according to their owne fancie, and would every man apply them to his owne proper sense; and therefore they must needs disagree much betweene themselves: howbeit, growing famous among the common people in regard of their divers Canons and Precepts, they were the first Authours and Founders of the said foure Sects: any one of which whatsoever Mahumetan professeth, cannot renounce the same at his pleasure and embrace another Sect, unlesse hee be a man of deepe Learning, and knoweth

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the Reasons and Allegations of both parts. Also there are in the Citie of Cairo foure principall Judges, who give sentence onely upon matters of great importance: under which foure are substituted other inferiour Judges, in every street of the Citie, which decide pettie contentions and brabbles. And if the parties which are at controversie chance to bee of divers Sects, the Plaintiffe may summon and convent the Defendant before the Judge of his street: howbeit, the Defendant may, if he will, appeale from him unto the highest Judge of all, being placed over the foure principall Judges aforesaid, and being governour of the Sect, called Essafichia; and this high Judge hath authoritie to dispense withall, or to disanull the Decrees of the foure principall, and of all the other inferiour Judges, according as hee shall see cause. Whosoever attempteth ought against the Canons and Precepts of his owne Religion, is severely punished by the Judge of the same Religion. Moreover, albeit the Priests of the foresaid Sects differ very much, both in their formes of Lyturgie or Prayer, and also in many other respects, yet doe they not for that diversitie of Ceremonies hate one another, neyther yet doe the common people of sundry Sects fall to mutinie and debate: but men indeed of singular Learning and much reading conferre oftentimes together, and as in private each man affirmeth his owne Sect to be the best, so likewise doe they confirme their opinions by subtile Arguments, neither may any man under paine of grievous punishment reproch any of the said foure ancient Doctors. And in very deed they all of them follow one & the same Religion, to wit, that which is prescribed in the Canons of Hashari, the principall Doctor of the Mahumetans, which Canons goe for currant over all Africa, and most part of Asia, except in the Dominions of the Great Sophi of Persia; who because he rejecteth the said Canons, is accounted by other Mahumetans an Heretike and a Schismaticke. But how such varietie of opinions proceeded from the foure Doctors aforesaid, it were tedious and troublesome to rehearse: he that is desirous to know

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

more of this matter, let him read my Commentaries which I have written concerning the Law and Religion of Mahumet, according to the Doctrine of Malich, who was a man of profound Learning, and was borne at Medina Talnabi, where the bodie of Mahumet lyeth buried: which Doctrine of Malich is embraced throughout all Syria, Egypt, and Arabia: wherewith if any be delighted, let him peruse my foresaid Commentaries, and they will satisfie him to the full.

*An horrible  
kind of execu-  
tion.*



[II. vi. 841.]

*The Navell  
being cut is  
present death.*

Upon Malefactors they inflict most grievous and horrible punishment, especially upon such as have committed any heynous crime in the Court. Theeves they condemne to the Halter. A murther committed treacherously they punish in manner following: the Executioners assistants take the Malefactor one by the head, and another by the feet, and then comes the chiefe Executioner with a Two-hand-sword, and cutteth his bodie in twaine, the one part whereof adjoyning to the head is put into a fire full of un-slaked Lime: and it is a most strange and dreadfull thing to consider, how the same dismembred and halfe bodie will remayne a live in the fire for the space of a quarter of an houre, speaking and making answere unto the standers by. But rebels or seditious persons they flea alive, stuffing their skins with bran till they resemble mans shape, which being done, they carry the said stuffed skins upon Camels backes through every streete of the Citie, and there publish the crime of the partie executed: then which punishment I never sawe a more dreadfull, by reason that the comdemned party liveth so long in torment: but if the tormenter once toucheth his navell with the knife, he presently yeeldeth up the Ghost: which he may not doe untill he be commanded by the Magistrate standing by. If any be imprisoned for debt, not having where withall to satisfie the same, the Governor of the prison payeth their creditors, and sendeth them, poore wretches, bound in chaines, and accompanied with certaine keepers, daily to begge almes from street to street, all which almes redoundeth to the Governour, and hee

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alloweth the said prisoners very bare maintenance to live upon.

Moreover, there goe crying up and downe this Citie certaine aged women, who (though that which they say in the streets cannot be understood) are notwithstanding enjoined by their office to circumcise women according to the prescript of Mahumet: which Ceremonie is not observed but in Egypt and Syria.

*Women circumcised.*

The dignity and power of the Soldan was in times past exceeding great; but Selim the great Turke in the yeere of Christ (if I be not deceived) 1517. utterly abolished the saide dignity, and changed all the Customes and Lawes of the Soldan. And because it hath beene my hap thrise to travell into Egypt since the said wonderfull alteration befell, I suppose, it will not bee much beside my purpose, if I set downe in this place such particulars as I know to be most certaine true concerning the Court of the Soldan. Unto this high dignitie was wont to bee chosen some one of the most noble Mamaluks. These Mamaluks being all Christians at the first, and stolne in their child-hood by the Tartars out of the Province of Circassia, which bordereth upon the Euxin Sea, and being sold at Caffa, a Towne of Taurica Chersonesus, were brought from thence by certaine Merchants unto the Citie of Cairo, and were there bought by the Soldan; who constraining them forthwith to abjure and renounce their baptisme, caused them to bee instructed in the Arabian and Turkish Languages, and to bee trained up in Militarie Discipline, to the end they might ascend from one degree of Honour to another, till at last they were advanced unto the high dignity of the Soldan. But this Custome whereby it was enacted: that the Soldan should be chosen out of the number of such as were Mamaluks and slaves by their condition, began about two hundred and fifty yeers sithence, when as the Family of the valiant Saladin (whose name was so terrible unto Christians) being supported but by a few of the kindred, fell to utter decay and ruine.

*The manner of creating the Soldan, and of the orders, degrees, and offices in his Court.  
John Leo was thrise in Egypt.*

*The Mamaluks.*

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At the same time when the last King of Jerusalem was determined to sacke the Citie of Cairo, which also in regard of the sloth and cowardize of the Mahumetan Califa then raigning over it, intended to make it selfe tributarie unto the same King, the Judges and Lawyers of the Citie with the consent of the Califa, sent for a certaine Prince of Asia, called Azedudin, of the Nation of Curdu (the people whereof live in tents like the Arabians) which Azedudin together with his sonne Saladin, came with an armie of fiftie thousand horsemen. And albeit, Saladin was inferiour in age unto his Father, yet in regard of his redoubted valour, and singular knowledge in Military affaires, they created him Generall of the field, and gave him free liberty to bestow all the Tributes and Revenues of Egypt, as himselfe should thinke expedient. And so marching at length against the Christians, he got the Victory of them without any bloodshed, and drave them out of Jerusalem and out of all Syria. Then Saladin returning backe with triumph unto Cairo, had an intent to usurpe the Government thereof: whereupon having slaine the Califa his guard (who bare principall sway over the Egyptians) hee procured the death also of the Califa himselfe, being thus bereft of his guard, with a poysoned cup, and then forthwith submitted himselfe unto the patronage of the Califa of Bagdet, who was the true and lawfull Mahumetan Prelate of Cairo. Thus the jurisdiction of the Califas of Cairo (who had continued Lords of that Citie by perpetuall succession for the space of two hundred and thirty yeeres) surceased, and returned againe unto the Califa of Bagdet, who was the true and lawfull Governour thereof. And so the Schismaticall Califas and Patriarkes being suppressed, there grew a contention betweene Saladin and the Soldan of Bagdet, and Saladin made himselfe a soveraigne of Cairo, because the said Soldan of Bagdet being in times past Prince of the Provinces of Mazandran and Evarizin situate upon the River of Ganges, and being borne in a certaine Countrey of Asia, laid claime notwithstanding unto the Dominion of Cairo,



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and intending to wage warre against Saladin, hee was restrained by the Tartars of Corasan, who made invasions and inrodes upon him. Saladin on the other side fearing least the Christians in revenge of the foresaid injury would make an expedition into Syria, and considering that his forces were partly slaine in the former warres, and partly consumed by pestilence, except a few which remained for the defence and savegard of his Kingdome, began to imploy himselfe about buying of slaves that came from Circassia, whom the King of Armenia by those dayes tooke and sent unto Cairo to bee sold: which slaves he caused to abjure the Christian faith, and to be trained up in feats of warre and in the Turkish Language, and being the proper Language of Saladin himselfe: and so the said slaves within a while increased so exceedingly both in valour and number, that they became not onely valiant Souldiers, and skilfull Commanders, but also Governours of the whole Kingdome. After the decease of Saladin, the Dominion remained unto his Family one hundred and fifty yeeres, and all his successors observed the Custome of buying slaves of Circassia: but the Family of Saladin growing at length to decay, the slaves by a generall consent elected one Piperis a valiant Mamaluk of their owne companie to be their Sovereigne Lord and Soldan: which Custome they afterward so inviolably kept, that not the Soldans owne sonne nor any other Mamaluk could attaine unto that high dignity, unlesse first he had beene a Christian, and had abjured his faith, and had learned also exactly to speake the Circassian and Turkish Languages. Insomuch, that many Soldans sent their sonnes in their childhood into Circassia, that by learning the Language and fashions of the Countrey, they might prove in processe of time fit to beare Sovereigne authority; but by the dissension of Mamaluks, they were alwayes defeated of their purpose.

The Eddaguadare being in dignitie second unto the Soldan, and being as it were, his Vice-roy or Lieutenant, had authoritie to place or displace any Magistrates or

*The originall  
of the Mama-  
luks.*

[II. vi. 842.]

*The principall  
Peere next  
under the  
Soldan called  
Eddaguadare.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

[II. vi. 843.]

Cairo one hundreth and fourescore miles. It is adorned with most stately Temples and other buildings: and here are to be seene at this present, sundry ruines of the ancient Egyptian buildings. The Inhabitants are rich, for they travell for their gaine as farre as Gaoga, a Kingdome of the Land of Negros.

At this present there are found at Manf-Loth, certaine huge and high Pillars and Porches, whereof are Verses engraven in the Egyptian Tongue. Neere unto Nilus stand the ruines of a stately building, which seemeth to have been a Temple in times past; among which ruines the Citizens find sometimes Coyne of Silver, sometimes of Gold, and sometimes of Lead; having on the one side Hielygraphick notes, and on the otherside the pictures of ancient Kings. The fields adjacent being very fruitfull, are extremely scorched by the heate of the Sunne, and much haunted with Crocodiles, which was the occasion (as some thinke) why the Romans abandoned this Citie. The Inhabitants are men of indifferent wealth, for they exercise Traffick in the Land of Negros.

*The Citie of  
Azioth.*

Azioth founded by the Egyptians upon the banke of Nilus, two hundred and fifty miles from Cairo, is most admirable in regard of the hugenesse, and of the varietie of old buildings, and of Epitaphes engraven in Egyptian Letters; although at this present the greatest part thereof lieth desolate. When the Mahumetans were first Lords of this Citie, it was inhabited by honourable personages, and continueth as yet famous, in regard of the Nobility and great wealth of the Citizens. There are in this Citie almost an hundred Families of Christians, and three or foure Churches still remaining: and without the Citie standeth a Monasterie, containing moe then an hundred Monks, who eate neither Flesh nor Fish, but onely Hearbs, Bread and Olives. And yet have they dainty Cates without any fat among them. This Monasterie is very rich, and giveth three dayes entertainment to all strangers that resort thither, for the welcomming of whom

*Christians.*

# PVRCCHAS

HIS

# PILGRIMES.

7N FIVE BOOKES.

The sixth, Contayning Navigations, Voyages, and Land-  
Discoueries, with other Historiall Relations

A.D.  
1526.

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they bring up great store of Doves, of Chickens, and of such like commodities.

Ichmin being the most ancient Citie in all Egypt, was built by Ichmin, the sonne of \* Misraim, the sonne of Chus, which was the sonne of \* Hen, upon the Banke of Nilus, next unto Asia, and three hundred miles Eastward from Cairo. This Citie the Mahumetans, when they first began to usurpe over Egypt, so wasted and destroyed, for certaine causes mentioned in Histories, that besides the foundations and rubbish, they left nought remaining: for, transporting the Pillars and principall Stones unto the other side of Nilus, they built thereof the Citie called Munsia, even as we will now declare.

*The Citie of Ichmin.  
\*It is otherwise read in the tenth Chapter of Genesis, vers. 6.  
\*Dubium.*

Georgia was in times past a famous Monasterie of Christians, called after the name of Saint George, and being sixe miles distant from Munsia. It was inhabited by more then two hundred Monkes, who enjoying large Territories, Possessions and Revenues, shewed themselves curteous and beneficiall unto strangers; and the overplus of their yearely revenues was sent unto the Patriarke of Cairo, who caused the same to be distributed amongst the poore Christians: but about an hundred yeares agoe, all the Monkes of this Monasterie died of a Pestilence, which spread it selfe over all the Land of Egypt. Whereupon the Prince of Munsia compassed the said Monasterie with a Wall, and erected divers houses for Artificers and Merchants to dwell in. And being allured by the pleasant Gardens situate amidst the beautifull Hills, hee himselfe went thither to inhabite: but the Patriarke of the Jacobites making his mone unto the Soldan, the Soldan caused another Monasterie to bee built in the same place, where in times past the old Citie stood; and assigned so much allowance thereunto, as might maintaine thirtie Monkes.

*The Monasterie called Georgia.*

*A Pestilence.*

This little Citie of Chian was built in times past neere unto Nilus by the Mahumetans, which notwithstanding is not now inhabited by them, but by the Christians called Jacobites, who employ themselves either in Husbandrie, or in bringing up of Chickens, Geese, and Doves. There

*The Citie of Chian.*

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c. 1526.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

remaine as yet certaine Monasteries of Christians, that give entertainment to Strangers. But Mahumetans (besides the Governour and his Family) there are none at all.

*The Citie of  
Barbanda.*

Barbanda founded by the Egyptians upon Nilus, about foure hundred miles from Cairo, was laid so waste by the Romans, that nothing but the ruines thereof remained, most of which ruines were carried unto Asna, whereof wee will forthwith intreate. Amongst the said ruines are to be found many pieces of Gold and Silver Coyne, and sundry fragments of Smaragds or Emralds.

*Emralds.  
The Citie of  
Cana.  
Antonio Gal-  
vano maketh  
large mention  
of this Citie.*

The ancient Citie of Cana, built by the Egyptians upon the banke of Nilus over against Barbanda, and environed with Walls of Sunne-dried Bricke, is inhabited with people of base condition, applying themselves unto Husbandrie, by which meanes the Citie aboundeth with Corne. Hither are the Merchandise brought against the streame of Nilus, which are sent from Cairo to Mecca: for the distance from hence over the wilderness unto the Red Sea, is at least 120 miles, all which way there is no water at all to bee found. And at the Haven of Chossir upon the shoare of the Red Sea, are divers Cottages, whereinto the said Merchandises are unladen. And over against Chossir on the side of Asia lieth Jambuh, another Haven of the Red Sea, whereat Travellers going on Pilgrimage to see the Tombe of Mahumet at Medina, must make their rendezvous or generall meeting. Moreover, China furnisheth Medina and Mecca with Corne, in which places they suffer great and continuall scarcitie.

*The Haven of  
Chossir.*

*The Citie of  
Asna.  
[II. vi. 844.]*

Asna in times past was called Siene. Round about this Citie there are to bee seene divers huge buildings, and admirable Sepulchres, together with sundry Epitaphes engraven both in Egyptian and Latine Letters.

*The Citie of  
Assuan.*

The great, ancient, and populous Citie of Assuan was built by the Egyptians upon the River of Nilus, about fourescore miles Eastward from Asna. The soyle adjacent is most apt and fruitfull for Corne. And the Citizens are exceedingly addicted unto the Trade of Merchandise,

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because they dwell so neere unto the Kingdome of Nubia, upon the confines whereof standeth their Citie: beyond which Citie, Nilus dispersing himselfe over the Plaines through many small Lakes, becommeth innavigable. Also, the said Citie standeth neere unto that Desart, over which they travell unto the Port of Suachen upon the Red Sea, and it adjoyneth likewise upon the frontiers of Ethiopia. And here in Summer time the Inhabitants are extremely scorched with the heate of the Sunne, being of a swart or browne colour, and being mingled with the people of Nubia and Ethiopia. Here are to be seene also many buildings of the ancient Egyptians, and most high Towers, which they call in the language of that Countrey Barba. Beyond this place there is neither Citie nor habitation of any account, besides a few Villages of black people, whose speech is compounded of the Arabian, Egyptian, and Ethiopian languages. These being subject unto the people, called \* Bugiha, live in the Fields after the Arabian manner, being free from the Soldans jurisdiction, for there his Dominions are limited.

*Suachen.*

*\* Bugiha are those which in old time were called Troglodytæ.*

And thus much concerning the principall Cities standing along the maine Chanell of Nilus: Some whereof I saw, others I entred into, and passed by the residue: but I had most certaine intelligence of them all, either by the Inhabitants themselves, or by the Mariners which carried me by water from Cairo to Assuan, with whom returning backe unto Chana, I travelled thence over the Desart unto the Red Sea, over which Sea I crossed unto Jambuth, and Ziddem, two Haven Townes of Arabia Desarta; of which two Townes, because they belong unto Asia, I will not here discourse, lest I should seeme to transgresse the limits of Africa. But if it shall please God to vouchsafe me longer life, I purpose to describe all the Regions of Asia which I have travelled; to wit, Arabia Desarta, Arabia Fœlix, Arabia Petræa, the Asian part of Egypt, Armenia, and some part of Tartaria; all which Countries I saw and passed through in the time of my youth. Likewise I will set downe my last Voyages from Fez to

*The great Travels of John Leo.*

A.D.  
c. 1526.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Constantinople, from Constantinople to Egypt, and from thence into Italie, in which Journey I saw divers and sundry Ilands. All which my Travels I meane (by Gods assistance) being returned forth of Europe into mine owne Country, particularly to describe; deciphring first the Religion of Europe and Asia which I have seene, and thereunto annexing this my Discourse of Africa, to the end that I may promote the endeavours of such as are desirous to know the state of forraine Countries.

### §. IX.

Principall occurrents in John Leo his ninth Booke of the Historie of Africa.

*Of the African  
Beasts differ-  
ing from the  
European.*

**T**He Elephant keepeth in the Woods, and is found in great numbers in the forrests of the Land of Negros. They use to go many in one company, & if they chance to meet with any man, they either shun him, or give place unto him. But if the Elephant intendeth to hurt any man, he casteth him on the ground with his long snout or trunke, and never ceaseth trampling upon him till he be dead. And although it be a mighty and fierce beast, yet are there great store of them caught by the Ethiopian Hunters, in manner following. These Hunters being acquainted with the Woods and Thickets where they keepe, use to make among the trees a round hedge of strong boughes and rafts, leaving a space open on the one side thereof, and likewise a doore standing upon the plaine ground which may be lift up with ropes, wherewith they can easily stoppe the said open place or passage. The Elephant therefore comming to take his rest under the shady boughes, entreth the hedge or inclosure, where the Hunters by drawing the said rope, and fastening the doore, having imprisoned him, descend downe from the trees, and kill him with their Arrowes, to the end they may get his Teeth, and make sale of them. But if the Elephant chanceth to breake through the hedge, he murthereth as many men as he can find.

*The manner  
of taking Ele-  
phants in  
Ethiopia.*



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In Ethiopia the higher, and India, they have other devices \* to take the Elephant, which, least I should seeme over-tedious, I passe over in silence.

The Giraffa so savage and wild, that it is a very rare matter to see any of them: for they hide themselves among the Desarts and Woods, where no other beasts use to come; and so soone as one of them espieth a man, it flieth forthwith, though not very swiftly. It is headed like a Camell, eared like an Oxe, and footed like a \*

: neither are any taken by Hunters, but while they are very young.

Camels are gentle and domesticall beasts, and are found in Africa in great numbers, especially in the Desarts of Libya, Numidia, and Barbaria. And these the Arabians esteeme to bee their principall possessions and riches: so that speaking of the wealth of any of their Princes, or Governours, he hath (say they) so many thousands Camels, and not so many thousand Duckats. Moreover, the Arabians that possesse Camels live like Lords and Potentates in great liberty, because they can remaine with their Camels in barren Desarts, whither no Kings nor Princes can bring armies to subdue them.

African Camels farre excell them of Asia; for travelling fortie or fifty dayes together, without any provender at all, they are unladen in the evening, and turned loose into the next fields, where they feed upon Grasse, Brambles, and the boughes of trees; which hardnesse the Camels of Asia cannot endure, but when they set foorth any journey, they must be well pampered and full of flesh. Experience hath taught, that our Camels having travelled laden fifty dayes together without any provender, have so wasted; first, the flesh of their bunches; secondly, of their bellies, and lastly, of their hips, that they have scarce beene able to carry the weight of one hundreth pounds. But the Merchants of Asia give their Camels provender, halfe of them being laden with wares, and the other halfe with provender, and so their whole Carovan of Camels goeth foorth and returneth home laden: by which meanes

*\*As by a tame Female drawing him to an inclosed place: and by a tame Male fighting with the wilde one in the Wood, and meane while men with ropes fastning his hinder legs. The Beast called Giraffa. \*Here is a word wanting in the original. The Camell.*

[II. vi. 845.]

*The African Camels are the best.*

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

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C. 1526.

*Three kinds of  
Camels.*

*Camels of a  
wonderfull  
swiftnesse,  
otherwise  
called Dromi-  
daries.*

they keepe them in good plight. Of Camels there are three kinds, whereof the first being called Hugiun, are grosse, and of a tall stature, and most fit to carrie burthens, but ere foure yeeres end they grow unprofitable: after which time every Camell but of meane stature will carry a thousand pounds of Italian weight. When any of the said Camels is to bee laden, being beaten upon his knees and necke with a wand he kneeleth downe, and when he feeleth his load sufficient, he riseth up againe. And the Africans use to geld their Camels which they keepe for the burthen, putting but one male Camell among ten femals. The second kinde of Camels called Becheti, and having a double bunch, are fit both to carrie burthens, and to ride upon: and these are bred onely in Asia. The third kind called Raguahill, are Camels of a slender and low stature, which albeit they are unfit to carry burthens, yet doe they so excell the two other kinds in swiftnesse, that in the space of one day they will travell one hundred miles, and will so continue over the Desarts for eight or ten dayes together with very little provender: and these doe the principall Arabians of Numidia, and the Moores of Libya usually ride upon. When the King of Tombuto is desirous to send any message of importance unto the Numidian Merchants with great celeritie, his post or messenger riding upon one of these Camels, will runne from Tombuto to Darha or Segelmesse, beeing nine hundred miles distant, in the space of eight dayes at the farthest: but such as travell must be expert in the way through the Desarts, neither will they demand lesse then five hundred Duckats for every journey. The said Camels about the beginning of the spring inclining to their lust and venerie, doe not onely hurt one another, but also will deadly wound such persons as have done them any injury in times past, not forgetting light and easie stripes: and whomsoever they lay hold on with their teeth, they lift up on high, and cast him downe againe, trampling upon him with their feete, and in this madde moode they continue fortie dayes together.

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Neither are they so patient of hunger as of thirst ; for they will abstaine from drinke, without any inconvenience, for fifteene dayes together : and if their guides water them once in three dayes, they doe them great hurt, for they are not usually watered but once in five or nine dayes, or at an urgent necessity once in fifteene dayes. Moreover, the said Camels are of a gentle disposition, and are indued as it were with a kinde of humane reason : for when as betweene Ethiopia and Barbarie they have a dayes journey to travell more then their woont, their masters cannot drive them on, being so tired, with whips, but are faine to sing certaine songs unto them ; wherewith being exceedingly delighted, they performe their journey with such swiftnesse, that their said masters are scarce able to follow them. At my beeing in Cairo I saw a Camell dance ; which arte of dancing how he learned of his master I will heere in few words report. They take a young Camell, and put him for halfe an houre together in a place like a Bath-stove prepared for the same purpose, the floore whereof is het with fire : then play they without upon a drumme, whereat the Camell not so much in regard of the noyse, as of the hot pavement which offendeth his feet, and lifteth up one legge after another in manner of a dance, and having beene accustomed unto this exercise for the space of a yeere or ten moneths, they then present him unto the publike view of the people, when as hearing the noyse of a drum, and remembring the time when he trode upon the hot floore, he presently falleth a dancing and leaping : and so, use being turned into a kind of nature, he perpetually observeth the same custome.

*The Camels  
great  
abstinence  
from drinke.*

*How the  
Camels of  
Cairo learne  
to dance.*

The Horses of Barbary differ not in any respect from other Horses : but Horses of the same swiftnesse and agilitie are in the Arabian tongue called throughout all Egypt, Syria, Asia, Arabia Fœlix, and Deserta, by the name of Arabian Horses : and the Historiographers affirme, that this kind of wilde Horses ranging up and downe the Arabian Desarts, and being broken and

*Barbary or  
Arabian  
Horses.*

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managed by the Arabians ever since the time of Ismael, have so exceedingly multiplied and increased, that they have replenished the most part of Africa: which opinion savoureth of truth, for even at this present there are great store of wild Horses found both in the African and Arabian Desarts. And I my selfe sawe in the Numidian Desart a wild Colt of a white colour, and having a curled maine. The most certaine triall of these Horses is when they can overtake the beast called Lant, or the Ostrich in a race: which two, if they be able to performe, they are esteemed worth a thousand Duckats or an hundred Camels. Howbeit, very few of these Horses are brought up in Barbarie, but the Arabians that inhabite the Desarts, and the people of Lybia bring up great numbers of them, using them not for travell or warfare, but onely for hunting, neither doe they give them any other meate but the milke of Camels, and that twice every day and night, to the end they may keepe them nimble, lively, and of spare flesh; and in the time of Grasse they suffer them to feede in Pastures, but then they ride not upon them.

[II. vi. 846.]

*Horses fed  
with Camels  
milke.*

*The wilde  
Horse.  
Wild Horses  
are usuall with  
the Tartars &  
at the River of  
Plate (but of  
Spanish  
breed.)*

The wilde Horse is one of those beasts that come seldome in sight. The Arabians of the Desarts take the wild Horse and eate him, saying, that the younger the Horse be, the sweeter is his flesh: but he will hardly be taken either with Horses or Dogs. In the waters where this beast keepeth, they lay certaine snares, covering them over with sand, wherein his foot being caught, he is intangled and slaine.

*Lant.*

The beast called Lant or Dant in shape resembleth an Oxe, saving that he hath smaller legs, and comlier hornes. His haire is white, and his hoofs are as blacke as Jet, and he is so exceeding swift that no beast can overtake him, but onely the Barberie Horse, as is aforesaid. He is easlier caught in Summer then in Winter, because that in regard of the extreme fretting heat of the sand his hoofs are then strained and set awry, by which meanes his swiftnesse is abated, like as the swiftnesse of Stagges and Roe-Deere. Of the hide of this beast are made Shields and

*Targets made  
of a skin.*

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Targets of great defence, which will not be pierced, but onely with the forcible shot of a bullet, but they are sold at an extreme price.

The wild Oxe resembleth the tame Oxe, save that it is lesse in stature, being of a gray or ash-colour, and of great swiftnesse. It haunteth either the Desarts, or the confines of the Desarts. And the flesh thereof (they say) is very savoury.

*The wild  
Oxe.*

The wilde Asse being found either in the Desarts, or upon the borders thereof, is of an ash-colour. In swiftnesse they are surpassed onely by the Barbary Horses, and when they see a man, they bray out aloud, kicking and wincing with their heeles, and standing stone-still, till one approacheth so neare them, that he may touch them with his hand, and then they betake themselves to flight. By the Arabians of the Desarts they are caught with Snares, and other Engins. They goe in companies either when they feede or water themselves. Their flesh is hot and unsavory, and hath a wilde taste: but being set a cooling two dayes after it is sodden, it becommeth very savory and pleasant.

*The wilde Asse.*

All the Oxen upon the Mountaines of Africa being tame cattell, are of so meane a stature, that in comparison of other Oxen they seeme to be but Heifers of two yeeres old: but the Mountainers using them to the plough, say, that they are strong, and will indure much labour.

*The Oxen  
upon the  
Mountains of  
Africa.*

Adimmain, is a tame beast, beeing shaped like a Ramme, and of the stature of an Asse, and having long and dangle eares. The Libyans use these beasts in stead of Kine, and make of their milke great store of Cheese and Butter. They have some Wooll, though it bee but short. I my selfe upon a time beeing merrily disposed, roade a quarter of a mile upon the backe of one of these beastes. Very many of them there are in the Desarts of Libya, and but fewe in other places: and it is a rare matter to see one of them in the Numidian fields.

*The beast  
called Adim-  
main.*

There is no difference betweene these Rammes of Africa and others, save onely in their tayles, which are

*The African  
Ramme.*

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of a great thicknesse, being by so much the grosser, by how much they are more fat, so that some of their tayles weigh ten, and other twenty pounds a peece, and they become fat of their owne naturall inclination: but in Egypt there are divers that feed them fat with Bran and Barley, untill their tayles grow so bigge that they cannot remooove themselves from place to place: insomuch that those which take charge of them are faine to bind little carts under their tayles, to the end they may have strength to walke. I my selfe saw at a City in Egypt called Asiot, and standing upon Nilus, about an hundred and fifty miles from Cairo, one of the said Rams tayles that weighed foure-score pounds, and others affirmed, that they had scene one of those tayles of an hundred and fifty pounds weight. All the fat therefore of this beast consisteth in his tayle; neither is there any of them to be found but onely in Tunis and in Egypt.

*Huge tayle.*

*The Lyon.*

The Lion is a most fierce and cruell beast, being hurtfull unto all other beasts, and excelling them both in strength, courage, and crueltie, neither is he onely a devourer of beasts, but of men also. In some places one Lyon will boldly encounter two hundred Horsemen. They range without all feare among the flockes and droves of Cattell, and whatsoever beast they can lay hold on, they carry it into the next Wood unto their Whelpes: yea, some Lyons there are (as I have before said) that will vanquish and kill five or sixe Horsemen in one Company. Howbeit, such Lyons as live upon the cold mountaynes are not so outrageous and cruell: but the hotter the places be where they keepe, the more ravenous and bold are they, as namely, upon the Frontiers of Temesna, and of the Kingdome of Fez, in the Desart of Angad neere Telensin, and betweene the Citie of Bona and Tunis, all which are

[II. vi. 847.]

accounted the most famous and fierce Lyons in all Africa. In the Spring, while they are given to Lust and Venery, they have most fierce and bloudie conflicts one with another, eight or twelve Lyons following after one Lyonesse, I have heard many both men and women report, that if a

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woman chanceth to meet with a Lyon, and sheweth him her privie parts, hee will with crying and roaring, cast his eyes upon the ground and so depart. Beleeve it they that list. But this I am well assured of, that whatsoever a Lyon getteth in his pawes, though it be a Camell, he will carry it away.

The Leopard living in the Woods of Barbarie, will not *The Leopard.* for all their great strength and crueltie hurt any man, unlesse it be very seldome, when as they meete with a man in a narrow passage, and cannot shunne him, or when they are checked and provoked unto fury: for then they will flye upon a man, laying hold upon his visage with their talents, and plucking off so much flesh as they can catch, insomuch that sometimes they will crush his braines in pieces. They invade not any flockes or droves of tame Cattell, but are at deadly feude with Dogges, whom they will kill and devoure.

The Mountayners of the Region of Constantina hunt them on Horse-backe, stopping all passages, where they might escape. The Leopard ranging up an downe, and finding every place so beset with Horsemen that he cannot get away, windeth and turneth himselfe on all sides, and so becommeth a fit marke for the Hunters to discharge their Darts and Arrowes upon. But if the Leopard chanceth to escape, that man that lets him passe, is bound by an usuall custome to invite the residue of the Hunters unto a Banquet.

The beast called by the Arabians, Dabuh, and by the *The beast  
called Dabuh.* Africans, Jesef, in bignesse and shape resembleth a Woolfe, saving that his legges and feet are like to the legges and feet of a man. It is not hurtfull unto any other beast, but will rake the carkasses of men out their graves, and will devoure them, being otherwise an abject and silly creature. The Hunters being acquainted with his Den, come before it singing and playing upon a Drum, by which Melodie beeing allured forth, his legs are intrapped in a strong Rope, and so he is drawne out and slaine.

The Civet Cats are naturally wilde, and are found in *The Civet  
Cat.*

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*The manner of  
gathering  
Civet.*

the Woods of Æthiopia. The Merchants taking their young Whelpes or Kittes, feed them with Milke, Branne, and Flesh, and keepe them in Cages or Grates. But their odoriferous Excrement (which is nought else but their sweat) they gather twice or thrice every day in manner following: first, they drive them up and downe the Grate with a Wand, till they sweat, and then they take the said sweat from under their flankes, their shoulders, their neckes, and their tayles: which Excrement of sweat is commonly called Civet.

*The Ape.  
Monkeyes and  
Baboones.*

Of Apes there are divers and sundry kinds, those which have tayles, being called in the African Tongue, Monne, and those which have none, Babuini. They are found in the Woods of Mauritania, and upon the Mountaynes of Bugia and Constantina. They live upon Grasse and Corne, and goe in great companies to feed in the Corne fields, and one of their company which standeth Centinell, or keepeth watch and ward upon the borders, when hee espyeth the Husbandman comming, he cryeth out and giveth, as it were, an alarme to his fellows, who every one of them flee immediately into the next Woods, and betake themselves to the trees. The shee Apes carrie their Whelpes upon their shoulders, and will leape with them in that sort from one tree to another.

*The Sea Horse.*

The Sea Horse is commonly found in the Rivers of Niger and Nilus. In shape it resembleth an Horse, and in stature an Asse, but it is altogether destitute of haire. It liveth both in the water and upon the Land, and swimmeth to the shoare in the night season. Barkes and Boates laden with Wares and sayling downe the River of Niger, are greatly endangered by this Sea Horse, for often times he over-whelmeth and sinketh them.

*The Sea Oxe.*

The Sea Oxe being covered with an exceeding hard skinne, is shaped in all respects like unto the Land Oxe; save that in bignesse it exceedeth not a Calfe of sixe monethes old. It is found in both the Rivers of Niger and Nilus, and being taken by Fishers, is kept a long time alive out of the water. I my selfe saw one at Cairo lead



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up and downe by the necke in a Chaine, which (they say) was taken at the Citie of Asna, standing upon the banke of Nilus, about foure hundred miles from Cairo.

In the Libyan Desarts are found very many Tortoyse as bigge as a Tunne. And Bicri the Cosmographer in his Booke of the Regions and Journies of Africa reporteth, that a certaine man being weary of travelling, ascended to his thinking, upon an high stone lying in the Desart, to the end he might free himselfe from the danger of Serpents and venemous beasts; who having slept soundly thereupon all night, found himselfe in the morning remooved three miles from the place where he first lay downe, and thereby understood that it was not a stone but a Tortoyse whereon he reposed himselfe, which lying still all the day long creepeth for food in the night-season, but so slowly, that her pace can hardly be perceived.

*The Tortoyse.  
Bicri his Booke  
of the Regions  
of Africa.*

The Crocodile commonly frequenteth the Rivers of Niger and Nilus, and contayneth in length twelve Cubits and above, the tayle thereof being as long as the whole bodie besides, albeit, there are but few of so huge a bignesse. It goeth upon foure feet like a Lizard, neither is it above a Cubit and an halfe high. The tayle of this beast is full of knots, and the skinne thereof is so exceeding hard, that no Crosse-bow will enter it. Some prey upon fishes onely, but others upon beasts and men. Which lurking about the bankes of the River, doe craftily lay wait for men and beasts that come the same way, about whom suddenly winding their tayles, they draw them into the water, and there devoure them. Howbeit, some of them are not so cruell by nature: for if they were, no Inhabitants could live neere unto the Rivers of Nilus and Niger. In eating they moove the upper Jaw onely, their neather Jaw being joyned unto their brestbone. Not many yeeres sithence, passing up the River of Nilus towards the Citie of Cana, standing in the upper part of Egypt, foure hundred miles from Cairo, on a certaine night whilst we were in the midst of our Journey, the Moone being over-shadowed with Clouds, the Mariners and

*The Crocodile.  
The craft of  
the Crocodile.  
in taking both  
men & beasts.*

[II. vi. 848.]

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Passengers all fast a sleepe, and the Barke under sayles, I my selfe studying by Candle-light in my Cabben, was called upon by a devout old man in the Barke, who bestowed the same night in watching and prayer, and said unto me, call (I pray you) some of your company, who may helpe me to draw up this piece of wood floting upon the water, which will serve to-morrow for the dressing of our Dinner. My selfe, Sir (quoth I) will come and helpe you, rather then wake any of our company in the dead of the night. Nay (quoth the old man) I will try whether I bee able to draw it up alone or no. And so when the Barke was neere unto the Wood, as he supposed, holding a Rope in his hand to cast into the water, hee was suddainly intangled with a Crocodiles long tayle, and was in a moment drawne under the water. Whereupon, I making a shoute, all the people in the Barke arose, and striking sayles we stayed for the space of an houre, divers in the meane time leaping into the water to seeke the man, but altogether in vaine: and therefore all of them affirmed, that he was caught by a Crocodile. As we sayled further, we saw great numbers of Crocodiles upon the bankes of the Ilands in the midst of Nilus lye beaking them in the Sunne with their Jawes wide open, whereinto certaine little Birds about the bignesse of a Thrush entring, came flying forth againe presently after. The occasion whereof was told me to be this: The Crocodiles by reason of their continuall devouring of beasts and fishes, have certaine pieces of flesh sticking fast betweene their forked teeth, which flesh being putrified, breedeth a kind of Worme wherewith they are cruelly tormented. Wherefore the said Birds flying about, and seeing the Wormes, enter into the Crocodiles Jawes, to satisfie their hunger therewith. But the Crocodile perceiving himselfe freed from the Wormes of his teeth, offereth to shut his mouth, and to devour the little Bird that did him so good a turne, but being hindred from his ungratefull attempt by a pricke which groweth upon the Birds head, hee is constrained to open his Jawes and to let her depart. The shee Crocodile

*Little Birds  
flying into the  
Crocodiles  
mouth to pick  
wormes from  
betweene their  
teeth.*

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laying Egges upon the shoare covereth them with sand; and so soone as the young Crocodiles are hatched, they crawle into the River. Those Crocodiles that forsake the River and haunt the Desarts become venomous; but such as continue in Nilus, are destitute of Poyson. Of these beasts I saw above three hundred heads placed upon the wals of Cana, with their Jawes wide open, being of so monstrous and incredible a bignes, that they were sufficient to have swallowed up a whole Cow at once, and their teeth were great and sharpe.

In the Caves of Atlas are found many huge and monstrous Dragons, which are heavie, of a slow motion, because the midst of their body is grosse, but their neckes and tayles are slender. They are most venomous creatures, insomuch, that whosoever is bitten or touched by them, his flesh presently waxeth soft and weake, neither can he by any meanes escape death. *The Dragon.*

The Hydra being short in proportion of body, and having a slender tayle and necke, liveth in the Libyan Desarts. The poyson thereof is most deadly, so that if a man be bitten by this beast, he hath none other remedy, but to cut off the wounded part, before the Poyson disperseth it selfe into the other members. *The Hydra.*

The Dub living also in the Desarts, resembleth in shape a Lizzard, saving that it is somewhat bigger, and containeth in length a Cubite, and in breadth foure fingers. It drinketh no water at all, and if a man poure any water into the mouth thereof, it presently dieth. It layeth egges in manner of a Tortoyse, and is destitute of poyson. The Arabians take it in the Desarts: and I my selfe cut the throat of one which I tooke, but it bled very little. Being slayed and roasted, it tasteth somewhat like a frogge. In swiftnesse it is comparable to a Lizzard, and being hunted, if it chanceth to thrust the head into a hole, it can by no force be drawn out, except the hole be digged wider by the hunters. Having beene slaine three dayes together, and then being put to the fire, it stirreth it selfe as if it were newly dead. *The creature called Dub.*

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*The Guarall.*

The Guaral is like unto the former, saving that it is somewhat bigger, and hath poyson both in the head and tayle, which two parts being cut off, the Arabians will eate it, notwithstanding it be of a deformed shape and ugly colour, in which respects I loathed alwayes to eate the flesh thereof.

*The Camelion.*

The Camelion being of the shape and bignesse of a Lizzard, is a deformed, crooked, and leane creature, having a long and slender tayle like a Mouse, and being of a slow pace. It is nourished by the Element of Ayre, and the Sun-beames, at the rising whereof it gapeth, and turneth it selfe up and downe. It changeth the colour according to the varietie of places where it commeth, being sometimes blacke and sometimes greene, as I my selfe have seene it. It is at great enmitie with venemous Serpents,

*It is observed  
to eate Flies.*

[II. vi. 849.]

*How the  
Camelion  
killeth the  
Serpent.*

for when it seeth any lie sleeping under a tree, it presently climeth up the same tree, and looking downe upon the Serpents head, it voydeth out of the mouth, as it were, a long thread of spittle, with a round drop like a Pearle hanging at the end, which drop falling wrong, the Camelion changeth his place, till it may light directly upon the Serpents head, by the vertue whereof he presently dieth.

*The Ostrich.*

The Ostrich in shape resembleth a Goose, but that the neck and legges are somewhat longer, so that some of them exceede the length of two cubites. The body of this Bird is large, and the wings thereof are full of great feathers both white and blacke, which wings and feathers being unfit to flie withall, doe helpe the Ostrich, with the motion of her traine, to runne a swift pace. This Fowle liveth in drie Desarts, and layeth to the number of ten or twelve Egges in the Sands, which being about the bignesse of great Bullets, weigh fiftene pounds a piece; but the Ostrich is of so weak of memorie, that she presently forgetteth the place where her Egges were laid. And afterward the same, or some other Ostrich-hen finding the said eggs by chance, hatcheth and fostereth them as if they were certainly her owne: the Chickens are no sooner

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crept out of the shell, but they prowle up and downe the Desarts for their food : and before their feathers be growne, they are so swift, that a man shall hardly overtake them. The Ostrich is a silly and deafe creature, feeding upon any thing which it findeth, be it as hard and undigestable as yron. The flesh, especially of their legs, is of a slymie and strong taste : and yet the Numidians use it for food, for they take young Ostriches, and set them up a fatting. The Ostriches wander up and downe the Desarts in orderly troopes, so that a farre off a man would take them to be so many Horsemen, which illusion hath often dismaied whole Carovans.

Of Eagles there are divers kinds, according to their naturall properties, the proportion of their bodies, or the diversitie of their colours : and the greatest kind of Eagles are called in the Arabian Tongue, Nesir. The Africans teach their Eagles to prey upon Foxes and Wolves ; which in their encounter ceaze upon the heads of the said Beasts with their bills, and upon the backs with their talents, to avoid the danger of biting. But if the Beast turne his belly upward, the Eagle will not forsake him, till she hath either peckt out his eyes, or slaine him. Many of our African Writers affirme, that the male Eagle oftentimes ingendring with a shee-Wolfe, begetteth a Dragon, having the beake and wings of a Bird, a Serpents taile, the feete of a Wolfe, and a skin speckled and partie coloured like the skin of a Serpent ; neither can it open the eye-lids, and it liveth in Caves. This Monster, albeit my selfe have not seene, yet the common report over all Africa affirmeth, that there is such an one.

*Of Fowles,  
and first of  
the Eagle.*

*A strange  
narration.*

*The Fowle  
called Nesir.*

The Nesir is the greatest Fowle in all Africa, and exceedeth a Crane in bignesse, though the bil, necke, and legs are somewhat shorter. In flying, this Bird mounteth up so high into the Aire, that it cannot be discerned : but at the sight of a dead carkasse it will immediately descend. This Bird liveth a long time, and I my selfe have seene many of them unfeathered by reason of extreme old age : wherefore having cast all their

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feathers, they returne unto their nest, as if they were newly hatched, and are there nourished by the younger Birds of the same kind. The Italians call it by the name of a Vulture; but I thinke it to be of another kind. They nestle upon high Rocks, and upon the tops of wilde and desart Mountaines, especially upon mount Atlas: and they are taken by such as are acquainted with those places.

*Hawkes.*

The best African Hawkes are white, being taken upon certaine Mountaines of the Numidian Desarts, and with these Hawkes they pursue the Crane. Of these Hawkes there are divers kinds, some being used to flie at Patridges and Quailes, and others at the Hare.

*Parats or  
Poppinjay.*

Parrats there are as big as a Dove of divers colors, some red, some black, and some ash-coloured, which albeit they cannot so fitly expresse mans speech, yet have they most sweet & shril voices.

*The Locusts.*

Of Locustes there are sometimes seene such monstrous swarmes in Africa, that in flying they intercept the Sunne-beames like a thicke Cloud. They deuoure trees, leaves, fruites, and all greene things growing out of the earth. At their departure they leave egges behind them, whereof other young Locusts breede, which in the places where they are left, will eate and consume all things even to the very barke of trees, procuring thereby extreme dearth of Corne, especially in Mauritania. Howbeit, the Inhabitants of Arabia Desarta, and of Libya, esteeme the comming of these Locusts as a fortunate boading: for, seething or drying them in the Sunne, they bruse them to powder, and so eate them.

*Of Minerals  
and Fruits,  
Rootes: and  
first of  
Minerall Salt.*

The greater part of Africa hath none other Salt but such as is digged out of Quarries and Mines, after the manner of Marble or Free-stone, being of a white, red, and gray colour. Barbarie aboundeth with Salt, and Numidia is indifferently furnished therewith: but the Land of Negros, and especially the inner part of Ethiopias, is so destitute thereof, that a pound of Salt is there sold for halfe a Duckat. And the people of the said Regions use not to set Salt upon their tables; but holding a crum

*One pound of  
Salt for halfe  
a Duckat.*

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of Salt in their hands, they lick the same at every morsell of meate which they put in their mouthes. In certaine Lakes of Barbarie all the Summer time, there is faire and white salt congealed or kernered, as namely, in divers places neere unto the Citie of Fez.

Antimonie growing in many places of Africa in the Lead-mines, is separated from the Lead by the helpe of Brimstone. Great plenty of this Minerall is digged out of the bottome of Mount Atlas, especially where Numidia bordereth upon the Kingdome of Fez. Brimstone likewise is digged in great abundance out of other places of Africa.

*The Minerall  
called Anti-  
monie.*

[II. vi. 850.]

Euphorbium is the Juyce or Gumme of a certaine Hearbe, growing like the head of a wilde Thistle, betweene the branches whereof grow certaine fruites as big in compasse as a greene cucumber; after which shape or likenesse, it beareth certaine little graines of seedes; and some of the said fruits are an elle long, and some are longer. They grow not out of the branches of the Herbe, but spring out of the firme ground, and out of one flag you shall see sometimes twentie, and sometimes thirtie of them issue forth. The people of the same Region, when the said fruites are once ripe, doe pricke them with their knives, and out of the holes proceedeth a Liquor, or Juyce much like unto milke, which by little and little groweth thick and slimy. And so being growne thick, they take it off with their knives, putting it in Bladders, and drying it. And the Plant or Hearbe it selfe is full of sharpe prickles.

*Of Euphor-  
bium.*

Of Pitch there are two kinds, the one being naturall, and taken out of certaine Stones, which are in Fountaines; the water whereof retained the unsavorie smell and taste of the same; and the other being artificiall, and proceeding out of the Juniper or Pine-tree: and this artificiall Pitch I saw made upon Mount Atlas, in manner following. They make a deepe and round furnace with an hole in the bottome, through which hole the Pitch may fall downe into an hollow place within the ground, being made in

*Of Pitch.*

*Pitch made in  
Mount Atlas.*

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forme of a little vessell : and putting into the said furnace the boughes of the foresaid trees broken into small pieces, they close up the mouth of the furnace, and make a fire under it, by the heate whereof the Pitch distilleth forth of the wood, through the bottome of the furnace into the foresaid hollow place ; and so it is taken up and put in bladders or bags.

*The Fruit  
called Maus  
or Musa.*

Musa is a fruit growing upon a small tree, which beareth large and broad leaves of a cubit long, hath a most excellent and delicate taste, and springeth forth about the bignesse of a small Cucumber. The Mahumetan Doctors affirme, that this was the fruit which God forbad our first Parents to eate in Paradise, which when they had eaten they covered their nakednesse with leaves of the same fruit, as being of all other leaves most meete for that purpose. They grow in great abundance at Sela, a Towne of the Kingdome of Fez ; but in farre greater plenty in the land of Egypt, and especially at Damiatia.

*Of Cassia.*

The trees bearing Cassia are of great thicknesse, having leaves like unto the Mulberie tree. They beare a broad and white Blossome, and are so laden with fruits, that they are constrained to gather great store before they be ripe, least the tree should breake with overmuch weight. And this kind of tree groweth onely in Egypt.

*The Roote  
called Tau-  
zarghente.*

The Roote Tauzarghente growing in the Westernne part of Africa upon the Ocean Sea shore, yeeldeth a fragrant and odoriferous smell. And the Merchants of Mauritania carry the same into the Land of Negros, where the people use it for a most excellent Perfume, and yet they neither burne it, nor put any fire at all thereto : for being kept onely in an house, it yeeldeth a naturall sent of it selfe. In Mauritania they sell a bunch of these Rootes for halfe a Duckat which being carried to the Land of Negros, is sold againe for eighty, or one hundred Duckats, and sometimes for more.

*The Roote  
called Addad.*

The Hearbe Addad is bitter, and the Roote it selfe is so venomous, that one drop of the water distilled thereout,



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will kill a man within the space of an houre, which is commonly knowne even to the Women of Africa.

The Roote Surnag growing also upon the Western part of Mount Atlas, is said to be very comfortable and preservative unto the privie parts of man, and being drunke in an Electuary, to stirre up venereall lust, &c. Neither must I here omit that, which the Inhabitants of Mount Atlas doe commonly report, that many of those Damosels which keepe Cattell upon the said Mountaines, have lost their Virginitie by none other occasion, but by making water upon the said Roote: unto whom I would in merriment answere, that I beleevved all which experience had taught, concerning the secret vertue of the same Roote, yea, they affirmed moreover, that some of their Maidens were so infected with this roote, that they were not onely defloured of their Virginitie, but had also their whole bodies puffed up and swolne.

These are the things memorable and worthy of knowledge, seene and observed by me John Leo, throughout all Africa, which Country I have in \*all places travelled quite over: wherein whatsoever I saw worthy the observation, I presently committed to writing; and those things which I saw not, I procured to bee at large declared unto mee by most credible and substantiall persons, which were themselves eye-witnesses of the same: and so having gotten a fit oportunitie, I thought good to reduce these my Travels and Studies into this one Volume.

*The Roote  
called Surnag.*

*\*That is, in  
Barbarie,  
Numidia,  
Libya,  
the Land of  
Negros, and  
Egypt.*

Forasmuch, as men desire to reade later occurrents, and these my Labours are intended not to the profit and pleasure alone, but to the honour also of the English Name and Nation, I have added this following Discourse of the late Warres in Barbarie: not yet pursuing them to these Times, but contenting my selfe with the beginnings, and some yeares proceedings thereof, the English having (as you shall see) yea, being no small part therein; Quæ regio in terris nostri non plena laboris; The voluntarie English adventures in the Civill uncivill broiles of

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[II. vi. 851.] Ice-frozen Muscovia, of Sunne-scorched Barbarie, of Turkish and Persian fights by Sea, the Mogols by Land, the Sweden, Polish, Germane, Bohemian, Belgian, and many-headed-Italian Broyles neerer home; the Easterne and Westerne Indies, the Artike Northerne Circle, and Southermost Africa remote, have really exceeded the fabulous Devices of devising Fblers, in Knight-Adventures, the Issues and Occupations of idle braines. As for the manner of the Seriffian Family, attayning at first to the Barbarian Scepter, and the monstrous Saint-ship and portentuous power of Side Hamet, getting the Kingdome from the Brethren, and of Side Hia which dispossessed him of it and his life, you have more full Relations in my Pilgrimage, with other Occurrents. Here it is more fit to let you heare others speake then my selfe.

### Chap. II.

Collections of things most remarkeable in the History of Barbarie, written by Ro. C.

#### §. I.

How the Kingdome of Barbarie came to Muley Hamet Xarif, the late deceased King, and the course of his government; of his Sonnes and their behaviour: Shecks misgovernment and imprisonment: Hamets death.

*This is that Seriffe or Xeriffe so often mentioned by Leo, which then began (under colour of warring against the Christians both Spaniards and Portugals which had made (as you see in Leo)*



*large entries into Barbary) to usurpe the State and dispossesse the former Kings. So that even in order of time and affaires, this Historie fithly succeeds the former of Leo; for Barbary. Of their manner of getting the Kingdome, and the rest of the story, see my Pilgrimage, l. 6. c. 11. §. 2.*

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got Moruecos from the Mareins. And going forward following the fertillnesse of the soyle, drave the Mareins out of Fez: getting into his power all the flat Countreyes comprized under the Titles of Sus, Moruecos and Fez, from the hils of Atlas to the Streights of Gibraltar. Being thus growne great, hee would prove himselfe a Xarif, that is, one of the Kindred of the Prophet Mahomet, desiring his birth might be held answerable to his new acquired fortunes: But within a little time after this his sodaine invasion, Sus rebelling, refused his Government, wherefore hee sent to the bordering Turkes for ayde, who fulfilled therein his request. Ayded with these Turkish auxiliary forces, he set forward, and at his entrance into that Kingdome, the Turkish Souldiers through Treason killed him, and cut off his head; sacked Taradant, and running over the whole Countrey, spoyled it by the space of two monethes, which done, they would gladly have returned to Trimasine: yet fearing their owne strength to returne the same way Hamet had brought them; it was held their better course and shorter Journey, to passe over the Mountaynes: but the Montayners knowing this their new done bloudie fact, and seeing them have good store of pillage, set upon them, so that few or none escaped their hands, but were all slaine. After this Hamet Xarifs death, who raigned some eight yeeres, succeeded his Brother Muley Abdela, having all his life time great warre with the Mareins, to keepe that his Brother had conquered: he having raigned some fifteene yeeres dyed, leaving behind him thirteene Sonnes, the eldest Muley Abdela (who at his entrance to the Kingdome, commanded all his Brethren to be killed:) but the second Brother Abdelmelech fearing hard measure, fled presently upon the death of his Father into Turkie, and so saved his life. The third Brother Muley Hamet of whom wee are hereafter to entreate, being held a great Church-man, simple and humble spirited, not any way addicted unto armes, was spared alive as lesse feared. The other ten were all put to death in one day at Taradant

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in Sus, where they were kept in their Fathers life time. This Abdela raigned fortie yeeres, and dying, left behind him three Sonnes, Muley Mehamet, Muley Sheck, Muley Nassar. Muley Mehamet being King, his two young Brethren ranne away into Spaine, the elder whereof named Muley Sheck is yet living, and there turned Christian. The younger Brother called Muley Nassar returned into Barbarie, in the fourteenth yeere of Muley Hamets Raigne, who dyed at last. At this Muley Nassars landing in the Countrey of Fez, much people favoured him and his Title, and two thousand of Muley Shecks Souldiers (who now liveth, and then governed Fez, for his Father revolted from him to Nassar; insomuch, as Muley Sheck was in minde to have fled unto his Father. But that Alkeyd Hamet Ben Jau, being a very wise Captaine, and there placed to helpe Muley Sheck by his counsell, who was very young,) kept him from running away: and Muley Nassar with a dilatorie warre, with whom if the Souldiers had stayed, hee might peradventure have gotten the Countrey. But their Lent approaching, the Souldiers told Nassar, they would goe keepe their Easter at their owne houses. Whereupon Nassar, thinking if they were once gone, they would never returne to him againe, would give present battaile, and so was this Nassar slaine. Abdelmelech being second Brother to Abdela, got such favour in Turkie where he lived, as entering Barbarie with foure thousand Turkish Souldiers, he got the Kingdome from his Nephew Mehamet the eldest Sonne of Abdela, and there raigned two yeeres. Muley Mehamet thus deprived of his Kingdome, fled for succour to Sebastian then King of Portugall, who came in person into Barbarie, to helpe him with thirtie thousand men; giving battaile, the Moores fled, and the Christians rettyred, hoping the Moores would returne, that so the Christians might make the greater slaughter of them. According to this expectation Abdelmelech with his Armie returned, and the Christians charged the foremost of their Horse-men very hotly, who would have fled. But such was the abundance

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of Abdelmelechs Horse-men, following the foreward which were discomfited, as they could not have field-roome to flye, but were forced to fight it out. This was a bloudie battaile wherein three Kings lost their lives, Don Sebastian King of Portugall: Muley Mehamet unto whose ayde Sebastian came over: And Abdelmelech who came out of Turkie being second Brother to Abdela; This Abdelmelech left behind him a Sonne yet living at this day in Turkie, whose name is Muley Smime. After the death of these two, Abdela's third Brother, Muley Hamet Xarif, was made King, raigned about seven and twentie yeeres in great peace and felicitie, untill he went to take his Sonne Muley Sheck at Fez, where the Father dyed, whose death hath caused all these Warres, as yee may reade hereafter.

Touching this Muley Hamet, I thought good, to insert this Letter of Master Bernhere, the Sonne of that worthy Augustine Bernhere (as I have heard) which is so commended by Master Foxe for his zeale in Queene Maries dayes, in the Historie of Bradford, Carelesse, Glover, &c.

To his loving Brother Master Edward Wright.

**T**His King Muley Hamet is much delighted in the studie of Astronomie and Astrologie, and valueth Instruments serving for the course of the Sunne and Moone, that are of rare device, exceedingly. Wherefore your Speare, your Watch, your Mundane Diall, and your Sextans, your new Magneticall Instrument for Declination, or any Astrolable that hath somewhat extraordinarie in it will be accepted: and you might sell the same at good prices. Now with the Eagle there goe from hence certaine Ambassadors, and one of them is the Kings Secretarie, named Abdala Wahed Anoone, who hath some insight in such matters. This Bearer my friend Master Pate, and Robert Kitchen the Master of the Ship, I thinke, will bring him unto you, unto whom I would have you shew all the varietie of Instruments that you have either in your owne hands, or have sold and lent to others; that

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hee may choose some for the Kings use and his owne. You may shew them also the Draughts and Lineaments of whatsoever you have in Paper, all which I know, will make them admire and be desirous to have some that they can understand how to use. You may cause to be framed some Instruments in Brasse or Silver, leaving the spaces for Arabique words and figures, yet drawing the Pictures of them in Paper exactly, and setting downe the Latine figures, and the words in Latine, or Spanish, which is farre better: there will be found here that can grave the same in Arabique upon the Instruments having some direction from you about the matter. Or Abdala Wahed being a perfect Pen-man, can set the Arabique Letters, figures, and words downe very faire; and so any of your Gravers can worke the same in Metall, having his Writing before them. Master Cyprian would be a good Interpreter betweene you and them, or some that understandeth and speaketh both Latine and Spanish, and knoweth what the words of Arte meane.

The experiments Mathematicall of the Load-stone, will content the Ambassadour much. Make no scruple to shew them what you can; for it may redound to your good. I desire to heare more of Magneticall workes, and the discovery of the North passage. Write to me thereof, and send any Maps or draughts of instruments, or what you thinke fit about Dyalling, or the course of time, and the motion of the Heavens, which you thinke I can understand: but direct the same either to me, or to one Master John Wakeman, servant to Master Alderman Hamden; who, though he have small skill in such things, yet is desirous to see and learne, and can preferre such matters to the view of the King, and his sonnes, who all are exceeding stricktious of matters tending this way: so that if I had skill my selfe, or but some of your Instruments, whereof I could make demonstration for their use, I could give great content, and be a meanes to pleasure you much. But conferre with Master Pate, and Master Kitchen, who will direct you in this businesse, and from whom you may

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receive money before hand, for making any instruments that the Ambassadors would have for themselves or the King.

Your Magneticall Instrument of Declination, would be commodious for a yeerely Voyage, which some make for the King over a Sandy Sea (wherein they must use Needle and Compasse) to Gago. If you question about the matter, and shew them some instrument serving for this purpose, it will give great content. Other directions I might adde unto you; but from the parties above named, you may receive the same fully. And thus with my good will, hoping and wishing to see you shortly, I take my leave. This 24. of June, 1600. From the Citie of Maroco.

*A Voyage over  
a sandy Sea to  
Gago for Gold.*

[II. vi. 853.]

From Maroco in Barbary.

Your loving Brother-in-law,  
THOMAS BERNHERE.

Obtaining the Scepter, hee first provided himselfe of the gravest men hee could find in his Kingdomes, to be Counsellors of estate; then of the most experienced, and valiant Souldiers, for Commanders over his Campe, and Garrison Townes. And whereas he was Monarch over two Nations, the Larbies, and Brebers, he found it requisite to use a two-fold government. The Larbies dwelling in the most plaine Champion Countrey of his three Kingdomes, Moruecos, Sus, and Fez, were easily governed, being of mild and peaceable nature, given to thrift and tillage of the ground, sought no alterations, but receiving from him a due forme of justice, executed by his Ministers: protecting them from the Montaneirs which are robbers, willingly obeyed his Regall authoritie, and yeerely payed their tenths toward their Kings maintenance. As for the Brebers, or Montaneirs, being of an untamed and fierce disposition, speaking the Tamiset tongue, which is as much different from the Larbee, as Welch is from our English, dwelling in places by nature defencible, and almost inaccessible: He could not so well

*The Larbies  
are the  
dwellers in the  
plaine; the  
Brebers  
Mountainers.*

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*The greatnes  
of his  
Dominion.*

*A Caravan,  
is a company  
of Merchants  
going together  
for trading,  
with a great  
number of  
Horses,  
Camels, and  
Mules, laden  
with Commo-  
dities.*

governe, neither had ever such absolute power over them, nor received the fift pennie of profite from them, as he did from the Alarbies. Therefore he sought by all meanes to diminish their strength of people, drawing them alwayes into forraigne expeditions, especially into that warre, against the Negros, which continued a long time, thereby extending his Empire so farre that way, as by Camell it was sixe moneths journey from Moruecos, to the farthest parts of his Dominion. Likewise, he used this people to goe with the Caravans to Gago, to fetch home his yeerely Tribute and Custome, whereby many were consumed in travelling over the Saharas: for any offence or robbery committed by them, his sword should punish severely, that the rest might feare: dividing their Countrey into severall divisions or Cantons, in every of which he placed an Alkeid, with Souldiers to suppress any sudden uproares, much like our Lieutenant set over our severall Counties, but that the Alkeid is continually resident, and hath greater power in executing Marshall law. And lastly, as pledges of their loyalties, he would get their chiefest mens sonnes into his hands, bringing them up in his Court to a more civill and delicate kind of life. He was alwaies of mind to keepe peace with Christendome; with Spaine, who was his next Potent neighbour; but above all loved the English Nation, and admired the late Queenes happie Government, willing to entertaine trading with us, witnesse his many Letters written to that worthy Lady of happie Memorie, and his Embassage sent unto her, Anno 1601. Performed by Abdala Wahad Anowne, and Hamet Alhadg, their great travailer to Mecha, and other places.

Toward his subjects he was not too tyrannicall, but sweetned his absolute power and will, with much clemencie. By divers wayes he got excessive store of gold. First, by seeing his tenths truly payd from the Larbees: Secondly, by trading with the Negro, taking up the salt at Tegazza, and selling it at Gago, having from thence returne in good gold. Thirdly, by husbanding his Maseraws, or Ingenewes, where his Sugar Canes did grow,

*Sugar  
Gardens.*



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(though now all spoyled with these warres) for it is sufficiently knowen, all of them about Moruecos, Taradant, and Magador, were yeerely worth unto him, sixe hundred thousand ounces at the least. I omit his love he tooke in entertaining forraigne Artizans, the reedifying of his house in Moruecos, getting Italian Marbles, the richest that could bee bought for money, and workemen hired from thence at great wages. His sumptuous provisions for the Sarraile, and maintenance of his women, not so much delighting in the sinne, as his predecessors had done before, as to shew his glory, because the fashion of the Countrey is such, to shew their riches and greatnesse upon that fraile sexe, and their attendances. For his chiefest pleasures were to see the Gallantrie of his kingdome, managing their good Barbarian Steeds, and the Falchons upon their wing, making faire flights after the Heron: for these sports he was provided, no man better, from which he was recalled by certaine discontents, which as clouds fore-runned his owne Sun-set.

*The place  
where his  
women are  
kept*

At the time of his death, he left five sonnes alive. The eldest Muley Mahemet, commonly called Muley Sheck, a Title given alwayes to the eldest of the Kings sonnes: The second, Muley Boferes, which two sonnes were both by one woman, a Negra, one of his Concubines: The third son Muley Sidan, whom he had by one of his wives: The fourth sonne Muley Nassar, who was about the age of nineteene years: And the fift, Muley Abdela, about fourteene years old at the time of the old Kings death, and these two last were the sons of two severall Concubines. This deceased King in his life time, had placed his three elder sonnes in severall parts of his Kingdome, to governe for him in them, to Muley Sheck his eldest he had given the Kingdome of Fez, which Kingdome hath in former times continually beene allotted by the late Kings of Barbary to their eldest sonnes: Muley Boferes he placed in his Kingdome of Sus, to Muley Sidan he gave the Province of Tedula, which lyeth in the mid-way betweene Moruecos and Fez: his two younger sonnes

*Muley Hamet  
Xariffi sonnes:  
the three first  
made bloody  
warres with  
each other for  
the Kingdom.*

[II. vi. 854.]

A.D.  
c. 1609.

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*Basha  
Mustapha.*

Muley Nassar, and Abdela remained with him in his house, whom by reason of their young yeeres, he had not as yet placed in any part of his Kingdomes. The eldest sonne Muley Sheck in his younger yeeres governed Fez, and those parts of Barbarie, with great approbation of his Father, through the Counsell of Basha Mustepha a Spanish Renegado: which Basha in continuance of time, grew into such favour with him, that the whole Government of the Kingdome of Fez was wholly by Muley Sheck put in his hands: Whereupon, the Alkeids of the Countrey that were naturall borne Moores, and continuall attendants upon the old King, envying the greatnesse of the said Basha, raised divers accusations against him: Complaining to the King that he learned Muley Sheck to drinke wine (a thing unlawfull to the Moores, being forbidden them by their Prophet Mahomet) and that now having the whole Government of the Kingdome of Fez in his hands, under the Kings son, he purposed after he had possessed himself of Muley Shecks Treasure, to flie, and carrie it with him to some parts of Christendome. Which accusations, the old King upon some probabilities and likelihoods, conceiving to be true, these Alkeids procured at last with him, that he should send to his sonne Muley Sheck, commanding him to send the head of the said Basha, which command, howsoever, Muley Sheck (who greatly loved, and favoured the said Basha) at the first delayed to performe, yet after divers messages, the old King sending at the last a principall servant of his, to see the execution done; he was forced much against his will, to see fulfilled.

*Mustapha  
beheaded.*

*M. Sheck.*

In these younger yeeres of Muley Sheck, whilst this Basha was alive, none of the Kings sonnes was more dutifull to their father then he, neither any of their actions so contented the old King as his; insomuch, as the whole Kingdomes hope for a successor after the old Kings decease, was onely in Muley Sheck. Whereupon, and by the Kings voluntary motion, all the principall Alkeids, and men of Command that were in the Kingdomes, by

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solemne oath vowed allegiance to Muley Sheck, after the old Kings decease. And at that time Boferes the second sonne, by reason of the great plague in Sus, and other discontents, he received from that rebellious people, stayed not long there, but returned againe to his Father in Moruecos, where he stayed with him untill his Fathers departure to Fez in September, 1602. Muley Sidan the third sonne, continued in Tedula, (a Province fruitfull and scituate in the flat of Barbarie, the mid-way betweene Fez and Moruecos, as I have told you) who governed those parts in great peace and quietnesse, even in the chiefe times of the tumults that were in the bordering Dominions of his eldest brother Sheck, (whereof you shall read hereafter) insomuch, that hee was generally commended and liked both of his Father and of all the Kingdome for his government, being strict in seeing the execution of Justice to be done in those parts that hee governed, not sparing his Kindred or neerest Followers in those cases: From his infancy hee naturally hated all manner of Theeves whatsoever, especially those who robbed by the high-ways, and without any favour or mercy severely punished them. Howsoever, he carried himselfe very dutifull to his Father, whilest hee was living, yet from his child-hood he was alwayes of an aspiring and ambitious nature, which could never be brought to subject it selfe to give any awfull respect to his elder Brethren, but to hazard his whole estate in obtayning the Kingdome, accounting himselfe his Fathers lawfull heire, in that he was his Fathers eldest Sonne, which he had by any of his married Wives: In this point, not regarding the custome & Law of the Moores, who in title of Inheritance or succession, respect not the mother, whether she be married Wife or Concubine bought with money, so that her Sonne be the eldest in birth.

*M. Boferes.  
Plague in Sus.*

*M. Sidan.*

But to returne againe to Muley Sheck the Kings eldest Sonne, who after the death of his Basha Mustepha, (beheaded by his Fathers command) soone shewed unto all men the want of government that was in him; for in his

*Muley Shecks  
misgovern-  
ment of him-  
selfe and his  
Countrey.*

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latter times, giving himselfe over to drunkennesse, and other detestable vices, which amongst the Moores commonly accompanieth that sinne, regarded not at all the government of his Kingdome, but suffered his servants, followers, and Souldiers to doe what they would in robbing and spoyling the goods of his honest minded Subjects, without controlment: And through want of Justice duely executed, his whole Countrey in a short time swarmed so with theeves and robbers by the high wayes, that there was no travelling through his Dominions, but in Caffilas or companies of three hundred & foure hundred persons at a time, and they hardly somtimes escaped the hands of theeves. The Alarbies, who continue to this day, in Tribes and kindreds, being the husbandmen of the Countrey, living in the fields in Tents, by Tilling of the Ground, and breeding up of Cattell, when as they could not quietly gather in, and peaceably enjoy the Corne and Fruits of the Ground, denied to pay the King their accustomed duetie: and in the fields followed the courses of Muley Shecks servants in the Citie, in robbing of all passengers that came within their power. And such was the lavishing manner of spending and consuming of his Treasure, that in his humours, hee neither regarded what he gave, nor to whom: in so much, that a Jew who was a Musician, and used to play before him in his drunken fits, (what with the gifts given him by the Prince, and what else he got out of his house) had gotten together in money and Jewels, (in the space of foure or five yeeres) to the value of foure hundred thousand Duckats, which is about fortie thousand pound sterling.

*Rich Jew.*

[II. vi. 855.] This dissolute life and carelesse government of Muley Sheck, grieved the old King not a little, especially to see such a change or alteration in him, whose forwardnesse in former times had been the stay of his age, and had mooved him to cause the Alkeids of the Kingdome, by oath to confirme their alleageance after his owne death. Many wayes he sought to amend what was amisse in those parts, and to draw his sonne to a more strict course of life, and

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more carefull kind of government, as well by his Letters, as by sending divers principall Alkeids to be Counsellors unto him. Yet such was the small account he made either of the one or the other, that the old King in the end seeing no amendment, but the estate of that Kingdome to grow daily worse and worse, determined to goe to Fez in his owne person with an Armie, aswell to displace his son, who had denied to come unto him, upon his sending for : as also to put in order all matters in those parts, which through the ill government of his sonne, were all out of frame. And so about the beginning of October, 1602. hee set forwards from Moruecos with an Army of eight thousand Shot, and some five thousand Horse towards Fez, leaving his second sonne Muley Boferes to governe Moruecos and Sus in his absence, untill his returne; making such speedy journeys, that he was with his Forces within one dayes journey of Fez, before his sonne Muley Sheck was certainly advised of his setting forth from Moruecos. Who, when he understood of his Fathers being so neere, and himselfe every way unprovided to resist him, would have fled towards Taflet; but being followed by Basha Mustepha, he was constrained to take Sanctuarie, with five hundred of his best souldiers, being very good Shot and well provided. The old King the Father, seeing his sonne take the Priviledge of the place (which is much respected in that Country) willed him to come forth, and submit himselfe to his mercy : But Muley Sheck refused, either obstinate in not obeying, or fearefull he could not render a good account of his five and twentie yeares government in Fez. Wherefore Muley Hamet commanded Mustepha, a Basha of Sidans, though then in the old Muleys service, to take three thousand men, and perforce to enter the place; which he performed, bringing Sheck prisoner, and the rest of his company which were left alive after the conflict. The old man would in no wise admit him into his presence, but committed him to the charge and custodie of Basha Judar, one of greatest place about the King, who carried Sheck

*The Kings  
speedy jour-  
ney to Fez.*

*Muley Sheck  
taketh Sanc-  
tuarie.*

*Taken there  
by force.*

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to Mickanes, a strong Garrison Towne, and there remained untill the time of his Fathers death, which was some five moneths after.

*Sidania in  
Tedula.*

The old King in his journey to Fez, against his eldest sonne, passed by the Province of Tedula, and from thence tooke alongst with him his third sonne, Muley Sidan, whom he commanded to remove his houshold to Fez, from Sidania (a Citie which he had begun to build in Tedula, and called it after his owne name) intending to leave him Vice-roy of those parts, in the roome of his eldest sonne, whom he purposed to carry with him from Mickanes, where he was prisoner to Moruecos; which he had also performed, if hee had not been prevented by sudden death. For in August, 1603. he having set all matters in order in those parts of Fez, providing for his returne to Moruecos, put out his Tents without Fez Gates; but being abroad, he suddenly fell \* sicke, and his sicknesse so sore increased, that on Thursday falling sicke, on Sunday morning being the fourteenth of August, 1603. he died.

*\*Some say he  
died of the  
Plague, which  
was so hot,  
that in one  
yeare they say,  
there died in  
Moroco, seven  
hundred thou-  
sand, in Fez,  
five hundred  
thousand.*

### §. II.

Muley Sidan proclaimeth himselfe King in Fez. Muley Boferes in Moruecos. Muley Nassar would have done the like in Taradant, but is hindred. The death of Nassar. Warre betweene Sidan and Boferes. Sheck set free. Fokers employed. The Battell. Sidans flight. Fewds and robberies.

*Muley Sidan  
proclaimed.*

**M**uley Sidan, by reason his Mother Lilla Isha governed the old Kings House, understood of his Fathers death, before it was noysed abroad; whereupon hee presently went forth into his Fathers Camp and Tents, from whence he carried away al such Jewels and treasure as he found there. And after his Fathers death, hee caused himselfe in Fez to be proclaimed King of Barbarie, as lawfull Heyre of his deceased Father. Lilla

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Johora, mother to Muley Sheck, and Muley Boferes, seeing her eldest Sonne in prison, and void of all meanes to helpe himselfe at that instant, was not unmindfull of her second Sonne Boferes, whom the old King had left to governe Moruecos during his absence. To whom shee dispeeded presently Letters by one of the Kings Eunuchs : who made such haste, that in foure dayes hee came from Fez to his Tents, which were some two leagues from Moruecos, where hee had lien all the Summer before (to avoide the infection of the Plague, which had been that Summer in Moruecos) and with him was his younger Brother Muley Nassar, and his eldest Brothers Sonne Muley Abdela. Muley Boferes understanding of his Fathers death, presently entred Moruecos, and gat possession of the Alcasava, his Fathers House, before the newes of his Fathers death was noysed abroad, and generally knowne, fearing how the Alkeyds, and people of Morruecos might stand affected unto him, and knowing that if he had once possession of the Alcasava, and of his Fathers treasure, he had the best part of the Kingdome. And the next day after his entrance, he caused to be published generally thorow the whole Citie, the newes of his Fathers death ; and withall, himselfe to be proclaimed King : writing Letters to the Vice-roy of Sus to doe the like in Taradant, the chiefe Citie of that Kingdome ; the which he accordingly performed.

*Muley Boferes  
taketh possession of the  
Kings House.  
[II. vi. 856.]*

*Boferes pro-  
claimed at  
Moroco and  
Taradant.*

Muley Nassar, the fourth sonne of the deceased King, having been all the Summer abroad with his Brother Boferes, when now he understood of his Fathers death, followed his brother a farre off, as though he meant to have entred Morruecos with him : but comming to the Gates of the Citie, in company with Muley Abdela his Nephew, being sonne to Muley Sheck, with whom he was familiar, conferred with him about their flying into the Mountaines, perswading Muley Abdela, that he might no waies put any trust in Boferes, since his father and hee were the chiefest impediments, that hindred Boferes from claiming the Kingdom by course of justice ; his Father,

*M. Nassar.*

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Muley Sheck being the old Kings eldest sonne, and he the eldest Sonne of his Father. Besides, his Father being in prison so neare Fez, where Muley Sidan was, it was to bee doubted, that Muley Sidan had already gotten him into his power, and it might be, had made some agreement with him already, to joyne both against Muley Boferes: which if it should so fall out, would cause Boferes to deale more cruelly with him. But these perswasions moved not Abdela, who rather chose to enter the Citie, and follow his Uncle, on whose curtesie he would relie. Though Nassar fearing how Boferes would deale with him, with all speed fled into the Mountaines to the Kindred of his Mother, from whence after a few dayes with some eight hundred, or a thousand of these people whom he joined together, he passed into the Plaines of Sus, sending to the Alkeid in Taradant to proclaime him King, or else to suffer him quietly to depart. But the Alkeid having already proclaimed Muley Boferes, withstood him, and hee having no meanes wherewith to pay his souldiers and people that he had gathered together, was soone left of all, and so returned againe to his Mothers Kindred, and lived privately there about seven moneths, and then died of the plague, or as some reported, secretly poysoned, was brought to Morruecos, and there buried.

*Nassars flight  
and death.*

But to returne to Fez and those parts: after the death of the old King (Sidan being now proclaimed King in Fez; Boferes in Morruecos and Sus; and Muley Sheck prisoner in Mickanes, in the keeping of Basha Judar) the Souldiers being abroad in their Tents, without Fez Gates, began to be in a muteny, as well for sixteene moneths pay, which the old King owed them, as also about their returne to Morruecos, where the most part of them had left their wives and children. To appease this mutenie, Muley Sidan sent out of Fez unto them Alkeid Hamet Monsore, their chiefe Commander in the old Kings time, to promise them as well content in payment, as also a speedy returne to Morruecos with Muley Sidan himselfe. But Monsore in stead of pacifying, laboured to increase

*Hamet Monsore  
revolt.*



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their mutenous humours, and at last agreed with them suddenly in the night to take up their tents, and to march with him to Morruecos, alleaging unto them both the uncertaintie of Muley Sidans pay, and the small likelihood of any speedy journey hee meant to take to Morruecos. And being to passe within a little of Mickanes, where the Basha kept Muley Sheck prisoner, he wrote unto the said Basha to know his intent, whither he would goe to Morruecos or no with him. To whom the Basha came, and brought Muley Sheck with him, whom they brought along as prisoner to Morruecos, and delivered him up to his brother Boferes, who kept him close prisoner in his House, some foure or five moneths, untill the comming of Muley Sidan against him in battell, by this meanes thinking to have established the whole Kingdome to Muley Boferes; who now, besides the possession of the Citie of Morruecos, and his Fathers treasure, had brought unto him the greatest part of his Fathers forces, and his elder brother put prisoner into his hands. Muley Sidan being thus deceived by Monsore, and likewise by divers other principall Alkeids (who had secretly departed from Fez, and left him) forthwith dispeeded one Mustefa, a Renegado of his owne, whom he had made a Basha, with two thousand Shot, and some Companies of Horse to Tedula, aswel to receive from the Alarbies, those duties which they alwaies pay unto their King, as also to stop, and returne to Fez, whomsoever he should find flying from thence to Morruecos, keeping possession of that Province for his use. He made likewise great preparations both of Horse and Foot in Fez, to be alwaies readie to accompany himselfe in person if need should so require, having with him in Fez of principall Alkeids, Azus, chiefe Counsellor to the late deceased King, and Lord over his Bitlemel: Bocrasia, Absadiks, and divers others.

*M. Sheck delivered to Boferes.*

*Mustafa.*

*Azus.*

*Treasurie.*

Muley Boferes likewise in Morruecos, fore-slacked no time in making preparation to send forth against him, sending first Alcaide Gowie with some sixe hundred men to make provision of Corne, and other victuals amongst the

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B. Judar.

[II. vi. 857.]

*Sidania  
destroyed.*

*English  
Gunnners.*

*Fokers are men  
of good life,  
which are only  
given to peace.  
Leo calls them  
Hermites;  
other call them  
Talbies and  
Saints: they  
are held in  
great reputa-  
tion of  
sanctitie.*

Alarbies; and after he had certaine news of Muley Sidans forces to be in Tedula, he sent out his Basha Judar with five thousand Shot, choyce men; foure Pieces of Artillerie, and certaine Companies of Horse to enter Tedula, and to give battell to Mustefa the Generall of Sidans forces, or perforce to drive him out of that Country.

At whose comming thither, Mustefa seeing himselfe no waies strong enough to encounter with Judar, retyred backe againe with his Armie out of Tedula: and Judar destroyed the foundation of Sidania, (which Muley Sidan at his being in Tedula had begun to build upon the River of Morbaie, and called it Sidania, after his owne name) likewise wasted and destroyed the Country thereabout, at least so many of the Kindreds of the Alarbies as he knew to be friends to Muley Sidan, or those that would not acknowledge Boferes for King. Sidan understanding what Judar had done in Tedula, and likewise of the great preparations that his brother in Moruecos daily made to send out against him, forthwith put forth his Tents, and joyned together his whole forces, which were some eight or nine thousand Shot, and some twelve thousand Horse, with two and twentie Pieces of Artillerie, himselfe in person going along with them. And because hee was altogether unprovided of skilfull Gunnners for his Ordnances, he procured from Salie out of certaine English men of warre, who at that instant were there, two English Gunnners, to whom he committed the charge of his Artillerie: but by reason of much raine that had fallen, it being in the moneth of Januarie, 1604. the ground in many places was so soft, that they could not march with their Artillerie so fast as need required; so that his Artillerie never came at the battell, which was thought to be a chiefe cause of his overthrow.

Whilest these preparations were in hand on either side, Muley Boferes sent certaine Fokers, held of great estimation amongst the Moores, to his brother Muley Sidan, to treat conditions of peace: howbeit, after their dispeeding from Moruecos, hee omitted no time and diligence in

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sending forth new Armies and fresh supplies, both of souldiers and provision, to Judar Basha that was in Tedula, and understanding for certaine that his brother Sidan was in the field in person (because he himselfe had never been inured to travell, and knowing it would bee no small discouragement to his side, and encouragement to the other, that Sidan should be in person in the field, and no other his equall in Bloud in his Armie to withstand him) hee concluded a colourable Peace betweene himselfe and his eldest brother Muley Sheck, whom untill that time hee kept close prisoner in his house, agreeing with him that hee should goe forth into his Armie, and joyne with Judar to fight against Muley Sidan, whom if hee overthrew in battell, hee should enjoy the Kingdome of Fez, and so much of those Easterne parts of Barbarie, as hee injoyed in their Fathers time: on condition, that at his entrance into Fez, he should proclaime Muley Boferes King, and himselfe onely Vice-roy, and so still acknowledge his government there, as derived from Boferes. And to the intent Muley Sheck should the better observe these conditions according to their agreement, hee was to leave his eldest sonne in pawne with Muley Boferes in Moruecos. On these plausible conditions, Muley Sheck was set at libertie, a happie turne for himselfe as hee thought, who never looked for any better but perpetuall imprisonment, with much miserie. But the truth is, Basha Judar had secret advertisement from his Master Boferes (yet not so secret, but it was knowne to Muley Sheck, and closely carried of him by interception of Letters betwixt Moruecos and the Campe in Tedula), that hee should abridge Muley Sheck of any command in the Campe, or matter of counsell in ordering of the Fight; onely shew him to the Souldiers under his Canopie, that the Fezes who were the strength of Sidans Armie, might know Sheck was in the Campe of Boferes, whom they loved in regard partly of his long abode amongst them, but especially of his great liberalitie, or rather prodigalitie, formerly shewed unto them, which wrought much in their minds at the ensuing

*M. Sheck set  
at libertie.*

*Policies.*

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battell: and withall the Basha had a speciall charge sent, and his Guard so to watch him, that (if hee got the battell) hee should bring Muley Sheck in Yrons as safe a prisoner from the Campe to Moruecos, as once hee had done from Mickanes. But this being discovered. Muley Sheck so shuffled his Game, that though Judar won the Field, Muley Sheck escaped unto Fez, and was lovingly entertained of the Citizens, proclaiming himselfe King of Barbarie.

*Fokers suspected, and peace denied.*

But returne we to the Fokers, treating about conditions of Peace in Fez with Muley Sidan, who by intelligence understood from Moruecos of the fresh supplies of Souldiers, daily sent out by his brother to the Basha, whereby hee greatly suspected those offers of Peace, to bee but a device to prolong the time, whilst his whole forces were in a readinesse, and then suddenly to have come upon him unawares, before he should be provided for him. And therefore hee returned the Fokers with denials of the offered conditions of Peace, and himselfe thinking to take the oportunitie and advantage of the time, before either his brothers new forces should come to the Basha, or Muley Sheck his eldest brother be set at libertie. He caused with all diligence to bee gotten together some two thousand Mules and Horses, and upon everie Mule to bee set two Souldiers with their furniture, and so (without any stay for the rehalling of Tents, or carrying along of his Artillerie with him) to bee with all haste possible, sent and joyned to the Almohalla of Alkeid Mustefa which lay hard by the River of Morbaie, in the fight of the Almohalla of Basha Judar, the River onely betweene them: hee himselfe likewise in person went along with some seven or eight thousand of his Horsemen, thinking by this meanes to come with the chieftest and best of his forces upon Basha Judar, before the Basha should expect him, or before the comming of Muley Sheck, who for his liberalitie and bounty in former times, was greatly beloved of all the Souldiers both of Fez, and also of Moruecos. But this policie of his herein tooke no place, for Muley Sheck after hee was set at libertie, made such speedie

*Almohalla is a Campe.*

[II. vi. 860.]

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Journies that he came to the Almohalla of the Basha, before the Muley Sidan had certaine intelligence of his libertie, and yet hee entred the Almohalla but on the Tuesday, the battel being fought upon the Friday following. Muley Sidan understanding for certayne that his eldest Brother was come into the Basha his Almohalla, thought it no time for him to deferre giving of Battayle, least it should be knowne amongst his Souldiers, (many of whom in former times had served the said Muley Sheck.) And therefore on Friday the sixt of January 1604. the Forces of each side met and joyned together, betweene whom there was no long fight, for upon the discharging of foure Peeces of Artillery, (which Judar Basha had with him) some three or foure times, a great part of the Souldiers of Muley Sidan beganne to flye: except some choice men which were in that part of the Battayle where the Muley himselfe was: by reason of the resolution of their Commander, continued somewhat longer, but in the end fled when as the Canopie over Muley Sidans head was shot downe with a Piece of Ordnance. At which mischance, and not before, the Muley himselfe began to leave the field; who in the managing of this battayle was some thing to be blamed; for being come to his Campe an houre before day, he should not have delayed two houres and more the present on-set, gazing in his Enemies face, and giving them time to ready themselves to fight, whom otherwise hee might have taken at the disper-view, and his Fezzes whom he halfe mistrusted, no premeditation to revolt or runne away. On Muley Shecks side few were slaine, and of Muley Sidans side the greatest number was some sixe hundred men.

*The Battayle.*

The three Brethren thus striving for the Golden Ball of Soveraigntie, Justice was trodden downe. The Larbees robbed one another, the strongest carrying away all. Quarrels betwixt Families and Tribes, which durst not be talked of in old Muley Hamets time, came to be decided with the Sword. After this battaile all wayes were stopped with Robbers, no trading from the Port Townes

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to Moruecos, without great strength of men. Muley Boferes (who had the Imperiall seat) was neither so fit for action, or to doe Justice, as Muley Sidan who had lost the day. And that the Kindred, called Weled Entid, well knew, which presuming upon the soft nature of Boferes and their owne strength, which consisted of fifteene thousand horse, foraged up to Moruecos gates, fore-closed all passages for Travellers, making Merchants goods their prizes: Wheras an exemplary punishment executed upon them for their robbing in Fez by Muley Sidan, whilst he reigned there, made them thinke the Countrey too hot: For Sidan commanded Alkeid German with two thousand Souldiers in hostile manner, to fall upon the next Dwar of Tents belonging to that Tribe, to burne Man, Woman, Childe, Kine, Sheepe, and whatsoever belonged to them, not to spare it upon his owne life from Fire and Sword, which fully executed and so bloudily, that Muley Sidan sighed hearing the true report, yet it made Fez the peaceablest part in Barbarie. But returne we to Sidans fortunes after he lost the field, having the overthrow, retyred backe to Fez, and forthwith was Alkeid Azus (the onely man in the latter dayes of the old King, favored by the whole Countrey) dispeeded towards Moruecos, to treat of a peace, and himselfe beganne to make head againe to resist such forces as should follow him; but before he could bring his forces together againe, newes was brought unto him that his Brother Muley Sheck, was neere at hand with certain companies of Horse-men, and that the whole Almohalla of the Basha was not farre behind. So that then hee was rather to consider of, and to provide for his escaping by flight, then any wayes to resist: and having before put some nine hundred thousand Duckats in Allarocha, for the which money he had sent one of his Alkeids after his returne from the battayle; hee thought it his best course to passe that way, and to take that money along with him, but he was followed so hardly by Alkeid Abdela Wahad, and Alkeid Umsoud Umbily, Boferes Servants, that he was forced to flye directly towards

*Dwar, is a  
Towne of  
Tents.  
Unjust Justice.*

*Treaty of  
peace.*

*Treasure  
taken.*

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Trimisine, and to leave that Treasure behind him which was taken by his Brother Muley Sheck.

. In these his frowning fortunes, the most of his Alkeids left him, and amongst others Mumine Bocrasia flying to Moruecos, in whom he put no small trust: and more then the Servants of his house, he had no man of account but forsooke him, onely Alkeid Absadicke, Hado Tabid, and Mustepha; the two latter of them being his household Servants, and belonging to him in his Fathers time, left him not in his adversitie: So that any Alkeid of the Cassas or Castes in Barbarie, he had no more then Absadicke, who rather then he would leave him (although allured by the perswasions of his Brother Alkeid Abdela Wahad, and entreated by the teares of his Sonne to returne, both of them being in the pursuit of Muley Sidan, and in a Playne overtooke the said Absadicke,) yet he left his house and children at the mercie of Muley Boferes his Master and Enemy. The Alkeids who followed in pursuite of Muley Sidan, followed him so hard, that besides the treasure of Allarocha, they likewise tooke much of the Muleys Treasure that hee carryed along with him, although with that small company of Horses, which were no more then twentie Horse-men or thereabout, hee returned many times, and fought with those who pursued him, in person, being still one of the foremost in these Skirmishes, untill Alkeid Umbilie who pursued him, admiring his resolution, and pittying his miserable estate, requested his Majestie to keepe on his way, and save himselfe by flight, he not purposing to pursue him any further. And so the Muley in this miserable estate (forsaken almost of all) kept on his way to Trimasine a Towne bordering upon the Turkes, in the Frontiers of the Kingdome of Argiers: and the Alkeids who pursued him, returned againe to Fez.

*Absadicke.*

*Sidans valour.*

[II. vi. 861.]

[§. III.

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

### §. III.

Muley Sheck proclaymeth himselfe King in Fez.  
Sidan goeth to Tafilet, from thence into Sus.  
Peace concluded betweene Muley Boferes, and  
Muley Sidan. Abdela Shecks Sonne escapeth  
Sir Anthony Sherleys Embassage, Bountie and  
State.

*Rummadan, is  
Lent.*

*Civill combus-  
tions amongst  
the Larbies.*

**A**fter Muley Sidans flight in this manner, Muley Sheck entred Fez, where hee was joyfully received of them, proclaymed himselfe King, and not Governour under his Brother Boferes. And it being in the time of Rummadan, all the Almohallas of Moruecos returned home against the Pascha: from whence after the celebration of the Feast, they were sent forth to all parts of the Country against the Larbies: among whom were as great Civill Warres, as among the Brethren, for in this time of so many Kings, they would acknowledge none, or pay duty to any of the three Brethren. Whereupon Hamet Monsore with three thousand Souldiers, was sent into Sus in the moneth of Aprill, 1604. but his men dying of the Plague (which was very hot at that time) and thereby the Larbies little regarding his power, would bring him no victuals, so that with the remaynder of his men, he was constrayned to returne towards Moruecos. Divers other Almohallas were sent abroad into severall parts of the Countrey, but in the beginning of June, newes comming of Muley Sidans returne from Trimasine to Tafilet, they were all sent for by Boferes to returne to Moruecos, and be joyned together the second time against Muley Sidan: who having some few monethes lived about Trimasine with some fiftie Souldiers, went towards Tafilet, about which part lived the Cassa or Caste of Alkeid Absadock (who was Master of the Hawkes to Muley Hamet) and brought to Sidan, of his Caste some twelve hundred Horses, with which force he entered Tafilet: The Alkeid of Muley Boferes flying to Dara or Draw with his



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Souldiers. In Taflet, Muley Sidan stayed some forty dayes, where he understood perfectly of the estate of Sus, and had Letters from divers of his Wel-willers there : understanding of Alkeid Hamet Monsores departure from thence : And that the Shebanites which is the greatest Cast in all Barbarie, and the Casse or Cast of the Muleys Mother, would not acknowledge Boferes for King, and likewise, how most of all the Casts in Sus desired his comming thither : Whereupon hee prepared what Forces he could there get, to goe into Sus. Muley Boferes upon the first newes of his Brothers comming to Taflet, called in all his Almohallas, and joyning some foure thousand shot of them besides Horse, sent them from Moruecos to Dara, under the command of his Son Muley Abdelmelech, with whom went divers principall Alkeids, as Alkeid Gowie, Umbilie, and Mumine Bocrasia, who in the first battayle of Muley Sidan was a principall man of command on his side, and after his overthrow fled from him to Moruecos, with divers others. The chiefe intent of these Forces was to stop the passages from thence to Sus, which Muley Sidan perceiving before the comming of their whole Forces, he passed by Alcatouy, where the Horse-men on each side skirmished, the Footmen not being able to come up, and some slaine of either side, but no man of account, save onely Alkeid Mumine Bocrasia, who as some reported dyed with thirst, beeing over-heated (the battayle beeing fought in the midst of July) or as others reported, beeing wounded, and returning to his Tent, calling for water, after hee had drunke it presently dyed ; whose death was little lamented or pittied of the Moores, they saying, hee was justly rewarded for being a Traytour to Muley Sidan his Master, who was not onely contented to leave him in his misfortunes, and to flye to his Brother, but also to goe forth into the field against him.

*Death of  
Bocrasia.*

Muley Sidans Forces were so small, that he was not able to match in strength the Forces of his Enemies, & therefore was constrayned to passe into Sus by the way of the Sahara, and durst not passe by Draw : In which Sands

*Sahara, the  
Countrie or  
Desarts of  
Sands.*

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*The reputation of Heremites or Fokers.*

for want of water, both he and his whole company had almost perished, and after much misery indured in that Journey, hee arrived at Aca, where Sidie Abdela Imbark the great Foker dwelleth, the friendship of whom obtayned, hee knew that all his Brothers Forces could not dispossesse him of the Kingdome of Sus, in such great reverence is that Church-man held in those parts, that the people will obey none, but whom he commandeth them.

[II. vi. 862.]

*Peace concluded betwixt Boferes and Sidan.*

He being come hither, the Foker by letters to Muley Boferes, then at Moruecos, procured that there might be a Treaty of peace betweene the two brethren: Whereupon, in August following, Anno 1604. Alkeyd Azus was sent to Muley Sidan to Aca, where by the endeavours of the said Alkeyd and the Foker, a peace was concluded, betweene Muley Boferes and his brother Muley Sidan, this to injoy the Kingdome of Sus, and the other the residue of the Empire, whereupon Sidan peaceably entered Taradant the chiefe City in that Kingdome: upon whose entrance thither, Sus which in all former times had beene the most unquiet and rebellious part of all Barbary, through his execution of Justice, became the onely peaceable and well governed Countrey of that Kingdome, all other parts of Barbarie, that were under the government, and belonging to the other two brethren, as then remaining very unquiet, and full of all tumults: Neither was his government any way to be misliked, but that scarce settled, he charged the Countrey with greater impositions then his Father ever demanded, insomuch as Sedie Abdela Imbark, who was the onely man that first brought him thither, reprooved his courses: and the Mountainers of Atlas, being good Souldiers, excellent shot, and their dwelling by nature defencible, finding his yoke too heavy, the lesse regarded him or his power; which humour of theirs was nourished by secret practises of Boferes, loth that Sidan should either grow great in friends, or treasure. But the Inhabitants of the Plaine and lower Regions felt the smart of his rod, knowing their throats lay at his mercy, when

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as the Mountainers defended themselves with open armes, and oftentimes gave the new king his hands full.

The peace concluded betwixt Boferes and Sidan, by the meanes of Abdela Imbark, and Azus, the wisest Counsellor that Barbary hath: we will leave Sidan at Sus, seeking his owne end once more to become Master of Moruecos, and returne to Boferes, who was troubled which way to contrive the regaining of Muley Sheck: who like a Bird had broken cage, and was flowne to Fez, making a faire pretence to governe but as Vice-roy, yet secretly practised with forraine States, either to make them his friends, whereunto he might flie, if Muley Boferes by force should drive him out of Fez, or rather then he would lose footing in Afrike, determined to bring in forraine power, for his aid. Wherefore Boferes fearing a Christian storme which might haile bullets, was carefull to keepe Abdela, Muley Sheck his eldest son, the safer to keepe the father surer from doing mischief. But it happened the plague was sharpe in Moruecos, therefore Boferes sent his son Muley Abdelmelech some five miles foorth of Moruecos with his Tents, and Muley Shecks sonne with him, but either his keepers were negligent and corrupted, or else young Abdela too wilie, for one night he made escape out of the Campe, and having horses ready layd, posted to his Father at Fez. This gallant being at liberty, sought all meanes to defend his Title, being the eldest brothers sonne: his stirring spirit and youthfull hope drew all the minds of the Fezzes unto him: insomuch as Muley Boferes sore afflicted with his escape, but more with the newes of his preparations, dispeeded Azus unto Muley Sidan then in Sus, with request he would goe personally to battaile against Sheck and Abdela his sonne: Muley Sidan well entertained this message, and with all convenient speed drawing his owne forces together, came within halfe a dayes journey of Moruecos, there pitching his Tents, but not determining to hazard his fortune, or trust the price of his owne head under his brothers hands, yet daily he sent letters by his servants of great credite, wherein he was

*Abdelas  
escape.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

willing to undertake the charge of warre against Abdela, so that he might make choice of Captaines and Commanders, and such proportion of Souldiers as he thought fit, to undergoe an action of such import. This proposition was neither liked of Boferes or his Counsell, yet making faire weather to Muley Sidan, letters passed from him daily of great love farced with many complements, much misliking his brothers mistrust, not daring to jeopard his person within Moruecos.

*Sidans policie.*

Muley Sidan meaning to prove what correspondency his brother Boferes heart carried with his hand, framed a letter which was sent as from the chiefest man in those Mountaine Countreys of Atlas, to Muley Boferes, full of duety and services, offering withall to send him Sidans head, who was encamped within his Countrey, at the foot of the hilles. Answer to this letter was returned with great thanks, and a large reward of gold promised, if a businesse of that high and important service would be performed. When Sidan by this had construed his brothers meaning, he rayzed Campe, went to Tafilet, and remained in the Countrey of Dara, gathering in of money and men, after two moneths spent with his brother to no effect at all. Boferes seeing Sidan departed, and destitute of his helpe for Fez, committed his Campe to Abdelmelech his owne son, who was to be advised by the Counsels of Basha Judar, Alkeyd Hamet Monsore, Sedy Gowie, and Alkeyd Bokerse (thorow whose hands passed all businesse of Christian Merchants, so well dispatched, and so good regard thereof taken, that he was well liked of every man for his good dealing.) This Campe being come within a dayes journey of Fez, which is twenty dayes march from Moruecos, there the Souldiers fell to a mutenie, and three thousand of them revolted unto Sheck, crying openly, Long live Muley Sheck. Hereupon Abdelmelech called a Counsell of warre, wherein it was concluded, though their number were twice as many, to returne without blow given backe to Moruecos, perceiving indeed their Souldiers hearts quite alienated from them.

*Abdelmelech  
made  
Generall.*

*His retreat.*

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*S. Anth.  
Sherley an  
Englishman  
sent*

*Ambassador  
from the  
Emperour.*

[II. vi. 863.]

*Sir Edwin  
Rich.*

*The Ambassa-  
dors bounty.*

About this time being the beginning of October, arrived at Saphia Sir Anthony Sherley, as Ambassadour from the Emperour of Germanie, to the King of Moruecos: his attendance was better then a private man, though somewhat wanting of the person from whom he was sent, few of note were in his company, being in all about thirteene persons, of every Christian language one, because he would be fitted for interpretation of tongues. Amongst these was Sir Edwin Rich, whose behaviour was good and well spoken of in every place where he came, not straying his credite to borrow money, but well provided to serve his owne turne, answering to his birth, state, and disbursements for the time. Sir Anthonie then taking the Title of Ambassadour, during foure Moneths aboad in Saphia, kept open house; invited all Christian Merchants daily, both to dinner and supper: to supplie his owne turne for money, he got credite of Jewes to take up money, and pay them in Morruecos, but at excessive rate, almost fifty for a hundred. He bought likewise of an English Merchants Factor, being at dinner with him, at two or three words, a ship of a hundred & sixty Tunne, with all her lading being Wheat, paying him in hand two thousand ounces, and if he were not paid the rest of his money within ten dayes after his arrivall in Morruecos, then the buyer to lose his earnest. But before he went up, Abdelmelech returning from Fez, by reason of his Souldiers Treason, the King of Fez marched towards Morruecos, some foure dayes journey, and there gave siege unto a Port Towne called Sally, and tooke it, but the Castle he could not win. So the Alkeyd of the Castle wrote to Muley Boferes, that though the Towne were lost, the Castle he would keepe for him, if he sent three hundred quarters of Corne to victuall his men, and a fresh supply for fifty Souldiers. Boferes loath to lose the place, and hearing Sir Anthonie had bought a ship of Corne, writ to Saphie, and willed him to send his ship to Sallie, and there to unlade her Corne for the reliefe of the Castellan, and his Souldiers. Sir Anthonie, willing to doe the King

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a favour, sent for the Captaine and Merchant of the ship, willed them to goe for Sallie, and paying them for three hundred quarters, dealt so that thither they went, but the Castell being yeilded before they came, the Captaine and Merchant landed neither men, nor corne, but returned to Saphie.

By this time were sent for the Conduct of the Embassador five hundred men, under the command of two Alkeyds: unto every Souldier Sir Anthonie gave a Turbith as a Livery of his love, which made them respect and honour him exceedingly, insomuch as one of the two Alkeyds, not hastning to conduct the Embassador up to Morruecos, but to provide himselfe of Corne, it being exceeding deare at Morruecos, Sir Anthonie desirous to set forward, and the Souldiers willing to pleasure him, fell to mutenie, in regard of the Alkeyds slacknesse, killing two of his men to hasten their master forward. After his foure moneths abode in Saphie, wherein his bountie was extraordinary, not to his Countri-men onely, but to Flemish, French, and Spanish, admired of his Souldiers, he was received into Morruecos with great state, having by the way, as also during his abode in Saphie, divers letters from the King, extolling his honourable endeavours, and approoved valiantnesse in his farre adventures both by sea and land, not omitting any Courtship to win his love, or make him doubt his welcome.

*His famous  
adventures.*

*Spaniards in  
love with Sir  
Anthony  
Sherley.*

*His state.*

After two dayes stay in the Citie, the King made preparation for his entertainment at Court, whether he went, suting his followers as well as the shortnesse of time could suffer, and his credite with the Christian Merchants could afford, which was good, for two Spaniards were so rapt with admiration of his worth, and by his speeches allured with so strange hope, that they fell in emulation, whether should doe him more services, or helpe him to more money: reasonably attended, he rode to Court, not lighting from his horse, where the Kings sonnes usually doe, but rode thorow the Mushward, (which is the Kings great Hall, wherin most of his Lords, Gentlemen, and

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chiefe sort of people doe attend, when they come to Court) which none but the King himselfe doth. Being come into the Kings presence, his Letters of credite were received, with great shew of kindnesse, and himselfe entertained with all gracious respect, not onely at the Kings hands, but of the principallest men in office or favour about the Court, and so for that time was dismissed, the chieftest men attending him backe to the place where hee tooke horse. Some five dayes after, Sir Anthonie Sherley comming to audience, and thinking to have ridden in as he did before, a chaine was hung crosse the entrance of the Mushward, which he perceiving onely done to hinder his passage, would not alight from his Horse, but returned backe very discontented. This being certified to Boferes, presently three of his chieftest Alkeyds were sent to qualifie the matter. But Sir Anthonie tooke the disgrace not as his owne, but his whose person he represented, telling the Alkeyds, his master the Emperour, was able and would requite the injury, neither did he feare, though now within the power of Boferes, knowing the greatnesse of him in whose service he was imployed, so farre surpassing the King of Morruecos, as maugre the proudest, he would be fetched from thence, and be fully revenged of the least injury done unto him. The three Alkeyds layd the blame upon the Kings Porter, offering Sir Anthonie the Porters head, if he would have it, so spending an houre to pacifie his choller, and bring him backe, the Porter before his face was sore beaten and imprisoned, neither ever after was hee hindered of riding thorow the Mushward.

*His affront  
and  
discontent.*

During his abode in Morruecos, which was five moneths, Boferes and he had divers private conferences, as it was generally thought, which way to keepe him in the Kingdome against his two brethren Sheck and Sidan; as also to give the great Turke a blow to drive him out of Argiers and Tunes. From Moruecos Sir Anthonie [II. vi. 864.] departed with great content to himselfe, and good liking of Boferes, of whom he bought two Portugall Gentlemen,

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*His bounty to  
two Portugals.*

for a hundred and fifty thousand ounces, which amounteth to some ten thousand pound sterling. These two had beene Captives in Moruecos almost sixteene yeeres, the one, sonne to the Vice-roy of the East Indies, the other of a Noble house in Portugall. The first had his resgat thrise sent for to ransom him out of the East Indies, but twise it was taken by the English, once by Flemmings during our late warres with them: the other, his brethren drive him off for his resgat, either to save so much money, or not able to pay so great a fine. To accompany him from the Court to Saphie, was sent one of the Kings Gentlemen Ushers, to whom at his parting, he threw him his Hat which he wore from his head, with a Jewell of great value, rewarding largely all the Ushers followers. For his Guard (the wayes being then very dangerous) was sent downe with him, foure hundred shot, under the Command of Alkeyd Abdela Sinko, a Portugall Renegado, (which is a Christian turned Moore.) This man, whether by perswasion, or voluntarily, desiring to see his native Countrey, in the night gat aboard of the ship Sir Edwin Rich was in, not Sir Anthonies, the ship presently weighing Anchor, made saile for Spaine, but the other remaining with Sir Anthony in the Harbour.

*Escape of a  
Renegado.*

This dealing was taken in ill part, insomuch that five of his men being sent to shoare for certaine provision which they lacked, were clapped up in prison, and sent in chaines to Moruecos, but afterward released. Sir Anthonie writing to the King, both to cleare himselfe of the fact, and desiring remedie for these his new sustained grievances, set a good shew upon the matter, staid foure dayes after the other ship which had carried away the Alkeyd, and would have tarried untill he had his five men againe, but that he was written unto to be gone from an especiall friend a shoare, advising him he did not wel to ride so long in the Port, divers Flemmish-men of war being abroad, and if any should chance to come in there, as seldome it is without, they finding these two Gentlemen as prize would sease upon them, and then was there lost



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thirty five thousand ounces, which a Merchants Factor had lent Sir Anthonie Sherley to cleare him out of the Countrey, for which the Factor had the two Portugals bound to pay this debt at their arrivall in Lisbon. Upon this advertisement he departed, and the next day Boferes sent him a letter, to cleare his men. And so I returne to the file of my continued History.

### §. IIII.

Muley Abdela goeth in person against Muley Boferes; driveth him out of Moruecos; Putteth to death Basha Sidar, and other Noblemen; Sidan expelleth him, and killeth three thousand Fezans perfideously, requited by Abdela. Shracies trechery unjustly punished. Sidans flight. Many Englishmen imployed in these warres, and slaine.

**M**uley Sheck, putting his sonne Abdela forward to the whole Command of the armie, himselve meaning to save one, kept in Allaroca three Italian ships, purposing if matters prospered not well, with Treasure sufficient to goe to Florence: but the battell not fought, his determination altered, for he presently seized all strangers ships which came either to Laratch, Salie, or other parts, as also some Merchants ships of Fez, robbing them of their goods, making their Mariners land their Peeces, and all the men either to serve him, or else to have the Iron given them. Heereby he fitted himselve of Captaines and Souldiers being English, French, and Dutch, with seven and twentie Peeces of Ordnance and shot threunto sufficient. And so fired the mind of his sonne Abdela, with hope of winning Moruecos (being of himselve drunken with the ambitious desire of a Kingdome) that Abdela about the latter end of November 1606. marched to Moruecos with his troupes being some ten thousand horse and foot, besides his Christian

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*Abdela, by  
help of English  
and other  
Christian  
Gunnors, wins  
the field and  
Morocco.  
[II. vi. 865.]*

Mariners, whose helpe won him the field, fought some sixe miles Southeast from Moruecos, on the eight of December, 1606. Sheck bore his sonne company no farther then Salie, from whence three houres riding, is a River called Mamora, into which Bay the Italian ships put in: Sheck went thither, and hard by the ships upon the shoare pitched his Tent wherein he lay, part of his Treasure being shipped, himselfe determined there to stay, and expect the event of his sonne, if it passed well with him, then Africke should hold him, otherwise to visite the great Duke of Thuscane, on whose curtesie he much rested. But the Christian Gunnors so well observed their times of shooting and placing their Ordnance, as they got Abdela the field, hoping thereby to have obtained both liberty, and pillage, of which most of them poore men failed, as afterward you shall read.

*Boferes his  
flight.*

*A rich Sword.*

When Sheck heard Abdela had got Moruecos, hee grew carelesse to send provision or supplie the wants of his three Italian ships, wherefore, they set sayle from Mamora homewards, taking such Treasure for their pay as were in their custodies. Boferes lost in this battayle about sixe hundred men, fled into the Citie to save his Treasure and his women, but for feare of being surprized, durst not tarry to take his Treasure away with him, but in all haste posted toward the Mountaynes, willing the Alkeids and chieftest men of his Court to bring it after him, with the rich Sword, the like whereof is not in the World: committing also to their conduct his Daughter, and the choysest of his women, amongst whom was the Wife of Ben Wash the Kings Merchant. At the entry of the hils, a Kindred of the Larbies being five hundred Horse-men, seized upon these people, pillaged their Carriages, rifled and dishonoured the women, not sparing Boferes Daughter, whom Abdela determined to have married, but hearing divers Moores to have lyen with her, and also that she was suspected to have lived in Incest with her Father; after his entrance into Moruecos, he never enquired farther after her. The Alkeids beeing well mounted by the

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swiftnesse of their Horses, returned backe to Moruecos, and there tooke Sanctuary. Abdela upon their submission promised them pardon, on whose Princely word they relying, came forth, the Foker of the place presenting them: But Muley Abdela, whether incited by envious counsell, or on his owne bloody minde, putteth them so secretly to death, that sending all their heads in one Sacke to Fez, for a Present to his Father, their deaths was not fully knowne in the Citie of Moruecos, before their heads were set upon Fez gates. Here was the end of Basha Judar a great Souldier in old Hamets time, a faithfull Commander during his life to Boferes, accompanied with Sedie Gowie, Alkeid Azus his Sonne, Alkeid Moden the Cassemie, and some foure great men more.

*Sanctuary.*

*Abdelas  
perfidy.*

This tyranny of Abdela shewed upon these valiant and worthy men; and the spoyle which the Fezees had made aswell in robbing the Alkeids houses, as in rifling the Citizens goods, and committing all out-rages which follow Warre, caused many to flye to Muley Sidan, and the rest which remayned in Moruecos grew discontented, so that the Sunne-shine of Abdelas happinesse scarce lasted two monethes: for Sidan resting in the halfe way betweene Moruecos and Fez, taking oportunitie of this uproare of the Townesmen, marched toward Moruecos on the North-side of the Towne, determining to give present battayle, hearing by the Scowts, that Muley Abdela his Campe was lodged in the great Garden or Orchard called the Almowetto, being some two English miles about. The first night of Sidans approach, the Prisoners were released, the Prisons broken open, so that these men getting libertie, ranne halfe madde up and downe the Citie, crying, Long live Sidan, which troubled the Citizens not a little: And in this uproare, Sidans Faction let into the Citie (at a secret gate) many of his Souldiers, which made a Sally upon the Regiment of Zalee, meaning to have surprized Abdelas Campe, but himselfe comming to the rescue with two thousand men, continued a hot Skirmish against the Sidanians, in which the Christians fought vali-

*The fruit of  
tyrannous  
perfidy.*

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## PURCEAS HIS PILGRIMES

*The battayle.*

antly to recover their Peeces of Artillery which were lost, untill the Sidanians were forced to retyre. The next day beeing the five and twentieth of Aprill, Stilo novo, Abdela remooved towards Muley Sidan, who was encamped on the North-side of the Citie, not daring to come on the South-side, for feare of the shot which galled his men from the Battlements of the Kings House. Therefore he hearing of Abdelas remove, and intending to venture his fortune upon a present battayle, set forward to meet him with a Regiment of his best Horse: Abdela perceiving this, caused his Canoniers to march formost, which could but place five Peeces of their Artillery in a brest, because the Orchards and Gardens made the passages very narrow and strait; where as the Armies should meete, Sidans Horse-men gave a very gallant charge, but the Canoniers made them retyre: Which Abdelas Horse-men perceiving, being encouraged, and too eager of the Chase, some thousand Horse galloped before their owne Ordnance, and followed their Enemie close to Sidans Campe, their Peeces of Artillery being drawne after them. Muley Sidan well knowing the advantage of the place, seeing his Enemies deprived of the benefit of their great Ordnance, which he most feared, encouraged his men to keepe their ground, and bringing with his owne person fresh supplies to second them, gave his Adversaries the Abdelians so hot a charge, that they were fayne to retyre in great disorder, upon the mouthes of their owne Artillery. This dis-array perceived by the Christian Gunners, it put them in minde to discharge upon their owne men the Abdelians, holding it better to kill five or sixe hundred of their owne side, then to lose the battayle. But the Moore, who was Captayne over the Canoniers and other Commanders, would not suffer it: Wherefore the Sidanians following in good order, and very close, fell to the execution with their Swords, surprized the Artillery, and slue the men. The slaughter continued some foure houres, betwixt seven or eight thousand killed, and few to speake on left alive, for what the Souldiers spared, the Citizens in revenge of

*Artillery  
taken.*

*Seven or eight  
thousand  
killed.*

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their Disorders, Pillages, and Villanies done to their women, bereaved them of their lives, who beeing dead were not suffered to bee buried, but lay above the ground as a prey to the Dogges and Fowles of the Ayre. Heavie likewise was the Conquerours hand upon the Christians which tooke Abdela's part, most of them for their five monethes service to Abdela, were either slayne in the fury of battayle, or after had his throat cut. And this was the end of them, who had lived in the Streights of Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean Sea, not as Merchants by honest Trading, but having committed spoyle upon divers Sea-faring men, felt the bloudie hand of a barbarous Nation, (as a deserved punishment sent from God) to execute Justice for their manifold committed wrongs and out-rages.

*Treble  
crueltie.*

[II. vi. 866.]

*Pirats end.*

This battayle being lost with the greatest bloud-shed that any hath beene since these Warres beganne, Muley Abdela fled to Fez, a hundred persons of his whole Army not left alive to beare him company: And Sidan Master of the field, entred the Citie of Moruecos, having another taske to take in hand ere he could settle himselfe quietly in his owne Nest. For the Kings House being Castle-wise builded, and severed from the Citie with a defencible and a strong wall, lacking no kind of Munition for the defence thereof, had within it, besides Souldiers of Moruecos, three thousand Fezees who were not at the last battayle, but left there to guard the place for Abdela.

*Sidan Master  
of the field,  
and Moroco or  
Moruecos.  
The Kings  
House a  
Castle.*

These presuming on their owne valour and strength of the place, denied to render it upon any termes to Sidan, though they were sollicitd, during the space of two dayes, by all faire meanes thereunto: Sidan bringing his Artillery to the wals, yet delayed, as loth to deface a building so strong, costly, and beautifull; So that in the meane time a Captaine whose house joyned to the wall, by stealth with five hundred men, scaled and wonne the top of the wall, crying, Victory for Muley Sidan, which so amazed the Souldiers within, thinking the Forces which were entered farre greater then they were, without more adoe or

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*Sanctuary  
taken in the  
Great Church  
belonging to  
the Kings  
House.*

*Perfidious  
crueltie.*

*Famine fol-  
loweth Warre,  
as that the  
Pestilence.*

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offering to resist, they tooke Sanctuary in the great Church belonging to the Kings House, every man with his Peece and Furniture about him.

Muley Sidan upon this, sent Basha Seleman, willing them to deliver up their Armes, with promise they should bee pardoned, which presently they did, yeelding and delivering both Swords and Peeces. Thus disarmed, they, silly soules, came forth, when presently after, message came from the King to butcher and cut the throats of them all, which was executed. A pittifull matter in my judgement, so many men yeelding upon good composition, after fury of battayle, upon cold bloud to bee made so pittifull a spectacle: it was bootlesse for them to alleage eyther Law or reason in defence of their lives; such is the misery and slavery of that people, whose goods and lives lyeth alwayes in the will of the King, eyther to save, or destroy at his pleasure.

Now is Sidan settled in Moruecos but scarce secure, for the chieftest men in the Citie wished an alteration, because their King to get their money and wealth to maintayne his owne estate, beganne to picke quarrels with them, making some who began to speake and repine at his doings, lose their heads, Quoniam Canis mortuus non latrat: The common people whose naturall condition is alwayes to desire Novelties, wished for a new King, feeling his oppression, and the Famine whereof many dyed, grew carelesse of peace, thinking every change would bring a remedie, when indeed it was like the Incision of an unskilfull Surgeon, not curing the Malady, but making the wound wider, Gangrened, and incurable. Sidan purposing to purge this male-contented humour of the Commonalty, raysed an Army of twelve thousand Foot, and sixe thousand Horse, determining to take Fez. The chiefe men of command over this Army, were these, Basha Mustepha, Alkeid Hamet Benbreham, Alkeid Ally Tahila, Alkeid Gago, and Alkeid Hadoe Tobib, with divers others: Muley Sidan not going in person with this Army, least in his absence Moruecos the Seat of the Empire

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should revolt. Muley Sheck hearing these newes, went to Allarocho, there tooke a great Flemmish ship from the Merchants, with all the goods in her, therein shipping his Treasure, determining to runne away, if his Sonne Abdela should lose Fez. Abdela omitted no time to gather new Forces, so that in small time he thought himselfe sufficient to meete the Sidanians in open field, and so he did neere to Mickanes, where the people on Sidans part, missing their King in the field, or any one of the Bloud Royall refused to fight, and in stead of striking, fell to parley; That if Abdela would pardon them, they would yeeld, and so they did, yet most of them ranne away, except three thousand Morruেকyns, who presuming upon Abdelas gentle nature, stayd with him, hoping kind entertaynment into his pay, in stead whereof, Muley Abdela commanded all their throats to be cut, granting them onely this favour: first, to be stripped for fowling their clothes.

*Faithlesse  
butcherie.*

Thus we may see, mercilesse Sidan butcher poore soules at Moruecos, pittillesse Abdela murder these unfortunate slaves at Mickanes, both verifying the old Proverbe, Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi. In this battayle were taken betwixt thirtie and fortie Englishmen, who served Muley Sidan as Canoniers, yet not any of that company which served Abdela at Moruecos, when he lost the Citie and field, but other Voluntaries, part of these fled with the bodie of the Army backe to Moruecos, part were taken, whom Abdela spared, as well in regard of former services the Nation had done him, as also for the present use he was to employ them in. This Expedition of Sidans comming to so unlooked a disaster, made him send forth his Commanders with divers companies, to the Alarbies, for fresh supply of men and Treasure: amongst which as Chiefe was dispeeded Basha Seleman, Master of the old Kings Horse for Taflet, there to governe the Countrey, carrying with him some fiftene hundred Shot, of which sixe hundred were Shracies, people of the King of Chaus, or Concoes Countrey, who

*Thirty or forty  
Englishmen  
Canoniers,  
taken by  
Abdela.*

[II. vi. 867.]  
*Shracies  
muteny.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Their  
treacherie.*

*Bloudy decree.*

hath alwaies warres with Algiers or Argiers. These Shraccis were borne in the Mountaines at Atlas, being of a fierce and bloody nature, not respecting the Turkes might or government, no more then the Mountainers of Moruecos, will acknowledge the Soveraigntie of the Barbarian. Some twelve hundred of these had Sidan in his pay, halfe part whereof he kept at Moruecos, the other was sent with Solyman. These amongst themselves fell into a muteny, neither for want of pay, or ill usage, but in desire to doe a mischief, by force cut off the Bashas head, carrying it with them as a Trophy of their victorie, and a fit present to win Abdelas favour, who was then at Fez, whither they went for intertainment, Sidan herewith moved, made Proclamation, that for three moneths what Shraccie soever, Souldier, or any other, were to be found in Moruecos, or elsewhere in his Dominions, should be put to the Sword, and to have it better & more fully executed, it was proclaimed, that the Man-killer should have the goods of the Shraccie so killed. Many rich men of this Nation or Kindred resiant in Moruecos, felt the furie of the Sword, for the folly and foule fault of their Tribe: such as could get packing, ran away; others of the better sort, their friends hid them in their houses, untill Sidan scared with newes of Abdelas comming towards him, proclaimed generall pardon for the remainder left alive, and free passage of trading or commerce for any Shraccie, which would venture to Moruecos. Yet few durst come upon these goodly termes, or those who lay hid in Moruecos, if they were worth any thing, shew themselves in publike, for feare this were a pretence to bring the residue unto the halter. Those Shraccies who were sole causers of this massacre, being with Abdela at Fez, daily moved him to goe towards Moruecos, vowing everie man to die in his cause, and for revenge of their Wives, Children, and Friends, who had smarted for their sakes. Abdela something animated with their offers, yet delayed, knowing his Forces farre inferior unto Sidans, untill still urged by the Shraccie, which had brought from



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the Mountaines some store of their Kindred, very able and resolute men to his aide, he set forwards about the latter end of August, towards Moruecos, determining to give battell once more to Muley Sidan. Of what strength Abdelas Armie consisted, the certaintie is not knowne, but gessed to bee very neere fifteene thousand Horse and Foote.

Muley Sidan was very strong, for beside his owne Souldiers, the Moruecans aided him with eight thousand men, and divers tribes sent supplies to augment his forces. He had two hundred English, the most of them volunteers, sixtie field Pieces, with sufficient Shot and Powder. Over the English and all the Christians, was Generall Captaine John Giffard, a Gentleman of a worthy spirit, and discended from the ancient and honourable stem of the Giffards in Buckingham-shire. Upon his first entertainment and welcome into the Country, Sidan bestowed upon him a rich Sword, valued at a thousand Marks, and a Scarlet Cloake, richly imbroidered with Pearle, sent as a present to Muley Hamet, the Kings Father, from our late Sovereigne of famous memorie Queene Elizabeth, besides many other extraordinarie favours of good value; and often conversing familiarly; yea, sometimes visiting Captaine Giffard at his owne Tent. His entertainment was twentie five shillings per diem, besides many supplies proceeding from the Kings bountie. With him as secondary men in charge, was one Master Philip Giffard, his neere and very deare Kinsman; Captaine Jaques, a very valiant Souldier; Captaine Smith, one of the most exquisite Enginers in Europe; Captaine Baker, an ancient Britaine Souldier; Captaine Tailer, Captaine Faukes, Captaine Chambers, Captaine Isack, men every way able to undergoe their severall commands. These were daily stipendaries, at twelve shillings a man, except the two Sea Captaines, Isack, and Chambers, who had foure shillings a day, and everie common Souldier twelve pence truly payd them. These preparations considered, Muley Sidan had small reason to leave the field, or feare Abdelas

*Two hundred  
English serve  
Sidan.*

*Captaine John  
Giffard.*

*A present sent  
from Queene  
Elizabeth,  
given to Cap-  
taine Giffard.*

*Philip Giffard.*

*Captaine  
Jaques.  
Captaine  
Smith.*

*Captaine  
Baker.  
Captaine  
Tailer,  
Faukes  
Chambers,  
Isaac.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Southsaying  
Oracles:  
superstitious  
credulitie.*

forces, being nothing in respect of his. But certaine it is, the Muley sending for his Wizzards, Soothsayers, willing them to foretell, that he might foreknow the successe of his embattailed Armie. Their answer was; He should loose the battell, bee driven into Sus, within five moneths should regaine Moruecos, and there during life enjoy the Kingdome. Upon this answer, the Muley giving great credit thereunto, as the nature of a Barbarian is very suspicious, commanded Basha Mustepha, with three thousand Souldiers to convey away his Mother, Wives and Children. To Alkeid Hamet Benbreham and Hado Tabib, hee commended the charge of his Treasure, who laded sixtie Mules with Gold, garding them and the Muleters, with two thousand of his choysest Shot.

*The Kings  
treasure.*

*The battell.*

These dispeeded, it may appeare Sidan but hovered, and would follow; yet the battels met the 26 of November, 1607. some sixteene miles from the Citie of Moruecos, the Canoniers of Muley Sidan, part having in the forefront discharged, their Enemies being somewhat farre off; but before they could charge againe, the Enemie was with them. The Shracies did not once discharge a Piece, great nor small, but joyning themselves close to the Abdelians, charged the Sidanians very fiercely, with their Sables, in revenge of Sidans tyrannie shewed upon their Kindred, enraging their minds and courages, or their faithfull promise (which they sought to make good) to Abdela, made them put the Sidanians to flight: or else it was Sidans feare, that hee should not make good his Soothsayers Prophecie, which made his men to runne away: For at the first encounter, his Moores fell into a dis-array, and presently into a dishonorable flight: whereupon Muley Sidan fled, sent to the English Captaines to be gone, and to Captaine Giffard a good Horse to save himselfe. The English returned word, that they came not thither to run, but rather die an honourable death. Captaine Giffard encouraged his men, telling them, there was no hope of victorie, but to prepare and die like men like English men: and then asking for his Jaques, whom he loved

[II. vi. 868.]

*Sidans flight.*

*English  
valour, but  
few unslaine.*

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dearely, and taking a Pike in his hand, thought to have rode unto him, being told hee was not sixescore from him, and to have died together: but in the way, Captaine Giffard being charged by eight Abdelians, one behind him shot him thorow, and so was he there slaine. Few of all the English Nation were left alive, the number not exceeding thirtie, and none of the Commanders escaped, except Captaine Isack, and Captaine Faukes; of the Moores were not slaine in all fortie persons.

*Captaine  
Giffards  
death.*

Sidan being gone, as loath to tarry, spend bloud, and win a Field, Abdela got the ground his Enemies marched upon, but no great victory, entred Moruecos without applause, or rejoyce of the Citizens, some yet feeling his late done injuries, sorie for the losse of Sidan, who had proved a Tyrant, nor welcomming Abdela upon hope of amendment, but with policie and patience fitted themselves to the miserie of the time. Abdela once againe Master of Moruecos, got the Kings House, but found no treasure to relieve his wants. Great were his promises to reward the Shracies with bountie, and enrich his followers, when the Citie was recovered: now hee having it, there failed of his expectation, and his Souldiers lacking both meate and money: yet to keepe them still in hope, and so in government, it was bruited, the young King had found a Well full of treasure within the House, which Muley Hamet Xarif had layed up for a deare yeare: but this good newes quickly vanished, the Well not yeelding water to refresh their fainting stomachs. Therefore the Shracies having released their Kindred, recovered their Wives and Children, which had escaped the fury and bloudie Decree of Sidan the last King, they tooke good words and kind usages of Abdela, in lieu of payment, seeing Moruecos neither afforded them meate, nor Abdelas fortune further maintenance, and so three thousand of them departed at one time. Muley Abdela with the residue of his forces kept Moruecos, laboring by all possible meanes to give his souldiers content, and keepe them together; so with much adoe hee lived in Moruecos

*Abdela second  
time master of  
Mornecos.*

*Shracies  
depart.*

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some two moneths, during which time, Muley Sidan was gathering a fresh Army in Sus.

### §. V.

Muley Hamet Bosonne commeth against Abdela, and causeth him flie, to his Father. Boferes like to be taken, flieth to Salie. Muley Sidan commeth against Muley Hamet Bosonne; who flyeth, and is poysoned by old Azus. Muley Sheck sendeth into Spaine. Some observations of their Policie, and Trade to Gago.

*Muley Hamet  
Bosonne.*

**B**Ut whilst Abdela and Sidan were contriving their owne ends, there arose a storme in the Mountaines which fell in the Plaines of Moruecos. The tempest driver was one Muley Hamet Bosonne, Cousin to the three Brethren which have striven for the Kingdome. This man gathering treasure, and temporising with them all three, so played their Game, that finding their weakenesse which these quarrels had brought them unto, upon a sudden seeing his time, went into the Mountaines to his Mothers Kindred, mustered verie neere twenty thousand able men. The Muley being well provided of treasure, gave them due pay and large, winning them to his respect and service, so that in lesse then two moneths space, he got all things in readinesse, descended from the Tesseuon Mountaines towards Moruecos.

*Fond feare.*

This newes brought to Abdela was very unwelcome, yet (calling his wits and Counsell together) it was concluded, considering the Shraces were gone, his remnant of Souldiers feeble and out of heart and the Moruecans daily fled to Hamet Bosonne, whose uprising like a blazing Star drew their eyes upon him, that Abdela should travell to Fez, which hee might well doe without a guide, having heretofore upon like necessities, often measured the miles: and though hee was determined so to do, yet a smal occasion hastned his journey, for some mile from

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Abdelas Campe, upon a Hill on the back-side of Moruecos, a man being seene with a Speare in his hand, and a white linnen upon it as a Flagge. Abdela thought Hamet Bosonne to be with his whole Forces behind the Hill, when he was a full dayes march from Moruecos. Therefore in all haste he tooke up some of his Tents, but the greater part left standing in a manner, being feared, ran away. And afterward when this matter was discovered, which Abdela held a token of his surprise, it was nothing els but a poore Moore washing his Napery, and for the speedier drying used this meanes, which terrified Abdela from the seate of his Empire, to Fez, the safest place for his abode.

*How vaine is  
man? a  
fearefull  
armie of men.*

Lylla Isha, Sidans Mother, hearing of Hamet Bosonnes approach, was perswaded his movements were onely to defend her Sonnes right, knowing Bosonne of late favoured Sidans title, comming into his pay, and in person serving the Muley at the last battaile when Sidan fled into Sus. Heereupon she sent divers Captaines, part of her owne Guard, others of her friends and kindred to his ayd, thinking he would have taken Moruecos for Sidan. But Bosonne having entred the Citie peaceably, proclaimed himselfe King, dismissed all Sidans favourers, which were not willing to be his servants, who returned to their Lady Mistresse, certifying her error and their successe: his Treasure he imparted largely to his followers, by strong hand desired no mans service, but those who were willing. Some thirty English-men remayning, weary of their sustained mesery, and the state of the Countrey, he gave them licence to imbarke, and writ to the Governour of Saphia to give them their passe, notice whereof being given to the Factor Marine for the English, he disparted them into divers ships with all conveniency, though to his cost and charges; charity to helpe the distressed soules, and love to his native Countrey, mooving him thereunto. This Muley Hamet Bosonne, during the time of his government was a very good and just man, offered no discourtesie, or tooke away any mans goods,

[II. vi. 869.]

*Bosonne pro-  
claimed King.*

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but paid the Merchants truly for the same, who liked well his current and true dealing.

Bossonnes mother hearing her sonne was settled in Moruecos, brought what strength she could from the Mountaines, and in her way knowing Boferes lodged in a fortresse, whereunto hee was fled, not to bee well guarded, she beset the house, meaning to take the Muley prisoner, who being void of meanes to resist in the night, made a hole through the wall and so escaped privately to Salie, a Port Towne within the jurisdiction of his brother Sheck, where at this day he remaineth.

*Boferes  
besieged: his  
escape and  
povertie.*

On the morrow betimes, Bossonnes mother with her men entered the Fort, missing Boferes, cut off the head of Umsed Benbela, one of his chiefest servants and Commanders: then went she forward to congratulate her sonnes comming to the Kingdome, being then in Moruecos. But an Empire ill got, is seldome scene of long continuance, for within lesse then two moneths, Muley Sidan came out of Sus with a great armie, for whose ayd Lylla Isha sold her Jewels, and Plate, to furnish her son with Swords, Pikes, Horsemen, Staves, and other War-like Munition.

*Grufe.*

On the other side Hamet Bosonne prepared to welcome his cousin the Muley Sidan; so about the beginning of Aprill, 1608. both their Forces met hard by Moruecos where a chiefe of a kinred one Grufe, which came out of Sus, a great wine drinker, alwayes a favourer of Muley Sidan (though little valuing any of the three Kings) presuming upon his owne strength, and valour, desired the honour, that hee might give charge upon the enemy with five hundred Horse, which was his owne Regiment, and of his owne kindred: Sidan refused to grant him his request, therefore the Casima tooke his owne leave and gave the enemy a full charge upon the body of his armie, which receiving him very bravely, the Casima and his company were in great danger to be overthrowne: but Sidan to releev him, sent five hundred Horse-men of his owne: so with these thousand, the Casima broke the ranks

*The battell.*

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of Bosonnes battalions, then with their sables fell to execution, untill the whole campe seeing the field lost, fled towards the Mountaines: thus Sidan without further resistance entering Moruecos, resting there in quiet three moneths, untill Hamet Boson recovering new Forces in July following, presented himselfe before the Citie, trusting aswel upon his own strength, as the love of the Citizens: hoping his good and gentle usage when he was amongst them, would have bred a liking in them, of his mild and gentle government: but either the servile mind of the multitude little respected his fore-passed kindnes, or the feare of Sidan made them loath to shew any signe of good will; for at his approach no man in the Citie was knowne to draw a sword in his defence. So on the eight of July, Bosonne was discomfited with the losse of some thousand men, fled to the Mountaines, where within foure dayes after Alkeid Azus got him poysoned, hoping thereby to win the favour of Muley Sidan.

*Sidan  
regaineth  
Moruecos.*

*Bosonne  
poisoned.*

This Azus is aged and subtile, by his long experience best knoweth the secrets of that state, was brought up under Abdela, Muley Hamet Xarifs brother, and for his Counsell to Abdela, willing him either to put out the eyes of Hamet Xarif, or cut his throat, was in danger to have lost his life when Hamet Xarif came to be King, but the wisdom of the man won such respect with Hamet, that of a prisoner, he made him his chiefest Counsellor, and Master of his Treasurie, during whose life time his behaviour was such, as he won great love among the Commons, Nobility, and many of the blood Royall. When old Hamet died, he was in his Campe neere Fez, and after his death rested all his love upon Muley Sidan (holding him the prime man and fittest of the three brethren, to rule the Kingdome) untill both he and Sidy Imbark could not counsell and rule Muley Sidan, for his owne good and benefit of the Common-weale being head-strong, and would take no mans counsell but to his owne liking and hurt. Therefore Sedy Abdela Imbark went to his contemplation at Aca: And Azus to

*Alkeid Azus.*

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a Castle in the Mountaines, which he had stored with Treasure against a storme, or to refresh the winter of his age, from whence he will not come downe, untill he see some hope of peace, having at this instant more Treasure in his Coffers, then all the three brethren besides, and hopeth to keepe it, being in the midst of his friends and kindred, and in a place as well fortified as any in Barbary.

[II. vi. 870.]

*John Etina.*

Muley Sheck fearefull lest Sidans next enterprise would be to rowze him out of Fez, fell in conference with an Italian Merchant, named John Etina, making him his Agent to go into Spain, there to conclude, that if the Catholique King would ayde him with men and money to recover his right, there should be delivered up into his hands, Allaroche, Saly, Alcasar, and other Townes lying fit for his mouth: This negotiation was well entertained. And John Etina was promised for his labour in this businesse, and bringing it to effect, upon the deliverie of the Port Townes, to have yeerely paid him two thousand Duckats during his life. In June, this matter was first mooved; in the latter end of August, seven Gallions (as was reported) and the Gallies of Naples, in all a hundred sayle, well manned with store of Pioners to rayse Forts, went to Allaroche, thinking to be received, but thirty thousand Alarbees came downe to the shoare, not allowing any such neighbour-hood, though they hold the Andelussian halfe their blood.

*Sir Anthony  
Sherleyes pre-  
ferment.*

Whether Sir Anthony Sherley was employed in this service it is not certainly known: some are of opinion that hee was induced thereunto, because they have formerly heard the King of Spaine hath royally rewarded him for his travailes with Boferes, by giving him the places and pay of two Captaines in the Indies, made him Admirall of the Levant Seas, and next in place to the Vice-roy of Naples, having for his entertainment five hundred Duckats a moneth. Without question, he knoweth well the state of that uncivill and barbarous Nation, having an apprehending and admirable wit to conceive the disposition



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of any people with whom hee shall converse, whilst he was amongst them, he behaved himselfe very well toward the better sort, winning credite with them, and gaining the love of the poorer sort exceedingly, by his larges (for if a Moore or slave gave him but a dish of Dates, he should receive a reward as from an Emperour) and howsoever some may hold this a vice, counting him a lavisher: yet by this meanes he came to the knowledge of that which otherwise he never should have attained unto. The more credible fame is, Sir Anthonie was not with this Fleet, therefore they sped never the better, for had he beene in company, and had command, he would either have taken footing, or ventered all, scorning to returne with doing nothing, and so be laughed at.

*The Author added a discourse also of their Religion: but I omit it and referre the Reader to my Pilgrimage, and proceed to the reports of their Policie.*

### The Policie of Barbarie.

EVERY Kingdome consisteth of men, not of buildings, therefore the Kingdome of Barbary consisteth of bond and free men: the naturall bond men are such as are descended either from Christians or Negros; the free men are Larbies or Brebers, which may be termed the Valley and Mountaine men. Over all, as absolute Monarch is the King, who maintaineth his seat by the sword, and power of Justice: the sword men according to their degrees are thus placed.

First, the Muleis, are the Kings children, and all other who are of the blood Royall, are termed by this name. Secondly, Bashas, are Captaine Generalls over armies. Thirdly, Alkeids be the Lords, set aswell over Garrison Townes as Countreys, to rule and keepe the people in subjection. Fourthly, Ferres, Gentlemen who carrie armes, yet lesse Commanders then Alkeids. Fifthly, Bahaia, Lieutenant to an Alkeid. Sixthly, Brakbashi, a Sergeant at armes. Seventhly, Debushi, a Captaine over thirty. Eighthly, Romie, the common Souldier of these men of warre, there were kept in daily pay in the old Kings time, to the number of fifty thousand Horsemen: part serving with the Launce, others with the Speare

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called Spahaias, and some, especially the Horsemen of Fez, serve with the Crosse-bow on Horse-backe, bending it as they ride, shooting a strong shot and sure: and sixteene thousand foot-men, the Alarbies being fitter for the Horsemen, but the Brebers the stronger footmen, most of them shot.

The chieftest men of Command in the latter times, were these.

**F**irst, Alkeid Azus, chiefe Counsellor of State. Secondly, Hamet ben Breham Sefiani, Master of the Horse, and ruler over the Alkeids. Thirdly, Sedi Hamet ben Bouker. Fourthly, Sedi Abdela Wahad Anoune: These two were Treasurers. Fifthly, Alkeid Hamet, a Capatho or Eunuchs, Governour over the women and Eunuches. Sixtly, Alkeid Mustepha File Master of the Ordnance. Seventhly, Rishavan, Admirall over the Gallies at Saly.

Note, though these be enobled, taking priority or precedency before others, yet is not this noblenesse hereditary, for the children of these men must claime no honour by birth-right, but what they get by their service and honour of their sword, live unrespected unlesse they be valiant, and so proving, the King will take them into his service, whereupon by desert, the sonne may obtaine his fathers fortune and honour.

*Shecks of  
Families or  
Tribes.*

There is another title of dignity termed Sheck, attributed to the chiefe man of every Family or Cast, neither doth the Kings eldest sonne scorne the title, signifying that he is the prime or best blood of his Royall kindred. These Shecks are much respected, because it is the nature of the people, the whole kindred to follow their head: insomuch, as one of these Shecks can bring into the field ten thousand Horsemen of their owne Cast, or kindred, and some more. So that it is a matter of great consequence, the King to have an eye over such a man, and know how his affection resteth towards him, either in love or hatred.

[II. vi. 871.]

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*Execution of  
Justice.*

The King once in a moneth, on Fridayes in the after-  
noone after prayers, either in his house or Church sitteth  
to doe Justice, hearing complaints or appeales from  
subalterne Ministers, from whom the grieved persons doe  
appeale to his Royall person: when the King sitteth, the  
stranger shall have freer accesse to plead his cause before  
the King, then his owne borne subject.

All inferiour Judges and Ministers are their Church-  
men or Talbies, and those are soonest chosen into offices  
which are of strickest life, being free from avarice, and  
such other sinnes as may pervert and hinder the course of  
equitie and justice. The chieftest man for judgement  
under the King is Mustie, to whom the party grieved may  
appeale from any other ordinary Judge. There be three  
of these men, one in Moruecos, another in Fez, the third  
at Taradant in Sus. The Mustie of Moruecos, sitteth  
with the King in Judgement, and every Friday in the  
afternoone by himselfe, to heare and determine causes of  
the subject and stranger, though hee bee in eminent place,  
he is a poore man, in respect what he might be, if he  
would sell Justice, and take bribes.

*Three  
Musties.*

The ordinary Judge sitteth all the yeere long two houres  
before noone, and two houres after noone: in every great  
Towne throughout the three Kingdomes in places one of  
these Judges, to whom not onely the Inhabitants of every  
Towne and Citie doe repaire, but the Countrey people  
or Larbees upon differences come thither to have their  
causes decided: every one must tell his owne tale, and  
plead his owne matter. When both parties have spoken,  
then giveth the Judge sentence; so that in one day the  
cause is brought into Court, and the same day ended.  
If either part have witsnesse to produce, then the Judge  
giveth three dayes respite to bring them in, which being  
brought, the adverse party shall have other three dayes  
respite to disprove them. And if he can proove the  
witnesses either infamous in manners, or given to detest-  
able sinne, as drunkennesse, adultery, or such like: And  
can proove the witnes saith not his prayers sixe times

*Ordinary  
Judges.*

*Their manner  
of judicature.*

*Allegations  
against  
witnesses.*

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c. 1609.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Debts.*

duely in foure and twenty houres, then shal he be utterly disabled to beare witnesse, and thus in seven dayes the longest sute shall be ended. If an Obligation or rather Bill of debt be brought into Court, the Obligee must either pay the debt, goe to prison, or to pawne the value of the debt, or better: which pawne may be kept in Deposito nine dayes upon great reason, to see if the debtor can redeeme it at the nine dayes end, if he doth it not, then is it sold, and the party who should pay the money, must sustaine the losse.

*Coadjutors to  
the Judges.*

As Coadjutors to these Judges, and next in place to them be the Scrivanos, who upon death or other remoove are commonly made Judges. These are Talbies which make writings betweene partie and partie, short and plaine, without multiplication of words, and they are of opinion, Abundans cautela nocet: in their Obligatory Bils they put neither Forfeit nor Condition, having for the making thereof two pence English, and no more. They use no long draughts in matters of purchase, or these tripartite Indentures, with such large and long implicate and explicite Covenants, but thus the people deale in matters of Contracts and Bargaines. I buy of you a Vineyard, House, Merchandize, at such a price, to be paid at such a time, calling two honest men, whereof one shall be a Talbie, if I can get him, to witnesse this our Bargaine. We foure goe to the Scrivener, who likewise is a Talbie, and have this set downe in writing; and if our bargain be for twenty thousand pounds, it is set downe in ten lines, and the Justice of the Countrey will allow me my bargain with as great reason, as if I had a great ingrossed Booke of Conveyance, as big as the Map of the whole world in the newest Edition.

*Steryes or  
Officers of the  
Court.*

Next in this nature to these, be the Steryes, which have smal Fees to see the execution of Law and sentence of the Judge fulfilled; these likewise fetch men to answer their Adversary, which would delay, and not come before the Judge, eyther upon perversenesse, or badnesse of their plea, or any other cause whatsoever. Wherefore to bee

## A HISTORY OF BARBARY

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alwayes ready, these are continually attendant in the House of the Judge, and wayting upon him whethersoever he goeth.

Muttifeb, is an Officer to see true Weights and Measures; if any bee faultie, all the Wares in such a mans shop hee giveth to the poore, the party proclaymed an unjust man, and sore whipped. *Muttifeb.*

The Hackam, is the Lord Marshall in every City, who judgeth upon life and death, assoone as the party Delinquent is taken, and his offence proved, presently his throat is cut: Murder there is death, so is manifest Theft, Adultery, likewise proved by very good witnesse: And somtimes it is death for any man to weare a Sword who is not an Officer, yea, though hee bee a Souldier. Other offences according to the necessitie of the time and pleasure of the King, by Proclamation are made death, which the Hackam must see executed upon losse of his owne head. *Hackam.*

Muckadens, be Substitutes to the Hackam, seeing his judgement fulfilled, and in his absence hath his authoritie. *Muckadens.*

Fokers or Saints, dwell in the best places of the Countrey, keepe great Hospitality for all Travellers, whither any man come for a night, and be gone in the morning: much good these doe in the Countrey by their example of morall living, and bestowing their owne goods in their life time to helpe the needy and distressed, compromising differences betwixt parties, and repressing all disorders, winning great love and respect, for their Houses are held Sanctuaries, whose Priviledges the King will not violate, but upon great and weightie reason. *Fokers.* [II. vi. 872.]

The King, Nobility, and Souldiers desire to serve on Horse-backe, which most commonly they doe, for in any Army there be three Horse for one foot: the King will seldome venture to fight out a battayle, but as you may perceive by the precedent, it was and is the usage amongst the three Brethren, when they meete in a field, whosoever getteth at the first on-set the advantage, maketh the other presently leave the field, and flye unto some place of *The causes & manners of their fights.*

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strength: they fight with no Armour except a Buffe Jerkin, for the better sort; and a Leather Hide tanned for the meaner, and some Coats of Male, their Armes is a Horse-mans Staffe, Target, and Sword, or a Horse-mans Peece and Sword.

*Deadly feud  
with the  
Larbies.*

The Alarbies serve all upon Horse, will fight sorer battayles to maintayne their deadly feud, than in service of their King: Insomuch that upon losse of any great Lord or Chiefe man of their Bloud, cruell battailes have ensued, wherein ten thousand men have beene slayne at one time, and it is their fashion, the fairest Virgin to ride upon a Camell with a flagge in her hand decked in all pompe to sollicite her Kindred to revenge, and goeth foremost in the field, encouraging them to follow; upon which incitement much bloud is spilt, her Kindred as loth to lose their Virgin, and not revenge their injuries: the other side striving to winne her and the field, holding that a continuing glory to the seventh Generation.

When a man is killed, his Tribe seeketh not revenge only upon the man which killed the party, but the first man of that Tribe hee meeteth withall, him will hee kill if he can, and so thinketh he hath satisfied his Kinsmans death.

*With the  
Brebers.*

The Brebers or Mountayners likewise maintayne this feud, who are most shot and Swordmen, upon the day of battayle their women follow hard behind them, with a colour in their hands, called Hanna: And if they see any of their side offer to runne away, or retyre, presently they will throw some of this Hanna upon their clothes, which will stayne, and the party ever after is held for a Coward and a dishonoured Jew. For feare of this Infamy, few forsake the field, but eyther conquer their Enemies, or dye like men, who are presently stripped and buried by these women which follow them.

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The trading of the Moores into Guinee and Gago for Gold Ore, or sandie Gold.

**M**uley Hamet being at peace with his Neighbours, at quiet with his Subjects, determined to warre upon the Negros, knowing the conquest easie, because the people are undisciplined in warre, and the profit would be exceeding great by bringing their Gold into his Countrey, exchanging for it Salt, and other baser Commodities. And howsoever certayne Miners had found rich Mines of Gold in the Hills of Atlas, yet hee held it better policy to fetch his Gold farther off, then to digge that which was found in the Centre of his owne Kingdome, fearing if the Mines proved rich, the Golden Ore would draw thither Christian Armes, therefore he cut the throats of all such as were the Authors, and gave the Masters of the Workes death for their hyre.

*Effodiantur  
opes irrita-  
menta  
malorum.*

But to perfect his other Designe, he chose Judar Basha, sent him with great store of Souldiers, who entred farre into the Negros Countrey, depriving them of a great City, called Gago, which standeth upon the River of Synega, three hundred Leagues within the firme Land, builded there an Alpandeca for Barbarian Merchants, and a Custome-house for the King. The Merchants make it sixe monethes Journey from Moruecos thither, of which, two monethes they passe thorow the Sandy Desarts, where no people dwell, neyther any road way, but directed by Pilots, as ships at Sea, observe the courses of Sunne, Moone, and Stars, for feare of missing their way: If they lose themselves, they meete with Famine, and dye for lacke of water, whose dead carkasses consume not, but maketh Munna,\* or Otema flesh, every way as Physicall or Medicinable, as that which commeth from Alexandria. They never travell under two or three hundred in a company: it may be not meeting with water in twelve or fiftene dayes space, but carry water by Camels, both for them and their beasts to drinke, which failing, to save their owne lives, they kill their Camels, and drinke the

*Gago.*

*Six monethes  
Journey.*

*Dreadfull  
Desarts.*

*\*Mummi, but  
the best  
Mummi is  
made of em-  
balmed bodies  
which have  
been long since  
buried, as in  
Egypt, &c.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Salt.*

blood. If the wind blow at North-east, they cannot unlade their Camels, least the Sands should cover them. The Merchandize carried from Moruecos to the Negros, is much Cloth, Amber Beads, Corall, but the chieftest Commodity is Salt, which is bought at Tegazza, and other places, for foure shillings a Camels lading, which is sixe hundred weight, and payeth at Gago five pounds for Custome to the King of Barbarie, afterward sold farre within the Countrey to a kind of deformed Negros, who will never be seene in the commerce of trading with the Barbarian, or any stranger: Wherefore they lay their Salt in the fields and leaveth it, then commeth the deformed Negro, and layeth against every mans pricell of Salt, as much of his gold as he thinketh the Salt is worth, and goeth his way, leaving his gold with the Salt: Then returneth the Moore, if he like the gold, taketh it away, [II. vi. 873.] if not, detracteth so much from his heape, as he will sell to the Negro for his gold. The Negro returning, if he like the quantity, putteth too more gold, or else will not barter, but departeth. Yet they seldome mislike, for the Moore maketh a rich returne, and his King a full Treasure. Wherefore, the deformed Negro is praysed for the truest dealing man in the world: the gold which they have is not coyned, but like small Gravell or Sand gathered after the gluts of raine, in the drie bankes of Mountaines and Rivers.

Touching Voyages of Englishmen to Barbarie, as also Embassages sent thither by Queene Elizabeth: likewise touching many English Voyages to Guinny, Benin, and other places on the Continent, and the Ilands adjoyning; with Patents also for those parts: the Reader may, if he please, certifie and satisfie himselfe in Master Edens, and Master Hackluyts Voyages. English Navigations are now advanced to so great Adventure, and new or remote Discoveries, that I rather haste to them: Yet because I thinke it meete to acquaint the Reader with the present State of the neerer parts of Africa: I have added these following Discourses. And because Algier is the Whirle-



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poole of these Seas, the Throne of Pyracie, the Sinke of Trade and Stinke of Slavery; the Cage of uncleane Birds, of Prey, the Habitation of Sea-Devils, the Receptacle of Renegadoes to God, and Traytors to their Countrey; >I have the longer stayed there: both to shew the place out of Nicholay; His Majesties zealous Designe against them, and Gods goodnesse in two notable Deliverances from them.

As for Ward, or other English, infesting the World from that Hel-mouth, I was loth to blot these Papers with so rotten Names.

### Chap. III.

The African Possessions of the King of Spaine, and the Turke.

#### §. I.

The Dominions and Fortresses\* which the King of Spaine hath upon the Iles and mayne Lands of Africa, and of the Great Turkes.

*\*Taken out of  
Botero, Pory,  
&c.*



Esides Oran, Mersalquibir, Mililla and Pennon which the King of Spaine possesseth within the Streights; as likewise, Ceuta, Tanger, and Arzil, which by the Title of Portugall, he holdeth very neere the Streights of Gibraltar; and Mazagan in like sort without the Streights mouth, twenty miles to the South-ward of Arzil: he hath along the Coast of Africk, from Cape de Guer, to that of Guardafu, two sorts of States: for some are immediately under him; and others are as it were his Adherents. The Ilands of Madera, Puerto Santo, the Canaries, the Iles of Arguin, of Cabo Verde, the Ile Del Principe, with that of Sant Thomas, and others neere adjoyning, are immediately under his Dominion. These Ilands are maintayned with their owne victuall, and provision, and yet they have also some out of Europe, as in like manner they send some

*He hath since  
gotten  
Mamora.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

thither: especially Sugars and Fruits, wherewith the Ile of Madera wonderfully aboundeth, as also with Wine. And the Iland of Sant Thomas likewise hath great abundance of Sugars.

These States have no incumbrance, but by the English and Frenchmen of Warre. At the Ilands of Arguin, and at Sant George de la Mina, the Portugals have planted Factories in forme of Fortresses, by meanes of which, they trade with the bordering people of Guinny and Libya, and get into their hands the Gold of Mandinga, and other places neere about. x Among the adherent Princes, the richest and most honourable, is the King of Congo, in that his Kingdome is one of the flourishing and plentifull Countryes in all Æthiopia. The Portugals have there two Colonies, one in the City of S. Salvador, and another in the Iland Loanda. They have divers rich Commodities from this Kingdome, but the most important is every yeere about five thousand Slaves, which they transport from thence, and sell them at good round prices in all the Iles and mayne Lands of the West Indies: and for the head of every slave so taken up, there is a good tax payd to the Crowne of Portugall.

From this Kingdome one might easily goe to the Country of Prete Janni, for it is not thought to be very farre off: and it doth so abound with Elephants, Victuall, and all other necessarie things, as would bring singular ease and commoditie to such an enterprise. Upon the Kingdome of Congo confineth Angola, with whose Prince of late yeares, Paulo Dias, a Portugall Captaine, made warre. And the principall occasion of this warre are certaine Mines of Silver, in the Mountaines of Cabambe, no whit inferior to those of Potossi; but by so much are they better, as fine Silver goeth beyond that which is base, and course. And out of doubt, if the Portugals had esteemed so well of things neere at hand, as they did of those farther off and remote, and had thither bent their forces wherewith they passed Capo de buena esperanza, and went to India, Malaca, and the Malucoes; they had more

*The African  
Trade might  
have been as  
rich as the  
Indian.*

## SPANISH DOMINIONS IN AFRICA

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easily, and with lesse charge found greater wealth: for there are no Countries in the world richer in Gold and Silver, then the Kingdomes of Mandinga, Ethiopia, Congo, Angola, Butua, Toroa, Maticuo, Boro, Quiticui, Monomotapa, Cafati, and Bohennemugi. But humane avarice esteemeth more of another mans, then his owne: and things remote appeare greater, then those neere at hand. Betweene Capo de buena esperanza, and Cape Guardafu, the Portugals have the Fortresses of Sena, Cephala, and Mozambique. And by these they continue Masters of the Trade with the bordering Nations, all which abound in Gold and Ivorie. By these Fortresses they have speciall commoditie for their Navigation to the Indies, because their Fleetes sometimes winter, and otherwise victuall, and refresh themselves there. In these parts the King of Melinde is their greatest friend; and those of Quiloa, and other Neighbour Ilands, are their Tributaries. The Portugals want nothing but men: for besides other Ilands, which they leave in a manner abandoned, there is that of Saint Laurence, one of the greatest in all the world (being a thousand two hundred miles long, and foure hundred and fourescore broad) the which, though it be not well tilled, yet for the goodnesse of the soyle, it is apt and fit to be manured, nature having distinguished it with Rivers, Harbours, and most commodious Bayes. These States belonging to the Crowne of Portugall, were wont to feare no other, but such Sea-forces as may be brought thither by the Turks. But the daily going to and fro of the Portugall Fleetes, which coast along up and downe those Seas, altogether secureth them. In the yeare 1589. they tooke neere unto Mombaza foure Gallies, and a Galliot, belonging to the Turkes, who were so bold as to come even thither. But since the English and Hollanders have traded the Indies, the Portugall affaires have much decayed in those parts, their opposing them turning to such effect as you have heard.

The great Turke possesseth in Africa all the Sea-coast from Velez de Gumera, or (as some hold opinion) from

*The Dominions  
of the Great  
Turke in  
Africa.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

the River Muluia, which is the Easterne limite of the Kingdome of Fez, even to the Arabian Gulfe or Red Sea, except some few places (as namely, Mersalcabir, Melilla, Oran, and Pennon) which the King of Spaine holdeth. In which space before mentioned, are situate sundry of the most famous Cities and Kingdomes in all Barbarie; that is to say, Tremizen, Alger, Tenez, Bugia, Constantina, Tunis, Tripolis, and all the Country of Egypt, from Alexandria to the Citie of Asna, called of old Siene, together with some part of Arabia Troglodytica, from the Towne of Suez to that of Suachen. Also in Africa the Grand Signior hath five Vice-royes, called by the names of Beglerbegs or Bassas, namely, at Alger, Tunis, Tripolis, at Missir for all Egypt, and at Suachen for those places which are chalenged by the Great Turke, in the Dominions of Prete Janni. Finally, in this part at Suez, in the bottome of the Arabian Gulfe, is one of his foure principal Arsenals, or places for the building, repairing, docking, and harboring of his warlike Gallies, which may lie here under covert, to the number of five & twentie Bottoms.

### Chap. IIII.

The Description of the Citie of Alger, written by Nicholas Nicholay and how it came into the possession of Barbarossa, and also of Malta and Tripolie.

*Change of  
names of  
Alger.*



Alger is a Citie in Africa very ancient, first builded by a people of Africa, called Mesgana, of whom she tooke her first name: afterwards was called Jol, and was the Seate Royal of Juba, in the time when the Romans bare dominion in Africa, in honour of Cæsar it was called Julie Cæsare; and since the Moores called it Gezeir Arab Eleagair, which in their Language signifieth Iles, because she is situated neere Majorque-Minorque Jevise, and Fromentierre: but the Spaniards now doe call her Alger:

howbeit, shee is scituated upon the Mediterran Sea, upon the hanging of a Mountaine environed with strong Walls, Ramperds, Ditches, Platformes, and Bulwarks, in forme almost three-square; the largenesse which goeth towards the Sea side stretcheth narrowly almost unto the highest part, whereas there is a great building made in forme of a Citadell, to command the Towne and entrie of the Haven. As for the buildings being beyond the Pallace Royall, are very faire Houses belonging too particular men, with a great number of Bathes and Cookes houses. The places and streetes are so well ordained, that every one in his Occupation apart: there are about three thousand Hearth-steeds. At the bottome of the Citie which is towards the North joyning to the Walles, which are beaten with the Surges of the Sea in a great place, is by great Artifice and subtill Architecture builded their principall and head Mosquee; and a little below that is the Arcenall, which is the place into which are hailed up, and trimmed the Gallies and other vessels. This Citie is very Merchant-like, for that she is situated upon the Sea, and for this cause marveilously peopled, for her bignesse: she is inhabited of Turkes, Moores, and Jewes in great number, which with marveilous gaine exercise the Trade of Merchandise, and lend out money at Usury. They have two Market dayes in every weeke, to the which resort an infinite number of people of the Mountaines, Plaines and Vallies, being neighbours thereabouts, which do bring thither all sorts of Fruits, Corne and Foule, of very cheape price: for I have seene a Patridge sold for a Judit, which is a small piece of Silver mony, in manner foure square, and is in value of our mony foure pence and a mite, but true it is that their Partridges be not so big nor delicate as ours are: the Hennes and Chickins be also very good cheape, for that they have in most parts of their Houses Furnaces, made in manner like unto the Hot-houses or Stoves of Germany, in the which with a small heate they doe breed and hatch their Eggs without helpe of the Hen, and therefore it is not to be marveiled at, though they have

[II. vi. 875.]

*Furnaces fity  
made for  
breeding of  
Chickins.*

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*Camels and  
Oxen shod.*

*The Moores do  
ride their  
horses without  
saddle or  
bridle.*

*Weapons of the  
Moores.*

*Many renied  
Christians in  
Algier.*

*A miserable  
life of the  
Christian  
slaves in  
Algier.*

great plentie of such Pullen. They also have a great number of Camels and Oxen, which they doe shoo, lade, and ride upon, as upon Horses. And going through the streetes, because of the multitude of people, which there is marveilous, they goe crying with a loud voyce, Baluc, Baluc; which is too say, Beware, beware. I have also seene divers Moores mounted on Barbarie Horses without Saddle, Bridle, Stirrops or Spurres, having onely a string in the mouth to stay them withall. And as for the men, they are altogether naked, having onely about their middle part to cover their privities, some piece of a white Sarge or Blanket in manner of an apron, and about their head a Linnen cloth rowled, which they bring about and under their chin.

Their weapons are three Darts or long Javelins, which they carry in their right hand, and doe shoote and throw with wonderfull dexteritie, and upon their left arme is fastned a large Dagger made a little crooked after the fashion of a Wood-knife, which they call Secquin, and use to fight at hand strokes withall, and to annoy their Enemies comming to the close. The most part of the Turkes of Algier, whether they be of the Kings Houshold or the Gallies, are Christians renied, or Mahumetised, of all Nations, but most of them Spaniards, Italians, and of Provence, of the Ilands and Coasts of the Sea Mediterran, given all to Whoredome, Sodometrie, Theft, and all other most detestable vices, living onely of rovings, spoyles, and pilling at the Seas, and the Iland, being about them: and with their practike Art bring daily to Algier a number of poore Christians which they sell unto the Moores, and other Merchants of Barbarie for slaves, who afterward transport them, and sell them where they thinke good, or else beating them miserably with staves, doe imploy and constraine them to worke in the Fields, and in all other vile and abject occupations and servitude almost intollerable. And therefore it is not to be marveiled at, though these poore Christian Slaves made of it no scruple at all in putting of us in danger, to set themselves at libertie.

## NICHOLAS NICHOLAY

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Without the Citie towards the West are many faire and pleasant Gardens, set and adorned with divers trees bringing forth fruits of al sorts. Amongst other things there be Milons of marveilous goodnesse, and incomparable sweetnesse: they have also another fruite called Pateque, which the Italians call Anguries, being like in bignesse and colour to our greene Citrouilles in Winter, which they eate raw without Bread or Salt, and hath a taste so delicate and sweete, that it melteth in one's mouth, giving a water as it were sugred, and serve greatly to refresh and digest. About their Gardens are many Wells full of good water, and the ground there abouts, although it is Mountaines and Vallies, is very fertile for fruites and Vines. On the other part towards the East, without the Towne runneth into the Sea a small River called Sauo, which serveth aswell to drinke of, as other commodities, and also maketh many mills to grind. The course of the Sea from the Cape of Marfuz, (where as yet are seene the foundations of the ancient Citie Tipasa, which in times past was by the Emperours of Rome honoured in prayse of the Country Latine) doth bow and wind like unto a Crosebow-lath, and all along the River and the shoare the Moorish Women and Maiden Slaves of Algier doe goe to wash their Linnen, being commonly whole naked, saving that they weare a piece of Cotten Cloth of some strange colour to cover their secret parts (which notwithstanding for a little piece of money they will willingly uncover.) They weare also for an ornament about their necke, armes, and legges, great collers or bracelets of Latten, set with certaine false Stones. But as for the Wives of the Turks or Moores, they are not seene go uncovered, for they weare a great Barnuche made of a Blanket of white, blacke, or violet colour, which covereth their whole body and the head.

*Pleasant  
Gardens.*

*Sauo a River.*

*Tipasa an old  
citie.*

The second day after our arrivall at Algier, I found the meanes for money, and with faire word too hyre a renyed Spaniard, to conduct and leade me thorow all places that I most desired to see. So as by his meanes, I saw and

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learned many things within foure or five dayes that wee were there in quiet. And namely, brought mee upon a high Mountayne being a mile from the Towne, to see and behold the situation of a very strong and great Tower, beeing builded upon another Mountayne there neere about, and gently enquiring of him what strength the Tower might be of: he declared unto me, that the breadth of the Ditches about the same, was seventeene brases, saving about the gate and entry into it towards the North, it was only seven fathomes broad, and two Speares lengths deepe. Moreover, he said unto mee, that within the Fortresse there were nine great cast Pieces, and eightene other, as well Mynions, as Fawconets, and other: and that in the midst of the Tower there was a Well of very good water, upon the height thereof standing a wind-mill, and another standing without the gates. And that thirtie ordinary Souldiers are committed within it to keepe the same. And to make short, that this Tower was made to none other intent (as also others since have confirmed) then for the garding and keeping of the Fountayne heads, which from thence are brought and conveyed under the water into the Citie.

[II. vi. 876.]

*Ferdinando  
King Catho-  
like con-  
strayneth the  
Mores to a  
Truce.*

Alger was long time under the Dominion of the King of Telensin, untill such time as they of Bugie chose a new King, unto whom they gave and rendred themselves as his Tributarie, because he was neerer unto them then the King of Telensin, and that hee could sooner helpe them (if need were.) But in processe of time, perceiving themselves to be as it were free and out of all doubt: armed certayne ships to the Sea, with the which they became such Coursaires or Pirates that in short time they annoyed by their Piracies and Robberies on the Sea, not onely the Coast of Spaine, but also all the Mediterrane Ilands. Which perceiving, Ferdinando the King Catholike sent to Alger a great Armie to assiege them, and for to keepe them in most distresse, caused with a marvellous readinesse a Fort to bee made in a small Iland, which lyeth before the Citie, keeping them by that meanes so straightly



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besieged, that in short time they were constrained to require a Truce for ten yeeres: Which was agreed unto them upon condition of a certayne Tribute, which they payed untill the death of King Ferdinando, for then they espying a convenient time and meanes, to breake the Truce, and to set themselves at liberty, called unto them Cairadin Barbarosse, who after the siege of Bone, retyred to the Castle of Gegill, standing in the Coast of the Mediterran Sea, upon the top of a high Rocke, seventie miles from Bugie, who being by them chosen to bee their chiefe Captayne, gave many fierce assaults unto the Fortresse, so as he put the Spaniards to flight, and incontinent after caused it to bee ruined and pulled downe even to the foundation. He then seeing so happie successe of his Enterprize, could no longer abide to be as companion, but in a Bath trayterously slue a Prince of Arabie, called Selim: who declared himselfe to be Lord of the Citie.

Afterwards forsaking the name of a Captaine any longer, caused himselfe to bee called King, and coyned money under his name, and so well guided his Affaires that in short time after hee brought all his Neighbours about him to become contributory unto him. Such was the beginning of the magnificent estate of Cariedin Barbarosse: after whose death, his Brother Hariadene succeeded him in the Kingdome, and after him his Sonne Cassam, who raigned at the time we arrived there.

To returne to the Discourse of our Navigation, which I left at the Cape Matafuz, from whence (having sojourned there a night) wee departed in the morning: the wind was so contrary that it forced us to come to an Anchor neere to the Cape Tedele: at which place wee saw within a great Rocke a deepe entrance, being two flight shot long, into the which the Sea entreth even to the very bottome, where we entred with our Skiffe, even to the halfe way of it: and thinking to passe on further, we found so great a number of strange Mice, that we were constrained to turne backe: so were we persecuted. And so for feare

*Selim slaine by  
Treason.  
The King had  
not complete  
power: but  
they enjoyed  
as this Author  
saith, a kind  
of Common-  
wealth.  
This Haria-  
dene was the  
famous Sea  
Captaine,  
Admirall of  
the Turkes  
Navie, men-  
tioned in the  
Turkish His-  
torie, which  
affrighted  
Rome, and was  
terrible to  
Christendom.  
See my  
Pilgrimage,  
l. 6. c. 9. §. 2.  
Cape of  
Teddell.  
Strange Mice.*

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they should pisse on our heads (their pisse being venemous) we were forced to cover us, and to wrap our selves in our Clokes. This part of the Sea is very full of Mountaynes and great Rockes.

*Teddell.*

Teddell is a Citie contayning about two thousand Harth-steeds, situated upon the Sea Mediterrane, three-score miles from Alger at the bottome of a Mountayne, and on the hanging of a great Rocke. On the midst of the Mountayne is a little Castle, from the which along goeth a wall stretching to that of the Citie. The Africans first did edifie it, and at this present is inhabited of a people very merry and pleasant. For, for the most part of them they are given to the exercise of the Harpe and Lute. Their principall Craft and Occupation is fishing, and dying of Wooles and Cloth, by reason of divers small Brookes very fit for their dyings, which descending from the Mountaynes through divers places of the Towne, issue into the Sea. The Inhabitants of the same place are under the same Obeysance and Justice that they of Alger are. Leaving the Coast and Towne of Teddell, we bare roome to Sea-wards, and had so good speed, that the foure and twentieth of July in the Evening, we discovered the Citie of Gigeri, but even thinking to be neere it, within a moment arose such a sudden Borasque or Flaa, that if our Mariners had not nimblely bestirred themselves in taking in of their Sayles, wee had beene in great danger to have beene all drowned, and immediately saw our Frigat (which was made fast to our Gally) lost before our eyes, because they had not quickly cut the Halser, but all our men were saved by swimming to our Gallies. These Borasques (engendred of a wind, called by the Græcians, Typhon; or Plinie, Vertex or Vortex, but vulgarly Tourbillon, or Whirlewind, proceed not out of the West, notwithstanding doe often happen in Winter) are very often and dangerous all along the Coast of Barbarie, and as they come very suddenly, so are againe soone appeased.

*Borasque of  
Barbarie, most  
dangerous for  
Saylers.*

*Porte of Bone.*

The twentie five in the Evening, we arrived at the Port of Bone: where wee being come to an Anker, the

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Ambassadour sent to salute the Caddy, which keepeth the towne upon tribute under the King of Alger. This Caddy was a renyed Christian, and notwithstanding shewed himselfe very curteous and liberall towards us, for over and above the refreshings of flesh, bread and fruits which he gave us, about supper time sent unto the Ambassador two great Platters of Macolique, full of their kinde of meate, dressed according to their fashion, which was a kinde of Menudes made in Paste with Onions, and fat Pullets with certaine sawces of very good taste and savour.

*This Ambassa-  
dor was the  
Lord of Ara-  
mont sent  
1551. by the  
French King  
to the Great  
Turke at Con-  
stantinople.*

Bone, anciently called Hippon, of which Saint Augustine hath beene Bishop in times past, edified of the Romans upon the Mediterran Sea, standeth of the one side upon high and ragged Rockes, and there is a very faire and sumptuous Mosquee, unto which is adjoynd the house of the Caddy: but the other side of the Towne towards the South, and the Valley is situated more lower, and as well within as without accommodated with Wells and good Fountaines. The Houses within it (having beene twice sacked and spoyled by the Spaniards) are evill builded, and this Towne doth not now containe above three hundred Harthes. The Emperour Charles the fift, after he had subdued the Towne, caused upon a height of one side towards the West, a great Castle to be builded: which commanded of all sides, and did accommodate it with a number of Cisternes to gather Water in, for that on this height there is neither Well nor Fountaine. Notwithstanding, shortly after it was rased by the Turkes and Moores, and the Spaniards driven out of it: without the City towards the East, is seene a goodly and large Champion Countrey, inhabited and tilled by a kinde of People called Merdez; which Countrey, besides the great quantitie of Corne that it bringeth forth, nourisheth and pastureth in the Valley a great number of Oxen, Kine, Sheepe and other Cattell, so plentifully, that with their Milke and Butter, not onely the City of Bone is provided and furnished, but also Tunes and the Isle of Gerbes: there

*Bone anciently  
Hippon.*

*Charles the fift  
builded there  
a Castle.*

*The Spaniards  
driven out of  
the Castle.*

*Merdez a  
people.*

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*A Church  
builded by  
S. Aug.*

are also about it many faire Garden Plats, plentifully abounding with Dates, Figges, and sweet Mellons. At the beginning of the Valley passe two small Rivers, whereof, the next and greatest hath a Bridge of stone, under the which is a way to an old ruined Church, being betweene two Rocks, which the Moores doe say to have beene the Church of Saint Augustine, which made me the more desirous to goe and see it: Notwithstanding, that a Jew, borne in Spaine, being then with me, used all the meanes he could to perswade mee from it: for the dangers which he said to be there of the Theeves called Alerbes, which thereabouts doe lye secretly hid, to intrap them that came thereabouts; by which his remonstrances notwithstanding he could not dissuade me, but that needes he must accompanie mee: and certainly there I found by experience: and upon the top of a high Mountaine hee shewed me a small troope of these Alerbes starke naked, mounted on horse-backe with their Dartes in their hands, after the fashion of those I saw in Alger: In the Haven or Roade which lyeth before the Fortresse is found great quantitie of very faire Corral, which Andre Doria then had in farme of the King of Alger, for which he paid unto him yeerely great summes of Money. By chance we found there a Ship of Marsellie conducted by a Cursarie, to gather the same, who presented unto the Ambassador, many faire and great branches. The next day being the six and twentieth, after Sunne-set, waying our Ankers, we departed from Bone, and passed from the Gulfe, which continueth about eighteene miles to the Cape of Rose, and passing further towards the sight of the Iles De la Galite, and des Symboles, there flew a Fish into our Gallie, of the length, colour and bignes of a great Sardin, which before had two great wings, and two lesse behinde; his head and mouth being great according to the proportion of the body: this fish is by the Moores called Indole. And having doubled the Cape Bone, the twenty and eight day we arrived at the Ile of Pantalaree.

*Cape de Rose.  
Galite and  
Symboles.  
A flying Fish.*

*Pantalaree  
anciently  
Paconie.*

This Ile of Pantalaree, which by the Ancients was called

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Paconia, is very Hilly and full of great Rocks. There groweth great quantitie of Cotton, Capers, Figges, Mellons and Reisins: and throughout the Ilands is full of Cisternes. There are also many small Houses very anciently builded within the ground (made like unto Caves) made by the Moores in the time they possessed the Iland: along the Sea side are found Stones being blacke, and glistering like unto fine Jet, and certaine rough Stones. They have no Horses, but of Oxen great store, with the which they do labour and till the ground, how well there groweth no Corne. Of which they furnish themselves out of the Ile of Sicilia, unto which they are subject. But well there groweth certaine other Graine and Herbes of small estimation. There groweth a small Tree like unto Nerte: which the Moores called, Vero; and the Sicilians, Stinco, bringing forth a small round fruit, which at the first is red, and being ripe, waxeth blacke. Of which, the Inhabitants of the Iland (which are very poore) make Oyle, which they use as well to burne in their Lampes, as to eate: and the Women after having washed their heads, doe anoint their haire with it to make it grow long and faire: As well the men as women are of nature good Swimmers, as by experience we saw by a woman of the Countrey, bringing a great Basket with Fruit, entred into the Sea, and swimming, brought the same to sell in our Galley. This Iland containeth thirty miles in length, and in breadth about ten miles.

*Oyle made of  
Stinco.*

*The Women of  
this Countrey  
very good  
Swimmers.*

The thirtieth day of the same moneth of July, we departed from Pantalaree with such a favourable wind: that the first day of August, being passed the Ile of Goze, we arrived about the evening in the Road of Malta, where incontinent we were visited by the Knights Parisot and Villegaignon, and of many others of divers Nations. And after the Ambassador had given to understand to the great Master his comming, the chaines of the Haven being opened with salutation accustomed of the one side and other, we entred into the Haven, upon the sides whereof were with the afore named, divers other Knights

[II. vi. 878.]

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come thither in the behalfe of the grand Master (of birth a Spaniard) named Omede, which received the Ambassador, and presented unto him a Mulet, on which he lighted, and accompanied him to the great Hall of the Castle, where the grand Master with divers Knights attended him, and having done reverence unto him, and declared part of his authorisation, the night approaching, taking his leave returned to his Gallies. The next day he was by the great Master bidden to a sumptuous dinner, unto the which all the ancient and notable Knights of the Religion were also bidden and assembled, and there was openly rehearsed, how that certaine dayes before Sinan Basha, Captaine Generall of the Turkes army had taken and sacked the Castle of the Towne of Augusta in Sicilia, and that he from thence arriving in a Port of Malta called Mechetto, neere unto that of the Castle, put his men there on land to over-run, ravish and spoyle all whatsoever they should find for their advantage, which they executed most cruelly, as such barbarous people in like affaires are accustomed to doe. But a most valiant and well advised Knight a Spaniard, named Guimeran, Captaine of one of the Gallies of the Religion, who could not abide such insolency, and secretly assembling certaine number of Souldiers, did by ambushes and other meanes so distresse them, that after having taken and slaine such as fell into his laps, made them to remoove from that place: but notwithstanding did not desist of their enterprise: for from thence they went to the Road of S. Paul where they landed their Ordnance to assiege the City, whereof they got the Suburbs, and framed their Trenches to make the battery. And forsomuch, as they could not atchieve the end of their enterprise (by reason as well of the roughnesse of the place being full of Rocks, as seeing their men faile them, dying through extreme heat) they resolved to remove their siege, and to imbarke themselves with their Ordnance, having slaine, taken and sacked all that they met withall at advantage. From

*Goze sacked.* thence they went to the Ile of Goze, being very neere and

*Road of S.  
Paul.*

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subject to the Ile of Malta, which they sacked, and by deceitfull composition tooke the Castle, leading the people both men, women and children as slaves into miserable captivity: being in number sixe thousand and three hundreth. The Knight de Villegaignon in his Treaty which he hath made of the warres of Malta, doth recite a History no lesse lamentable then full of dispaire, and unnaturall cruelty: and is of a Sicilan which in that place had dwelled of long time, and there married a wife, by whom he had two faire daughters then, being in state to be married, who seeing his last calamity approaching, because he would not in his presence see his wife and his daughters ravished and violated, and to be brought in shamefull servitude, and to deliver them from all shame and bondage, having called them into his house, first slew with his sword his two daughters, and afterwards their mother. And this done, with a Harquebuse and a Crossebow bent (as cleane bereft of sences) made towards his enemies, of whom he slew twaine at the first encounter, afterwards fighting a while with his sword, being invironed with the multitude of the Turkes, brought himselfe to the end of his most unhappy life. Behold the summary of the miseries happened through the Turkes in few dayes in the Iles of Sicila, Malta, and Goze. After which things the Bascha caused his army with the whole booty and prey to embarke, and removed the seven and twenty of July towards Barbary, to assiege the Castle of Tripoli.

The sixt of August we came to Tripoli, a City which Charles the fifth had given in keeping to the Knights of Malta, and then besieged by Sinan Basha. Where having well considered the placing of the Campe, the Towne and Castle, we returned to the Bascha, with whom the Ambassador talked a while, and in the meane while I went to see the market of the Turkes (which they call Basar) being hard by where the poore Christians of Sicil, Malta, and Goze, were sold unto those that most offered for them, the last inhausers, being permitted unto those that bought them (as the ancient Custome of the Orientall

*Sixe thousand  
and three hun-  
dred prisoners  
taken.*

*A pitifull  
History.*

*A strange  
cruelty.*

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*Manner to  
search the  
Christian  
slaves that  
come to be sold.  
A Scorpion.*

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Barbarians is) to strip them starke naked, and to make them goe, to the intent to see if they have any naturall impediment in their bodies, visiting afterwards their teeth and eyes, as though they had beene horses, and standing there, I saw creeping upon the ground a Scorpion of yellow colour, being of length more then a long finger. The same day the Turkes brought their Ordnance and Gabions unto the Trenches, which Gabions are made of great Plankes of three inches, which they carry upon their Gallies or Shippes to serve them when they have need of them: for when they will batter any place, they set them in the ground in forme of Baskets. Afterwards being set in rankes, they fill them with earth, and is a very commodious invention, for the shot which can but slippering passe over it, and can doe no hurt nor dammage. The Turkes having in the night placed their Gabions, and their Ordnance ready to the Battery, did the next day following being the eight of August, begin to shoot at the Castle with great furie, which was not left unanswered, and every houre some slaine.

[II. vi. 879.]

The besieged sent to the Basha, if he would receive certaine of them to treat of some good accord touching the giving over of the Castle, whereunto the Bascha lightly consenting, was in all diligence dispatched a brave Spaniard, named Guivare, and a Knight of Majorque, to offer unto the Bascha the Castle with the Artillery and Munition, so as he would furnish them of ships to bring them with bagge and baggage safely to Malta: to whom summarily was answered, that (forasmuch as, as yet they had not deserved any grace, presuming to be so bold as to keepe so small a place against the armie of the highest Prince on the earth) if they would pay the whole charges of the armie, he would gladly agree to the matter proponed, or if they would not thereunto consent (as it became them) that for their recompence, all they within the Castle should continue slaves and prisoners: notwithstanding, if they incontinently and without delay, did surrender the place he would exempt out of them two hundreth. Where-



upon, the messengers returning in dispaire of any further grace, was stayed by Drogot and Salariaiz, with flattering words, and fayned promises, that they would endeavour so much as in any wise lay in them, to make the Bascha condescend to a better and more gracious composition: for they feared that the assieged through dispaire, would resolve (as their extreame refuge) to defend themselves even to the last man. And incontinent went to the Bascha, to declare unto him his oversight, in refusing those which of their owne voluntary came to surrender themselves into his hands, and that to put them out of doubt and dispayre, he ought with all mildnesse to agree unto all that they demanded. For after he had the Castle, and all the men under his authoritie, he might afterwards dispose of them, as he should thinke good. The Bascha finding this counsell good, caused the two messengers to be called againe unto him, declaring unto them with fained and dissembling words, that at the instance and request of Drogot and Salariaiz there present, inclining unto their request, he did discharge them of all their costs and charges of the armie, swearing unto them (the better to deceive them) by the head of his Lord and his owne, inviolably to observe all that which he had promised unto them, which they (too easily) beleaved, and forthwith went to declare the same unto the Governour and others within the Castle.

The Bascha the better to atchieve to his enterprise, sent forth after the Deputie aforesaid, a Turke (one of the most subtile to his mind, that he could choose) to whom he gave expresse charge to perswade the Governour to come with him, to conclude and treat concerning the giving over, and for the vessels which should bee necessary for their conduct to Malta, and that if hee made difficultie to come, he should make a semblance as though hee would remaine there in hostage for him, and that above all things hee should have an eye to consider of the strength and assurance of the assieged, and of the disposition of all things there, which the Turke could execute so finely, that the

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*A good and  
wise answer  
of Vallier.*

*Vallier sent to  
the Gallies  
with irons  
upon him.*

Governour by the counsell of those that had perswaded him to surrender, notwithstanding the reasons of warres, and duetie of his office, forbade him in such manner to abandon the place of his charge, resolved upon so small an assurance of the Bascha, who having rigorously reproached his timerity, said unto him: that forsomuch as he had given his word, that if he would pay the charges of the armie, he would let them go with bagge and baggage, otherwise hee would discharge but two hundred, whereat Vallier being greatly mooved, answered, that it was not that which with the Deputie of the Castle he had agreed unto: But seeing he would doe none otherwise, that it would please him to suffer him to returne to the place for to have the advise and deliberation of the assieged, which he could not obtaine, but it was onely permitted unto him, to send backe the Knight that he had brought with him, to make report of these pittious newes unto the assieged; and on the other party, Vallier was sent to the Gallie with Irons on his legges. They of the Castle having understood the Premisses, were greatly afraid of the mischiefe, which they perceived approaching towards them, and could take none other resolution, then the next day in the morning earely to returne the said Knight to the Bascha, to know whether they should looke for no better. But as soone as he was come before him, the Governour was brought in, of whom the Bascha asked, which of both he would choose, either to pay the expences of the armie, or that he and all they of the Castle would remaine prisoners, to whom he answered, that a slave had none other authoritie then that which by his master was given unto him, and that having lost, besides his libertie, the power to command if any thing were yet reserved in him, could not counsell him to command to agree unto any thing but that which was concluded with the delegates, which the Bascha hearing, for feare that such an answer should not come to the knowledge of the assieged, and that it should cause them desperately to fight it out, having taken counsell of his Captaines, tooke the Governour by

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the hand, and with a smiling and dissembling countenance said unto him, that without any doubt he would as he had promised them, set them at free liberty: and that therefore without fearing any thing, hee would cause them all to come out of the Castle: but the Governour, because he had before beene deceived, would not trust to his words, but said unto him, that he should command him that was come from the Castle, for that he knew they would doe never a whit the more for him. So that the Bascha turning towards the Knight, commanded him that he forthwith should goe unto him, and cause them to come foorth: swearing unto them by the head of his great Lord, and his owne, that they should all be delivered and set at liberty, according to the first conventions agreed upon. Which the Knight beleaving, went to report unto them these good newes: which they received with such joy, that without any further care or consideration of their misse-hap so neere, and prepared for them, they ran to the prease with their wives, children, and best moveables, preasing who should first goe forth. But they were not so soone issued, but were cleane spoyled, and of the enemies, part of the Knights were sent to the Gallies, and the rest to the Bascha: who beeing by the Knight Vallier admonished of his faith, which hee had twice given, answered, that there was no promise to be kept with dogges, and that they had first violated their Oath with the great Lord, unto whom at the giving over of the Rhodes, they had sworne that they never would take on armes against the Turkes. The Castle being taken and spoyled, and about two hundreth Moores of that Countrey that had served the Knights, cut in peeces, with great cries and shouts, rejoycing of their victory, they discharged a great peale of Ordnance.

[II. vi. 88o.]

*Faith and promise broken.*

Although the houses and buildings within the Towne be ruined, yet it is invironed with very faire and strong wals, accompanied with a great number of Turrets, double Ditches and false breaches, and the same are on the three parts invironed with the sea, and within them are very

*Tripoli described.*

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*An Arch  
triumphal.*

good Wels and Fountaines. We saw in the midst of the Towne an Arch triumphall of white Marble with foure faces upon foure pillars of Corinth foure square, being graven in the Front that looketh towards the East (by excellent Sculpture) a Chariot drawn by two great Griffins, and within it was Victory sitting with two wings: Toward the West was graven a Chariot, whereupon was sitting Pallas, and about the edge were written divers Romane letters, but were so ruined, that scarce they were to be knowne. Notwithstanding, by that which can be read, we understand, that they were made in the time of P. Lentulus, which is a good witnesse to beleeeve that this City, as before I have said, was builded by the Romanes. The inside of the Arch was full of divers inrichments, and above after the fashion of a foure-square Turret: and two other faces looking towards the North and South, were cut as from the upper part of the body unto the girdlestead without any heads, two great figures of the overcome. All the rest was set foorth with all sorts of weapons in forme of Trophee, not farre from thence was seene a great foure-square place, invironed with many great and high Pillars in two rankes, after the manner of a Porch, and neere that are the destructions of a high Tower, which in times past was (as a Moore of that Countrey told me) the great Temple or Mosque of the Citie: there are a number more of antiquities ruined. The Chiaous being come was sent by the Bascha, we returned towards the Castle, but might not at that time enter in all, because the Bascha had given commandement, that there should not enter with the Ambassadour above five or sixe at the most, which were Sant Veran de Fleury, de Montenard, Batolomy and the Dragoman, and I: at the entry we met with Morataga and the Capitaine which had the charge of the Castle, which caused us to be brought upon the Rampards, to the end we might the better view and consider of all things, and having seene both above and below, we perceived for certaine, that all things were well repaired and furnished, and well appointed

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*Munitions of  
warre resting  
within the  
Castle.*

with sixe and thirty peecees of Ordnance, as well small as great, and that there was a great number of Pikes, and pots to cast fire, abundance of all kind of victuals and other Munitions, a good Well and Fountaine: and that at the time when the siege was laid to it, there was as well of Knights as Souldiers of divers Nations, about sixe hundred, and the best Gunners of the world, it is an everlasting shame to them that so faint-heartedly surrendred the same unto those barbarous people without any warlike reason. All which having well considered, with a heavy mind we returned againe to our Gallies, whither incontinent the Bascha sent to desire the Ambassador that the next day he would come to his solemne dinner, which he pretended to make for joy of his victory, and taking of the Castle, and that he would bring Vallier with him, which he would not refuse, thinking by such occasion to recover the rest of the two hundred Knights and Souldiers which were yet to be delivered: and therefore the day following, being the sixteenth day of August, 1551. accompanied by the Governour Vallier, the Knight de Seur, Cotignac, Captaine Coste, Montenard and me, went towards Bascha, being within the Ditch against the breach of the Castle, where for a magnificency were set up two faire Pavillions, the one for him, joyning unto a very faire Fountaine: and the other for the Ambassador and his company: and so soone as he had sent his presents, as well to the Bascha, as to others his familiars (which of old time hath beene the manner and custome that they that have to do with these Barbarians must observe) he was brought unto the Pavillion that was prepared for him, and forthwith served with all magnificence, honour, and superfluity of meats as well of flesh as fish, diversely dressed according unto their fashion: and with wines very excellent that they had found within the Castle, and this service was done with noyse of all their instruments, and by Officers in number above one hundred, apparelled for the most part in long Gownes of fine cloth of Gold, tuffed or figured, and the other of Velvet and Crimson Damaske,

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

[II. vi. 881.]

*A cruell sacrifice upon the person of John Chabas a Gunner of the Castle.*

and divers others colours. The Bascha was no sooner set downe, but all the Ordnance of the Gallies, Foists and Galliot of the army (being in all one hundred and forty, besides the great Gallion and two Mahumez) was discharged, with such a noyse and thundring, that it seemed the heavens and skies did shake. The table being taken up, the Ambassador and Governour Vallier entred into the Pavillion of the Bascha, which in the end agreed to deliver the two hundred men which he had promised: and moreover, gave twenty unto the Ambassador upon promise, that he should cause to be released the thirty Turkes taken at Malta, at the landing of the army. But the most part of them that were delivered, were Spaniards, Sicilians and Calabres, and few French-men: for the most part of them were put to the ranke of criminels forsworne: that day were brought into our Gallies, the Coffers of Vallier, within which were found certaine apparell, a sacke with money, and a cup of silver, the rest which he said to be more worth then two thousand Crownes, the Turkes had taken away and spoiled: besides, two Pavillions which he esteemed worth three hundred Crownes. The Turkes having in their hands an ancient Gunner of the Castle, named John de Chabas, borne within the Towne of Romance in Daulphine (to the end that their feast of victory should not be unfurnished of some sacrifice of cruelty) for that with a Canon he had shot off the hand of the Clerke generall of the army, brought him into the Towne: and having cut off his hands and his nose, they put him quicke into the ground even to the girdle stead, and there with a cruelty was persecuted and shot at with arrowes, and in the end for to accomplish the execution of his glorious martyrdom, they cut his throat. About eight a clocke in the evening, were lighted upon all the Gallies, Galliot, Foists, & other vessels, all along upon the Tackels, Yeards, and other ropes and poupes, in every of them above three hundred candles, with cries and shouts accustomed, and sound of drums and other instruments. To make an end of all their triumphs, they againe

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discharged all their Ordnance. The next day being the seventeenth, the Bascha sent to be presented unto the Ambassador a gowne of cloth of Gold tised, and with the same his leave to depart, which he so long had desired : and was not received without a present given him that brought it, and to divers other Officers of the Bascha, which on all sides came running one after another, as a sort of Hounds, to have their fee and share in the Game, for they are the most barbarous, covetous, and cruell Nation of the world, and in whom there is neither truth nor fidelity, never observing the one halfe of that they promise : and yet men must alwayes bee giving to them.

### Chap. V.

A large Voyage in a Journall or briefe Reportary of all occurrents, hapning in the Fleet of ships sent out by the King his most excellent Majestie, as well against the Pirats of Algiers, as others ; the whole body of the Fleet, consisting of eighteene Sayle. Sixe of his Majesties ships, ten Merchants ships, two Pinnaces. Under the command of Sir Robert Mansel Knight, Vice-Admirall of England, and Admirall of that Fleet : and a Counsell of Warre appointed by his Majestie. Written by one employed in that Voyage, formerly published, and heere contracted.



Sir Robert Mansell, Knight. Sir Richard Hawkins, Knight. Sir Thomas Button, Knight. Sir Henrie Palmer, Knight. Captaine Arthur Manwaring, Esquire. Captaine Thomas Love, Esquire. Captaine Samuel Argall, Esquire. Edward Clerke, Esquire, and Secretary to the Counsell of Warre.

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The names of the Captaines, Ships, their burdens, number of men and Ordnance in his Majesties sixe Ships.

**F**irst, Sir Robert Mansell Admirall in the Lyon, burden sixe hundred Tuns, men two hundred and fiftie, Peeces of Brasse Ordnance forty. Secondly, Sir Richard Hawkins Vice-Admirall in the Vantguard, burden sixe hundred and sixtie Tuns, men two hundred and fifty, Brasse Ordnance forty. Thirdly, Sir Thomas Button Reare-Admirall in the Raine-bow, burden sixe hundred and sixtie Tuns, men two hundred and fifty, Brasse Ordnance forty. Fourthly, Captaine Arthur Manwaring in the Constant Reformation, burden sixe hundred and sixtie Tuns, men two hundred and fifty, Brasse Ordnance forty. Fifthly, Sir Henry Palmer in the Anthelope, burden foure hundred Tuns, men one hundred and sixty, Brasse Ordnance thirty and foure. Sixtly, Captaine Thomas Love in the Convertine, burden five hundred Tun, men two hundred and twenty, Brasse Ordnance sixe and thirty.

[II. vi. 882.]

### In the Merchants Ships.

**F**irst, Captaine Samuel Argall in the Golden Phenix, burden three hundred tunnes, men one hundred and twentie, Iron Ordnance, foure and twentie. Secondly, Captaine Christopher Harries in the Samuel, burden three hundred tunnes, men one hundred and twentie, Iron Ordnance two and twentie. Thirdly, Sir John Fearne in the Mary-Gold, burden two hundred and sixtie tunne, men one hundred, Iron Ordnance one and twentie. Fourthly, Captaine John Pennington in the Zouch Phenix, burden two hundred and eightie tunnes, men one hundred and twentie, Iron Ordnance sixe and twentie. Fifthly, Captaine Thomas Porter in the Barberie, burden two hundred tunnes, men eightie, Iron Ordnance eighteene. Sixtly, Sir Francis Tanfield in the Centurion, burden two hundred tunnes, men one hundred, Iron Ordnance two



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and twentie. Seventhly, Sir John Hamden in the *Primrose*, burden one hundred and eightie tunnes, men eightie Iron Ordnance eighteene. Eightly, Captaine Eusabey Cave in the *Hercules*, burden three hundred tunnes, men one hundred and twentie, Iron Ordnance foure and twentie. Ninthly, Captaine Robert Haughton in the *Neptune*, burden two hundred and eightie tunnes, men one hundred and twentie, Iron Ordnance one and twentie. Tenthly, Captaine John Chidley in the *Merchant Bonaventure*, burden two hundred and sixtie tunnes, men one hundred and ten, Iron Ordnance, three and twentie. Eleventhly, Captaine George Raymond in the *Restore*, burden one hundred and thirtie tunnes, men fiftie, Iron Ordnance twelve. Twelfthly, Captaine Thomas Harbert in the *Marmaduke*, burden one hundred tunnes, men fiftie, Iron Ordnance twelve.

The Fleet thus furnished set sayle in the sound of Plimmouth, the twelfth of October in the morning, in the yeare 1620.

The one and thirtieth of October, in the morning wee turned into the Road of Gibraltar, where were riding at anchor two of the King of Spaines ships of warre, the Vice-Admirall of a Squadron with the Kings Armes in his fore-top and another, who so soone as they perceived us weighed their Anchors, set sayle, and comming Lee-ward of our Admirall, strooke his flag, saluting him with their small shot and great Ordnance, after haled him with voyces; our Admirall striking his flag, answered them with voyces, gave them his Ordnance and small shot, all the Fleet following in order: this done, we saluted the Towne with our Ordnance, the Towne doing the like by answering us. Our Admirall being at an Anchor, the Spanish Captaine accompanied with other Gentlemen, came aboard our Admirall, who told us that there were great store of Pirats abroad, and that two of the Pirats shippes had fought with seven Spanish Gallies, and had slaine them foure hundred men, and that they had beene at Steria a small Towne with thirty sayle of ships and

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ten Gallies, and had taken it, and carryed away divers Prisoners, and that they had threatned to take Gibraltar; there the Admirall sent his sicke men ashore, having houses and lodgings provided for them, amongst whom was Captaine John Fenner who here dyed.

The second of November, about seven in the morning, having a fresh gale at North-west, the Admirall with the rest of the Fleet weighed Anchor and standing off, met North the Reare-Admirall of the Spanish Fleet, who saluting us North his Ordnance and wee stood on our course North-east and by East, being bound for Malhaga. The third, about two in the morning, wee came to an Anchor in Malhaga Road, and about eight of the clocke wee saluted the Towne with our Ordnance and divers Vollies of small shot; here divers Spaniards of account came aboard our ships whom we kindly entertayned, here we likewise expected Letters but heard not of any.

The sixth, our Admirall dispatched a Gentleman, one Master John Duppa, with Letters to the English Embassador at the Court of Spaine, to let him know of our arrivall and proceedings. This day about eleven of the clocke, the Fleet weighed Anchor and set sayle the wind at North-west. But before wee weighed, our Admirall gave order to the Fleet to divide themselves into three Squadrons, the Admirall Squadron was kept sixe leagues from the shore, with pendants in the mayne tops for their signes; the Vice-Admirals Squadron three leagues without him, on his Bow with pendants on his fore-tops; the Reare-Admiral three leagues within him on his quarter with pendants on their Misen tops, who deviding themselves according to their order steered away East and by South along the shoare, being bound for Allicant.

The seventh, about sixe in the morning, it being calme, and all the Fleet together, the Admirall tooke in all her sayles, and lay a hull, all the Fleet doing the like, the Admirall put out his flag of generall Councell which was Saint George. Whereupon all the Captaines and Masters repayred aboard him, where it was concluded, and thought

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meet that two ships of least draught of water, and one Pinnasse should hale the shoare close aboard to see if any Pirats were at an Anchor, eyther in Bayes or Coves, and to free the shoare; here likewise was given a word wherby to know our owne Fleet from others, if any strangers should chance to fall amongst us in the night, the word was Greenwich Tower. The Councell ended, and every man repayred aboard his owne shippe, in the evening the whole Fleet in their order sayled alongst towards Cape Degat. [II. vi. 883.]

The eight and ninth dayes having but little wind, we gayned not much way. The tenth, in the morning, falling with the point of Muttrill, and having the wind Southerly, the whole Fleet put into the Road and there anchored.

The nineteenth, in the morning, we came to Anchor in Allicant Road, where the whole Fleet saluted the Towne with their Ordnance, and the Towne us: heere our Admirall having provided houses for his sicke men, as before hee had done at Gibraltar, sent thirty seven sicke men of his owne ships Company ashoare, here likewise he dispatched a Gentleman, one Master Walter Long to Carthagera, with Letters of advice; but all this while could receive no such Letters as we expected.

The five and twentieth, beeing fitted with Wine, Water, and other such necessaries as wee wanted, the wind being Northerly, the whole Fleet set sayle, leaving behind the Good Will, out of whom our Admirall had taken most of her men to supply his wants for those sicke hee left ashoare, and being under sayle we shaped our course South-west for Algier.

The seven and twentieth, about ten in the morning, wee came to Anchor in Algier Road in seven and twentie fathome water, out of command of the Towne or Castle, the Admirall and Reare-Admirall wearing white Ancients on their Pooops, the rest of the Fleet wearing no Ancients at all, going in the whole Fleet, saluted the Towne with their Ordnance, but the Towne gave us none againe. *Algier.*

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The eight and twentieth, our Admirall sent a Gentleman ashore, one Captaine Squibe, with a white flag of Truce in his Boat, to give the Vice-Roy to understand the cause of our comming; hereupon the Vice-Roy sent a Boat aboard our Admirall, with a white flag and foure men in her, one principall man in the Towne who delivered our Admirall, signifying the Vice-Roy, had received command from the Grand Seignior, to use us with all respect, and that our men might have the free libertie of the shoare to buy fresh victuals or whatsoever they wanted; they promised our Admirall if on the morrow hee would send any Gentleman of qualitie ashoare with the Kings Majesties Letters, that upon the shooting off a Peece of Ordnance, according to our Admirals demand, he should receive sufficient Hostages aboard for his safetie: this night the Pirats brought in three Prizes, one Flemming, the other two Englishmen, the one a Plimmouth man, and the other of North Yarmouth.

The third of December, came sixe of the King of Spaines ships into the Road, the Admirall striking his flag, saluted our Admirall with small shot and Ordnance, this done, he came aboard our Admirall in his Boat, and told him hee came in pursuite of certaine Pirats, who had taken divers of their men, who being in a ship of seven hundred tuns neere Carthagen, in fight with a Turkish Pirat, had boorded her, entred her men and taken her, had not their owne ship unfortunately falne on fire with a mischance hapning, they were forced to forsake the Turkes ship to save their owne, and so lost both, for being not able to quench the fury of the fire, were forced to yeeld themselves to the slavery of the Turkes to save their lives, beeing in all three hundred men, whereof thirty perished in the fire. This Spanish Admirall sayling neere the Towne, the Turkes let flye seventie foure great shot at him, and hee gave them some sixteene backe in exchange, but the distance betweene them was so farre, that the shot falling short, no harme was done on eyther side.



**SIR THOMAS BUTTON**



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The fourth, our Admirall received from the Towne an answer of the Kings Letters.

The sixth, after long debating, finding the Turkes perfidious and fickle, as well in detayning our Messenger, who delivered his Majesties Letters, notwithstanding we had sufficient Hostages for him, as in breaking all other promises: in the end it was agreed thus, upon leaving a Consull with them, they would let our Messenger come aboard againe; whereupon the Admirall sent a common man, well clothed, by the name of a Consull, whom they received with good respect, and sending our Messenger aboard, received their owne pledges, and delivered us some forty poore Captives, which they pretended was all they had in the Towne, this was all wee could draw from them. The seventh, in the morning, our Admirall sent a Letter with instruction to our Councell, with another Letter to the Bashaw, to let him know how ill wee tooke his perfidious dealing.

The eight, in the morning, our Admirall and all the rest of the Fleet weighed Anchor and set sayle.

The tenth day at night, the wind shifted to the South and East, and so to the East.

The fourteenth, came to Anchor in the Road of Alacotha, on the North side of the said Iland, we found this to be a very good place, yeelding us Wood, Water and Ballast, whereof we had great need, the people very kind courteous, bringing us great store of all manner of provisions which we bought at easie rates, whereby wee supplied our wants, and releevd our sicke men, whereof we had great store in our Fleet.

The foure and twentieth, in the morning, the Fleet weighed Anchor and set sayle.

The five and twentieth, about nine at night, came eight or nine sayle of Turkes into our Fleet, whom so soone as [II. vi. 884.] we discovered, we chased them and made shot at them, but by reason it was a darke night, and that they sayled better then our ships, they escaped us.

The sixe and twentieth, about three in the afternoone,

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wee put into Alicant Road, hoping there to receive Letters of advice, else some newes of a supply of victuals out of England, but missed both.

The seven and twentieth at night the Reare-Admirals Squadron went out to Sea in pursuit of two Turkish Pirats, who had taken about three houres before two Flemmish ships; the Flemmings quitting their ships, saved themselves in their Boats.

The fourth of January at night, the Constant Reformation and the Golden Phenix had order to goe to Sea, to seeke two Pirats ships, which we heard were on the Christian shoare. The fifth at night, they returned into the Road againe, but met not with any.

The sixth, the Vice-Admirall with his Squadron set sayle for Malhaga, to see if they could heare of any newes of a supply of victuals, or whether the two Princes which were long expected were come thither. The twelfth, Master John Duppa came from Carthagenā, bringing with him a packet of Letters of advice sent out of England, bearing date the fourteenth of December, he signified that there was sixe monethes victuals sent out of England, for a supply of his Majesties ships, and that they were at Malhaga with the two Pinnasses, this night the Reare-Admirall with his Squadron was sent to Sea to see if he could meet with certaine Pirats, which we had intelligence of. The thirteenth, the Reformation, the Samuel, and the Restore, put to Sea, to see if they could meet with any Pirats. The eighteenth, the Reformation with the other ships returned into the Road, where we found the Reare-Admirall with his Squadron likewise returned, but met no Pirats.

The one and twentieth, there came a Flemmish Boat with fiftene Flemmings in her aboard our Admirall, who being chased by the Turkish Pirats off of Cape Martine, left their shippe and saved themselves by their Boat, this night was the Anthelope with other ships sent out to see if they could meete with them. The foure and twentieth,



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the Anthelope with the other ships returned into the Road, but met with none.

The five and twentieth, our Admirall beeing invited to the English Consuls house went ashoare, where at his arrivall he was entertayned with small shot and Ordnance both from the Towne and Castle, and at night with Fire-workes, running of Horses, shooting of Ordnance, and other sports; this day Captaine John Roper was dispatched with Letters for England. The sixe and twentieth, our Admirall returned aboard the Towne, giving him a friendly farewell with their Ordnance.

The seven and twentieth, the Admirall with the rest of the Fleet set sayle, leaving the Marmaduke behind, whose Captaine and Master were both sicke ashoare. The eight and twentieth at midnight, we met with seven sayle of Flemmings ships of Warre, neere Cape Paul, under the command of Captaine Haughton Admirall of Zealand, who the next morning, after he had saluted our Admirall with Ordnance, came aboard in his Boat, he told our Admirall he had two and twentie ships of Warre under his charge, whom he had divided into Squadrons, imploying them some without the Streights, and some within. The one and thirtieth, wee came to an anchor againe in Alicant Road.

The first of February, the Reare-Admirall put to Sea with foure shippes, to see if he could meet with any Pirats, and this day dyed Captaine Eusabey Cave, Captaine of the Hercules, and the Admirall disposed the command of the same ship to Captaine Alexander Bret. The fifth the Reare-Admirall returned with the other foure ships but had met none.

The sixth, the wind being Easterly, the Fleet weighed Anchor about midnight, shaping our course for Malhaga, during the time of our staying here we refreshed our sicke men ashoare, having convenient houses provided for them in the fields Gardens, with carefull people to attend them, providing them such necessaries as they should need. The Constant, for her part, sent ashore ninetie two persons,

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who as they recovered their strength were sent for aboard, yet notwithstanding all their care, at their departure they were forced to leave behind them fortie two desperately ill, the Admirall taking order both for them and others, that they should bee carefully provided for untill the Fleets returne.

The sixteenth, came into the Road the Vice-Admirall and his Squadron with the two Pinnasses which we so long expected out of England, the one the Mercurie, of the burden of two hundred and fortie tunnes, sixtie five men, and twentie peeces of Brasse Ordnance, under the command of Captaine Phineas Pet; the other the Spy, of the burden of one hundred and sixtie tunnes, fiftie five men, and eighteene Peeces of Brasse Ordnance, under the command of Captaine Edward Gyles: there came also two Merchants ships with a supply of victuals for his Majesties ships.

The eighteenth, the Zouch Phenix, the Hercules, the Neptune, and the Spy put to Sea, with order to ply betweene Gibraltar and Shutte point. The nineteenth, the Anthelope put to Sea, and with those ships which went out the day before, had order to ride in Shutie Road, to see if they could descry any Pirats come into the Streights.

[II. vi. 885.] The three and twentieth, the Reare-Admirall put to Sea with five other shippes, the Golden Phenix, the Samuel, the Centurion, the Marigold, and the Restore, with order to ride in Tansey Bay, where they were to attend the comming in of divers Pirats whom we heard to be without the Streights mouth.

The foure and twentieth, the Anthelope with the rest of the shippes returned, bringing with them a prize being a small Frenchman, which had fiftie Buts of Oyle in her, and divers Moores and Jewes, men, women and children, Passengers bound from Tituon to Algier, all the Turkes saving themselves in their Boat: this day also came into the Road Captaine Gyles Penne, in a ship of Bristoll, from Tituon Road, bringing a Letter from the Mogoden to our Admirall, and two Moores who treated with him

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concerning the redemption of their people, whom our ships had taken, offering for so many Moores, so many English, whom they held in the Towne as slaves, having bought them of the Turkes Pirats. The seven and twentieth, the Samuel and the Centurion returned into the Road from Tansey, then also went out the Anthelope, the Zouch Phenix, the Barbarie, the Neptune and the Restore, with order to ride at Shutey, to see if they could discover any Pirats comming into the Streights, the wind being Westerly. The eight and twentieth, the wind likewise Westerly, the Reformation having taken in some of the Captives, had order to weigh and set sayle for Tituon, to treat with the Moores, and to take in her company the Samuel, the Bonaventure, and the ship of Bristoll, where the same day about noone they came to an Anchor in the Road of Tituon in twelve fathome water, the wind at West.

The fourth of March, Master Ashfield, Minister of the Reformation dyed, much lamented of the whole company, of whom in the extreame of their sicknesses they had received much comfort. The fifth, having a faire gale at South-east, our Admirall with the rest of the Fleet weighed Anchor, and set sayle for Gibraltar, having concluded nothing with the Mogoden. The sixth, wee came to an Anchor in Gibraltar Road, where wee found our Vice-Admirall with his Squadron.

The thirteenth, we came to an Anchor in Malhaga Road.

The eight and twentieth, about eight in the morning, the Admirall and Reare-Admirall set sayle for Alicant.

The second of Aprill dyed Captaine Manwaring. The fourteenth, about three in the afternoone wee came to an Anchor in Alicant Road, where wee found our Admirall with the rest of the Fleet: here our Admirall had hyred a Pollacre about the burden of one hundred and twentie tunne, for that she was reported to bee an excellent Sayler, and likewise bought three Brigandines which rowed with nine Oares on a side: hee also hyred a house wherein hee

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made divers workes for the firing of the ships within the Mould of Algier.

The one and twentieth, we received Letters out of England, by a Post sent from Malhaga, signifying a remaynder of victuals, which wee expected, was arrived at Malhaga. The five and twentieth, about nine in the morning, the whole Fleet sayle for Alicant Road, beeing bound for Firma terra, to supply our wants for wood. The eight and twentieth in the evening, having fitted our selves with wood, we set sayle for Mayorke to take in water. The nine and twentieth, in the after-noone, we came to an Anchor in Mayorke Road. The Towne of Mayorke is large and well fortified, the people industrious, both men, women and children given to labour, loving and courteous to strangers: heere wee found all manner of victuals in plentie and at easie rates. Their chiefe Merchandise are Oyle, Wood, and Cheese, whereof the Countrey affoordeth plentie.

*They come  
againe to  
Algier.*

The one and twentieth of May, at sixe in the after-noone, we came to an Anchor in Algier Road, order being first given by our Admirall how every ship should berth herselfe.

The ships being come to an Anchor in their orders, our Admirall caused sixe of the Merchants ships presently to weigh, with directions to ply off and on of the Westermost part, keeping as neere the shoare, as conveniently they might, to prevent the comming in of any Pirats betweene the Fleet and the shoare. In the beginning of this night, the Boats and Brigandines appointed for the assistance of two shippes, which our Admirall resolved should that night goe into the Mould, and there to set themselves on fire, being chained and linked to the Pirats ships, repayred aboard our Admirall, there to receive their directions. The manner and preparations for firing of the ships was thus.

First, there were two small ships which we had taken from the Turkes, the one of the burden of an hundred tunnes, the other of sixtie, with great store of fire-workes

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in them. There was layd in them plentie of dry Wood, Wood of Ocham, Pitch, Rozen, Tarre, Brimstone and other Materials fit to take fire: they had likewise in them Chaines and Grapnels of Iron to fasten themselves to the ships which they were to fire: they had also Boats to bring off their men when they had fired the ships: then were there three Brigandines fitted with fire-bals, buckets of wild-fire, and fire Pikes to make their fire-workes fast unto the ships: there was also a Gund-lod fitted with fire-workes, Chaines and Grapnels of Iron; she was to goe into the middest of the ships in the Mould, where fastning her to some ship, was to be set on fire. Shee had likewise with her a Boat to bring off her men. Likewise, there were seven Boates which wee called Boats of rescue, well filled with armed men, who were to rescue and releve the Boats of execution, if they should chance to be pursued by other Boats or Gallies at their comming off. These had also fire-workes in them, to fire the ships which rode without the Mould: these Boats being all aboard, the Admirall sent for most of the Captaines and Masters in the Fleet, to advise whether it were fit to attempt it with Boats and Brigandines, in regard it was little wind, and that Westerly, so that it was impossible for the ships to get in. After some deliberation, it was concluded, that it was not fit, for that the surest and most certaine meanes of firing was by the ships which were to bee made fast to the shippes in the Mould, and to burne with them. Whereupon it was deferred for that time till a fitter opportunitie was offered. The two and twentieth at night, there were like preparations made, but deferred for like reasons. The three and twentieth, in the beginning of the night wee had a fresh gale of wind at South by South-west, continuing the space of two houres or more, with Thunder, Lightning, and some drops of Raine: the two ships weighed, and with the Brigandines and Boats set forwards towards the Mould, but the wind shifting before they came neere, they were forced also to give over for that night.

[II. vi. 886.]

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The foure and twentieth at night, after a great showre of Raine, wee had the wind out of the Bay at South South-west, the weather then cleering up, both the ships and Boats advanced themselves towards the Mould, as before they had done: but comming within lesse then Musket shot of the Moulds head it fell calme, so that the ships could by no meanes get in, the Boats and Brigandines finding that they were discovered, by reason of the brightnesse of the Moone, which was then at full, and hearing it reported by a Christian Captive which did swimme from the Towne the night before to the ships, that the Turkes had left their ships without guard, saving one or two in a ship, as fearing no such attempt from us. And moreover, hearing the Alarum given to the Towne by those which kept watch on the walls, with good resolution went on, but wanting wind to nourish and disperse the fire, the fire-workes tooke no effect at all. In this service were onely sixe men slaine out-right, foure or five dangerously hurt (which not long after dyed) and some thirteene sleightly hurt, yet notwithstanding, the attempt was given under the wals of the Towne, where both small shot and Ordnance played continually upon them: the hurt done our men was their comming off, for that they were got into the Mould before the Towne was risen, and beeing in, the shippes in the Mould defended them both from small shot and Ordnance of the Towne, our Boates still keeping the shippes betweene them and the Towne.

The five and twentieth, there came in foure sayle of Pirates by the Wester-most point of Land, notwithstanding sixe ships were appointed to lye off at that place, for the wind being Westward and a great Current setting to the Eastward our ships were put so farre to lee-ward that they could not prevent the Pirats comming in betweene the shoare and them, but yet the Bonaventure loosed so neere, that there passed some shot betweene her and the Pirats ships, but no hurt done: this night our Admirall and the whole Fleet weighed Anchor and stood off to the Sea.

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The six and twentieth, the fore-part of the day, the wind was shifting to and fro, from the South-east to the South-west; in the after-noon at South, and South South-east hard gale and raynie weather; and at night having the wind shifting at South and South-west, we played off and on all night by a wind.

The eight and twentieth, we had faire weather the wind Westerly, this night the Bonaventure, and the Hercules put a Pirat ashoare, he having an hundred and thirtie Turkes in her, and twelve poore Christians Captives, they were all drowned but twelve Turkes, who got the shoare by swimming.

The one and thirtieth in the morning, our Boates tooke up two Genowayes Captives, who adventured to swimme from the Towne to the ships. They told that the same night our shippes stood off to Sea, there came into the Mould seven of the best ships belonging to Algier, and that if we had stayed they had fallen into our laps. They likewise told us, that the Turkes had Boomed up the Mould, so that it was not possible for eyther shippe or Boate to get in to fire the ships, which were now filled with armed men, besides three Gallies and fifteene Boates which lay continually well fitted without the Mould before the Boome for a Guard, &c.

*The rest of  
this Journall  
contayning  
their returne,  
&c. is for bre-  
vities omitted.  
Among many  
English which  
since the stir-  
ring of this  
Wasps Nest,  
have bin stung,  
we have  
thought fit to  
adde to the  
glory of God,  
and honour of  
the English  
these two  
strange  
deliverances  
following, the  
Stories of two  
ships of Bris-  
tow which  
tooke their  
takers.*

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[II. vi. 887.]

### Chap. VI.

The Relation of the Jacob, a ship of Bristoll, of one hundred and twentie Tunnes, which was about the end of October, 1621, taken by the Turkish Pirats of Argier: and within five dayes after, foure English youths did valiantly overcome thirteene of the said Turkes; and brought the ship to Saint Lucas in Spaine, where they sold nine of the Turkes for Gallie-slaves: with mention of some other like English adventures.



Eere the latter end of October last, 1621. a ship belonging to the Citie of Bristoll, being about the burden of one hundred and twenty Tuns, was met withall and set upon by Turkes or Pirats of Argier, where after a long and sharpe fight (being in the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar) the English ship being opprest with the multitude of their enemies, was taken, their Ordnance, Cables, Anchors, Sailes, Ship and men pillaged, ransacked, and at the mercy of the insulting Barbarians, who to make their worke the surer, tooke all the English-men out of the ship, except foure youths, whose names were John Cooke, William Ling, David Jones, and Robert Tuckey, into which ship the Turkes did put thirteene of their owne men to command the English, and to bring the ship as a prize to Argier; amongst which one of the Pirats was appointed Captaine, being a strong, able, sterne, and resolute fellow.

These foure poore youths being thus fallen into the hands of mercilesse Infidels, began to studie and complot all the meanes they could for the obtaining of their freedoms: First, they considered the lamentable and miserable estates that they were like to be in, as to be



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debard for ever from seeing their friends and Countrey, to be chained, beaten, made slaves, and to eate the bread of affliction in the Gallies, all the remainder of their unfortunate lives, to have their heads shaven, to feed on course dyet, to have hard boords for beds, and which was worse of all, never to be partakers of the heavenly Word and Sacraments.

Thus being quite hopelesse, haplesse, and for any thing they knew, for ever helplesse, they sayled five dayes and nights under the command of the Pirats, when on the fifth night, God in his great mercy shewed them a meanes for their wished for escape, for in the dead of the night, the wind began to arise, and in short space it blew so stiffe that they were enforced to strike both their top Sayles; and at last, it encreased to such a gust or storme, that they must take in their maine Saile, and being unable to doe it themselves, John Cooke and William Ling did call to the Turkes for helpe: whereupon the Captaine himselfe came to helpe them; who standing by the ships side, betweene the foresaid John and David Jones, lending his hand to hale in the saile, the said John and David suddenly tooke him by the breech and threw him over-board, but by fortune hee fell into the bunt of the sayle, where quickly catching hold of a rope, he (being a very strong man) had almost gotten into the ship againe: which John Cooke perceiving, leaped speedily to the Pumpe, and tooke off the Pumpe brake or handle, and cast it to William Ling, bidding him knocke him downe, which he was not long in doing, but lifting up the wooden weapon, he gave him such a palt on the pate, as made his braines forsake the possession of his head, with which his body fell into the Sea.

An Objection may be made here, why the Turke cried not to his fellowes at first for helpe, or how these things could be done, but the rest of his company must either see or heare it: to which I answere, that at Sea a Gust, Flaw, or Storme, hath many times a louder voice then a man; besides, when Mariners doe hale or pull any thing,

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they doe make a noyse, as it were crying ha woet hale men hale, which with the noyse of the wind whizzing and hizzing in the shrowds and cordage, would overcome and drowne the voice or crie of any man whatsoever. Besides, his companions were all busie, some at the mizen, some at the sprit-saile, some to trim the fore-saile, and the night exceeding darke, all these things concurring, and chiefly, God graciously assisting, thus these brave Lads began the businesse luckily.

Nor must I forget Robert Tuckey, who was imployed all this while in a place of maine importance, for he stood at the Helme, and in all the weather guided the Ship; now after the Captaine was thus cashierd, John Cooke ran hastily up the halfe Decke to the Masters Cabin, neere which, were standing six or seven Turkes, but hee being nothing daunted or discouraged for them, slipt roughly by them, and gat out two good Cuttleaxes, or short Swords, one of which he delivered to William Ling, withall saying, courage my fellowes and Countrey-men, God strengthen and assist us; with that, they laid about them so manfully, that they drove the Turkes from place to place in the Ship, and having coursed them from the Poope to the Forecastle, they there valiantly killed two of them, and gave another a dangerous wound or two, who to escape the further fury of their Swords, leap'd suddenly  
[II. vi. 888.] overboord to goe seeke his Captaine. Thus foure of the thirteene Turkes being made sure for doing any harme, they chased and followed the other nine so close, that they (to save themselves) being also many of them, sore hurt and wounded, ranne betweene the Ships Decks; whereupon the English men fastned the Deckes to keepe them under: the Turkes not knowing how to be revenged, ran afterward toward the Helme, and unshipt their Whip-staffe, or as some call it, a Whip-stocke (which is the staffe that a Mariner holds in his hand, when he guides or steeres a Ship) by which meanes the English men were in some distresse, by reason the Ship lay tumbling and rowling unguided in the raging and boystrous billowes of

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the Sea: at last, John Cooke and William Ling got each of them a Musket, which they quickly charged, and went downe where the nine Turkes were, making offers to shoote at them, at which they were much terrified; whereupon they quickly ship'd their Whip-stocke againe, delivering the Helme to Robert Tuckey, and then presently they stowed all the Turkes under the Hatches, where they kept them close till the next morning, and then as they had occasion to use them, they would call up two or three of them at a time, to hale and pull Sheetes, Tackes, Braces, and Boleins, to hoysse and strike Sayles, or any such necessary and laborious imployments; in all which, the English made the Turkes attend them, and directing their course for the Port of Saint Lucas in Spaine, they in short time (by Gods ayde) happily and safely arrived at the said Port, where they sold the nine Turkes for Gally-slaves, for a good summe of money, and as I thinke, a great deale more then they were worth.

Nor doe I write this to the intent that any man should presume that their owne strengths, valour or courage, is sufficient to doe these or the like actions, for they are not ordinary, and therefore man is but made the ordinary instrument of an extraordinary power, and he that shall attribute such things as these to the arme of flesh and bloud, is forgetfull, ingratefull, and in a manner Atheist-call.

One John Fox an expert Mariner, and a good approved and sufficient Gunner, was (in the raigne of Queene Elizabeth) taken by the Turkes, and kept eightene yeeres in most miserable bondage and slavery, at the end of which time, he espied his opportunity (and God assisting him withall) that hee slew his Keeper, and fled to the Seas side, where he found a Gally with one hundred and fifty Captive Christians, which hee speedily waying their Anchor, set Saile, and fell to worke like men, and safely arrived in Spaine; by which meanes, he freed himselfe and a number of poore soules from long and intolerable servitude; after which, the said John Fox came into

*See the History in Hack. Voyages.*

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England, and the Queene (being rightly informed of his brave exploit) did graciously entertaine him for her Seruant, and allowed him a yeerely Pension.

*Cap. Nicholes.*

Captaine Nichols with a Ship of London, called the Dolphin, fought a long and bloudy fight, with many of the Turkish men of warre at one time, at which time hee sunke some of them, slew many of their men, and having his owne Ship exceedingly rent and torne with the Enemies great shot, yet at last it pleased God to deliver him from them, so that hee safely arrived at home.

*Master  
Malam.*

Master William Malam of Rotherhith within these three yeeres was set upon by these Rovers, and after a long fight, being much hurt by the Ordnance of the Turkes (the night comming on) which made the fight to cease, when the Generall of the Pirats past his word, and bound it with an Oath, that if Master Malam would come aboard his Ship all night, that hee should well and safely bee set aboard againe his owne Ship the next morning, upon which word and oath Master Malam went aboard the Turke, and a Merchant with him; but first, before he went, commanded his Mate to watch his opportunitie, and steale away with the Ship in the night, if he could, which fell out as he wished, whereby all the Merchants goods were saved, and the Ship safely arrived here at London: but in the morning, when the Turkes did perceive the English Ship was gone, then would they have put Master Malam and the Merchant that was with him, to death, whereupon he urged him with his oath and promise, which was, that he should come and goe safely, and that if a Christian had made him or any man such a promise, and bound it with a vow, hee would have kept his word. And (that for any thing he knew) his Ship being so dangerously hurt by them, might be sunke in the night, and not escaped away as he imagined. Now whilst they were in this discourse, presently came a Saile in sight, which afterward they found to be a small Scottish Ship bound for England, whom the Turkes quickly tooke, and pillag'd at their pleasure, taking from them their

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Sailes, Cables, Anchors and all things necessary for their use or preservation, and having robd and rifled the poore Scot in that manner, they put Master Malam and the Merchant into her, to trie their fortunes, either to sinke or swim, but it pleased God they safely arrived in the West part of England, where they came home by land sad and disconsolate, because they could not heare any newes of the Ship: but the same night that hee came home, before day, there was happy tidings brought of the Ships safe arrivall into the River of Thames.

( All these things are true upon mine owne knowledge, and these worthy Mariners that have beene so delivered, doe, and ever did, attribute all the meanes of their deliverance to the mighty hand of God; and they are so farre from taking any of these things to their owne praise or glory, that some of them have ever done their best to suppress them from being printed.

### Chap. VII.

[II. vi. 889.]

The wonderful recovery of the Exchange of Bristow, from the Turkish Pirats of Argier, published by John Rawlins, heere abbreviated.



IN the yeere 1621. the first of November, there was one John Rawlins, borne in Rochester, and dwelling three and twenty yeere in Plimmouth, imployed to the strait of Gibraltar, by Master Richard, and Steven Treviles, Merchants of Plimmoth, and fraighted in a Barke, called the Nicholas of Plimmoth, of the burden of forty Tun, which had also in her company another ship of Plimmoth, called the George Bonaventure of seventy Tun burthen, or thereabout; which by reason of her greatnesse beyond the other, I will name the Admirall; and John Rawlins Barke shall, if you please, be the Vice-admirall. These two according to the time of the yeere, had a faire

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passage, and by the eighteenth of the same moneth came to a place at the entring of the straits, named Trafflegar: but the next morning, being in the sight of Gibraltar, at the very mouth of the straits, the watch descried five saile of ships, who as it seemed, used all the means they could to come neere us, and we as we had cause, used the same means to go as farre from them: yet did their Admirall take in both his top sailes, that either we might not suspect them, or that his owne company might come up the closer together. At last perceiving us Christians, they fell from devices to apparent discovery of hostility, and making out against us: we againe suspecting them Pirats, tooke our course to escape from them, and made all the sailes we possibly could for Tirriff, or Gibraltar: but all we could doe, could not prevent their approach. For suddenly one of them came right over against us to wind-ward, and so fell upon our quarter: another came upon our luffe, and so threatned us there, and at last all five chased us, making great speed to surprise us.

Their Admirall was called Callfater, having upon her maine top-saile, two top-gallant sailes, one above another. But whereas we thought them all five to be Turkish ships of warre, we afterwards understood, that two of them were their prizes, the one a smal ship of London, the other of the West-countrie, that came out of the Quactath laden with figges, and other Merchandise, but now subject to the fortune of the Sea, and the captivity of Pirats. But to our businesse. Three of these ships got much upon us, and so much that ere halfe the day was spent, the Admirall who was the best sailer, fetcht up the George Bonaventure, and made booty of it. The Vice-admirall againe being neerest unto the lesser Barke, whereof John Rawlins was Master, shewed him the force of a strong arme, and by his Turkish name, called Villa-Rise, commanded him in like sort to strike his sailes, and submit to his mercy, which not to be gaine-saied nor prevented, was quickly done: and so Rawlins with his Barke was quickly taken, although the Reare-Admirall being the

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worst sayler of the three, called Reggiprise, came not in, till all was done.

The same day before night, the Admirall either loth to pester himselfe with too much company, or ignorant of the commodity was to be made by the sale of English prisoners, or daring not to trust them in his company, for feare of mutinies, and exciting others to rebellion; set twelve persons who were in the *George Bonaventure* on the land, and divers other English, whom he had taken before, to trie their fortunes in an unknowne Country. But *Villa-Rise*, the Vice-Admirall that had taken *John Rawlins*, would not so dispencc with his men, but commanded him and five more of his company to be brought aboard his ship, leaving in his *Barke* three men and his boy, with thirteene *Turkes* and *Moores*, who were questionlesse sufficient to over-master the other, and direct the *Barke* to Harbour. Thus they sailed directly for *Argier*; but the night following, followed them with great tempest and foule weather, which ended not without some effect of a storme: for they lost the sight of *Rawlins Barke*, called the *Nicholas*, and in a manner lost themselves, though they seemed safe a shipboord, by fearefull conjecturing what should become of us: at last, by the two and twentieth of the same moneth, they, or we (chuse you whether) arrived at *Argier*, and came in safety within the Mould, but found not our other *Barke* there; nay, though we earnestly inquired after the same, yet heard we nothing to our satisfaction; but much matter was ministred to our discomfort and amazement. For although the Captaine and our over-seers, were loth we should have any conference with our Country-men; yet did we adventure to informe our selves of the present affaires, both of the Towne, and the shipping: so that finding many English at worke in other ships, they spared not to tell us the danger we were in, and the mischeifes we must needs incurre, as being sure if we were not used like slaves, to be sold as slaves: for there had beene five hundred brought into the market for the same purpose, and

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above a hundred handsome youths compelled to turne Turkes, or made subject to more viler prostitution, and all English: yet like good Christians, they bade us be of good cheere, and comfort our selves in this, that Gods trials were gentle purgations, and these crosses were but to cleanse the drosse from the gold, and bring us out of the fire againe more cleare and lovely. Yet I must needs confesse, that they afforded us reason for this cruelty, as if they determined to be revenged of our last attempt to fire their ships in the Mould, and therefore protested to spare none, whom they could surprise, and take alive, but either to sell them for money, or torment them to serve their owne turnes. Now their customes and usages in both these was in this manner.

[II. vi. 89o.]

First, concerning the first. The Bashaw had the overseeing of all prisoners, who were presented unto him at their first comming into the harbour, and so chose one out of every eight for a present or fee to himselfe: the rest were rated by the Captaines, and so sent to the Market to be sold; whereat if either there were repining, or any drawing backe, then certaine Moores and Officers attended either to beate you forward, or thrust you into the sides with Goades; and this was the manner of the selling of Slaves.

*Execrable  
tortures by  
Hellish Pirates  
inflicted on the  
English, to  
make them  
Renegadoes  
and Aposta-  
taes.*

Secondly, concerning their enforcing them, either to turne Turke, or to attend their filthines and impieties, although it would make a Christians heart bleed to heare of the same, yet must the truth not be hid, nor the terror left untold. They commonly lay them on their naked backs or bellies, beating them so long, till they bleed at the nose and mouth; and if yet they continue constant, then they strike the teeth out of their heads, pinch them by their tongues, and use many other sorts of tortures to convert them; nay, many times they lay them their whole length in the ground like a grave, and so cover them with boards, threatning to starve them, if they will not turne; and so many even for feare of torment and death, make their tongues betray their hearts to a most fearefull



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wickednesse, and so are circumcised with new names, and brought to confesse a new Religion. Others againe, I must confesse, who never knew any God, but their owne sensuall lusts and pleasures, thought that any religion would serve their turnes, and so for preferment or wealth very voluntarily renounced their faith, and became Renegadoes in despight of any counsell which seemed to intercept them: and this was the first newes wee encountred with at our comming first to Argier

The 26. of the same moneth, John Rawlins his Barke, with his other three men and a boy, came safe into the Mould, and so were put all together to be carried before the Bashaw, but that they tooke the Owners servant, and Rawlins Boy, and by force and torment compelled them to turne Turkes: then were they in all seven English, besides John Rawlins, of whom the Bashaw tooke one, and sent the rest to their Captaines, who set a valuation upon them, and so the Souldiers hurried us like dogs into the Market, whereas men sell Hacknies in England, we were tossed up and downe to see who would give most for us; and although we had heavy hearts, and looked with sad countenances, yet many came to behold us, sometimes taking us by the hand, sometime turning us round about, sometimes feeling our brawnes and naked armes, and so beholding our prices written in our breasts, they bargained for us accordingly, and at last we were all sold, and the Souldiers returned with the money to their Captaines.

*Sale of the  
English.*

John Rawlins was the last, who was sold, by reason of his lame hand, and bought by the Captaine that tooke him, even that dog Villa Rise, who better informing himselfe of his skill fit to be a Pilot, and his experience to bee an over-seer, bought him and his Carpenter at very easie rates. For as we afterwards understood by divers English Renegadoes, he paid for Rawlins but one hundred and fiftie Dooblets, which make of English money seven pound ten shillings. Thus was he and his Carpenter with divers other slaves sent into his ship to worke, and imployed

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about such affaires, as belonged to the well rigging and preparing the same. But the villanous Turkes perceiving his lame hand, and that he could not performe so much as other Slaves, quickly complained to their Patron, who as quickly apprehended the inconvenience, whereupon hee sent for him the next day, and told him he was unserviceable for his present purpose, and therefore unlesse he could procure fiftene pound of the English there for his ransome, he would send him up into the Countrey, where he should never see Christendome againe, and endure the extremity of a miserable banishment.

*The Exchange  
of Bristow.*

*Chandler a  
Renegado.*

But see how God worketh all for the best for his servants, and confoundeth the presumption of Tyrants, frustrating their purposes, to make his wonders knowne to the sonnes of men, and releeves his people, when they least thinke of succour and releasement. Whilest John Rawlins was thus terrified with the dogged answere of Villa Rise, the Exchange of Bristow, a ship formerly surprised by the Pirats, lay all unrigged in the Harbour, till at last one John Goodale, an English Turke with his confederates, understanding shee was a good sailer, and might be made a proper Man of Warre, bought her from the Turkes that tooke her, and prepared her for their owne purpose: now the Captaine that set them on worke, was also an English Renegado, by the name of Rammetham Rise, but by his Christen name Henrie Chandler, who resolved to make Goodale Master over her; and because they were both English Turkes, having the command notwithstanding of many Turkes and Moores, they concluded to have all English slaves to goe in her, and for their Gunners, English and Dutch Renegadoes, and so they agreed with the Patrons of nine English, and one French Slave for their ransoms, who were presently employed to rig and furnish the ship for a Man of Warre, and while they were thus busied, two of John Rawlins men, who were taken with him, were also taken up to serve in this Man of Warre, their names, James Roe, and

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John Davies, the one dwelling in Plimmoth, and the other in Foy, where the Commander of this ship was also borne, by which occasion they came acquainted, so that both the Captaine, and the Master promised them good usage, upon the good service they should performe in the voyage, and withall demanded of him, if he knew of any Englishman to be bought, that could serve them as a Pilot, both to direct them out of Harbour, and conduct them in their voyage. For in truth neither was the Captaine a Mariner, nor any Turke in her of sufficiency to dispose of her through the Straites in securitie, nor oppose any enemie, that should hold it out bravely against them. Davies quickly replied, that as farre as he understood, Villa Rise would sell John Rawlins his Master, and Commander of the Barke which was taken, a man every way sufficient for Sea affaires, being of great resolution and good experience; and for all he had a lame hand, yet had he a sound heart and noble courage for any attempt or adventure. [II. vi. 891.]

When the Captaine understood thus much, he imployed Davies to search for Rawlins, who at last lighting upon him, asked him if the Turke would sell him: Rawlins suddenly answered, that by reason of his lame hand he was willing to part with him; but because he had disbursed money for him, he would gaine something by him, and so prized me at three hundred Dooblets, which amounteth to fiftene pound English; which I must procure, or incurre sorer indurances. When Davies had certified thus much, the Turks a ship-boord conferred about the matter, and the Master whose Christen name was John Goodale joyned with two Turkes, who were consorted with him, and disbursed one hundred Dooblets a piece, and so bought him of Villa Rise, sending him into the said ship, called the Exchange of Bristow, as well to supervise what had been done, as to order what was left undone, but especially to fit the sailes, and to accomodate the ship, all which Rawlins was very carefull and indulgent in, not yet thinking of any peculiar plot of

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deliverance, more then a generall desire to be freed from this Turkish slaverie, and inhumane abuses.

By the seventh of Januarie, the ship was prepared with twelve good cast Pieces, and all manner of munition and provision, which belonged to such a purpose, and the same day haled out of the Mould of Argier, with this company, and in this manner.

There were in her sixtie three Turkes and Moores, nine English Slaves, and one French, foure Hollanders that were free men, to whom the Turkes promised one prise or other, and so to returne to Holland; or if they were disposed to goe backe againe for Argier, they should have great reward and no enforcement offered, but continue as they would, both their religion and their customes: and for their Gunners they had two of our Souldiers, one English and one Dutch Renegado: and thus much for the companie. For the manner of setting out, it was as usuall as in other ships, but that the Turkes delighted in the ostentous braverie of their Streamers, Banners, and Top-sayles; the ship being a handsome ship, and well built for any purpose: the Slaves and English were employed under Hatches about the Ordnance, and other workes of order, and accommodating themselves: all which John Rawlins marked, as supposing it an intolerable slaverie to take such paines, and be subject to such dangers, and still to enrich other men and maintaine their voluptuous filthinesse and lives, returning themselves as Slaves, and living worse then their Dogs amongst them. Whereupon hee bust out into these, or such like abrupt speeches: Oh Hellish slaverie to be thus subject to Dogs! Oh, God strengthen my heart and hand, and something shall be done to ease us of these mischiefes, and deliver us from these cruell Mahumetan Dogs. The other Slaves pitying his distraction (as they thought) bad him speake softly, lest they should all fare the worse for his distemperature. The worse (quoth Rawlins) what can be worse? I will either attempt my deliverance at one time, or another, or perish in the enterprise: but if you would be

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contented to hearken after a release, and joyne with me in the action, I would not doubt of facilitating the same, and shew you a way to make your credits thrive by some worke of amazement, and augment your glorie in purchasing your libertie, I prithee be quiet (said they againe) and thinke not of impossibilities: yet if you can but open such a doore of reason and probabilitie, that we be not condemned for desperate and distracted persons, in pulling the Sunne as it were out of the Firmament: wee can but sacrifice our lives, and you may be sure of secrecie and taciturnitie.

The fifteenth of Januarie, the morning water brought us neere Cape de Gatt, hard by the shoare, we having in our companie a smal Turkish ship of Warre, that followed us out of Argier the next day, and now joyning with us, gave us notice of seven small vessels, sixe of them being Sattees, and one Pollack, who very quickly appeared in sight, and so we made toward them: but having more advantage of the Pollack, then the rest, and loth to lose all, we both fetcht her up, and brought her past hope of recoverie, which when she perceived, rather then she would voluntarily come into the slaverie of these Mahumetans, she ran her selfe a shoare, and so all the men forsooke her; we still followed as neere as we durst, and for feare of splitting, let fall our anchors, making out both our boates, wherein were many Musketeers, and some English and Dutch Renegadoes, who came aboard home at their Conge, and found three pieces of Ordnance, and foure Murtherers: but they straightway threw them all over-boord to lighten the ship, and so they got her off, being laden with Hides, and Logwood for dying, and presently sent her to Argier, taking nine Turkes, and one English Slave, out of one ship, and six out of the lesse, which we thought sufficient to man her.

In the rifling of this Catelaynia, our Turks fell at variance one with another, and in such a manner, that we divided our selves, the lesser ship returned to Argier, and our Exchange tooke the opportunitie of the wind, and

[II. vi. 892.]

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*The Turkes  
quarrell and  
part.*

*Wizards or  
Witches car-  
ryed to Sea by  
Turkes.*

*Ceremonies of  
their divining.*

plied out of the Streights, which rejoyced John Rawlins very much, as resolving on some Stratageme, when opportunitie should serve: in the meane-while, the Turkes began to murmure, and would not willingly goe into the Marr Granada, as the phrase is amongst them: notwithstanding the Moores being very superstitious, were contented to be directed by their Hoshea, who with us, signifieth a Witch, and is of great account and reputation amongst them, as not going in any great Vessell to Sea without one, and observing whatsoever he concludeth out of his Divination: the Ceremonies he useth are many, and when they come into the Ocean, every second or third night he maketh his Conjuratiō; he beginneth and endeth with Prayer, using many Characters, and calling upon God by divers names: yet at this time, all that he did consisted in these particulars.

Upon the sight of two great ships, and as wee were afraid the chasing, beeing supposed to bee Spanish men of Warre, a great silence is commanded in the ship, and when all is done, the company giveth as great a skrich; the Captaine still comming to John Rawlins, and sometimes making him take in all his sayles, and sometimes causing him to hoysse them all out, as the Witch findeth by his Booke, and presages; then have they two Arrowes, and a Curtleaxe, lying upon a Pillow naked; the Arrowes are one for the Turkes, and the other for the Christians; then the Witch readeth, and the Captaine of some other taketh the Arrowes in their hand by the heads, and if the Arrow for the Christians commeth over the head of the Arrow for the Turkes, then doe they advance their sayles, and will not indure the fight, whatsoever they see: but if the Arrow of the Turkes is found in the opening of the hand upon the Arrow of the Christians, then will they stay and encounter with any shippe whatsoever: the Curtleaxe is taken up by some Childe, that is innocent, or rather ignorant of the Ceremonie, and so layd downe againe; then doe they observe, whether the same side is uppermost, which lay before, and so proceed accordingly.

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They also observe Lunatickes and Changelings, and the Conjurer writeth downe their Sayings in a Booke, groveling on the ground, as if he whispered to the Devill to tell him the truth, and so expoundeth the Letter, as it were by inspiration. Many other foolish Rites they have, whereon they doe dote as foolishly.

Whilest he was busied, and made demonstration that all was finished, the people in the ship gave a great shout, and cried out, a sayle, a sayle, which at last was discovered to bee another man of Warre of Turkes: for he made towards us, and sent his Boat aboard us, to whom our Captaine complained, that being becalmed by the Southerne Cape, and having made no Voyage, the Turkes denyed to goe any further Northward: but the Captaine resolved not to returne to Argier, except he could obtayne some Prize worthy his endurances, but rather to goe to Salle, and sell his Christians to victuall his ship; which the other Captaine apprehended for his honour, and so perswaded the Turkes to be obedient unto him; whereupon followed a pacification amongst us, and so that Turke tooke his course for the Streights, and wee put up Northward, expecting the good houre of some beneficiall bootie.

All this while our slavery continued, and the Turkes with insulting tyrannie set us still on worke in all base and servile actions, adding stripes and inhumane revilings, even in our greatest labour, whereupon John Rawlins resolved to obtayne his libertie, and surprize the ship; providing Ropes with broad speckes of Iron, and all the Iron Crowes, with which hee knew a way, upon consent of the rest, to ramme up or tye fast their Scuttels, Gratings, and Cabbins, yea, to shut up the Captaine himselfe with all his consorts, and so to handle the matter, that upon the watch-word given, the English being Masters of the Gunner roome, Ordnance, and Powder, they would eyther blow them into the Ayre, or kill them as they adventured to come downe one by one, if they should by any chance open their Cabbins. But because hee would proceed the

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[II. vi. 893.]

*Danger of  
discovery.*

better in his enterprise, as he had somewhat abruptly discovered himselfe to the nine English slaves, so he kept the same distance with the foure Hollanders, that were free men, till finding them comming somewhat toward them, he acquainted them with the whole Conspiracie, and they affecting the Plot, offered the adventure of their lives in the businesse. Then very warily he undermined the English Renegado, which was the Gunner, and three more his Associats, who at first seemed to retract. Last of all were brought in the Dutch Renegadoes, who were also in the Gunner roome, for alwayes there lay twelve there, five Christians, and seven English, and Dutch Turkes: so that when another motion had settled their resolutions, and John Rawlins his constancie had put new life as it were in the matter, the foure Hollanders very honestly, according to their promise, sounded the Dutch Renegadoes, who with easie perswasion gave their consent to so brave an Enterprize; whereupon John Rawlins, not caring whether the English Gunners would yeeld or no, resolved in the Captaines morning watch, to make the attempt: But you must understand that where the English slaves lay, there hung up alwayes foure or five Crowes of Iron, being still under the carriages of the Peeces, and when the time approached being very darke, because John Rawlins would have his Crow of Iron ready as other things were, and other men prepared in their severall places, in taking it out of the carriage, by chance, it hit on the side of the Peece, making such a noyse, that the Souldiers hearing it awaked the Turkes, and bade them come downe: whereupon the Botesane of the Turkes descended with a Candle, and presently searched all the slaves places, making much adoe of the matter, but finding neyther Hatchet nor Hammer, nor any thing else to move suspicion of the Enterprize, more then the Crow of Iron, which lay slipped downe under the carriages of the Peeces, they went quietly up againe, and certified the Captaine what had chanced, who satisfied himselfe, that it was a common thing to have a Crow of Iron slip from his place. But by this occasion



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wee made stay of our attempt, yet were resolved to take another or a better opportunitie.

For we sayled still more North-ward, and Rawlins had more time to tamper with his Gunners, and the rest of the English Renegadoes, who very willingly, when they considered the matter, and perpended the reasons, gave way unto the Project, and with a kind of joy seemed to entertayne the motives: only they made a stop at the first on-set, who should begin the enterprize, which was no way fit for them to doe, because they were no slaves, but Renegadoes, and so had alwayes beneficiall entertaynment amongst them. But when it is once put in practice, they would be sure not to faile them, but venture their lives for God and their Countrey. But once againe he is disappointed, and a suspitious accident brought him to recollect his spirits anew, and studie on the danger of the enterprize, and thus it was. After the Renegado Gunner, had protested secrecie by all that might induce a man to bestow some beliefe upon him, he presently went up the Scottle, but stayed not aloft a quarter of an houre, nay he came sooner down, & in the Gunner roome sate by Rawlins, who tarried for him where he left him: he was no sooner placed, and entred into some conference, but there entred into the place a furious Turke, with his Knife drawne, and presented it to Rawlins his body, who verily supposed, he intended to kill him, as suspitious that the Gunner had discovered something, whereat Rawlins was much moved, and so hastily asked what the matter meant, or whether he would kill him or no, observing his countenance, and according to the nature of jealousie, conceiting that his colour had a passage of change, whereby his suspitious heart, condemned him for a Traytor: but that at more leisure he sware the contrary, and afterward proved faithfull and industrious in the enterprize. And for the present, he answered Rawlins in this manner, no Master, be not afraid, I thinke hee doth but jest. With that John Rawlins gave backe a little and drew out his Knife, stepping also to the Gunners sheath and taking out

*Another  
danger.*

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his, whereby he had two Knives to one, which when the Turke perceived, he threw downe his Knife, saying, hee did but jest with him. But (as I said) when the Gunner perceived, Rawlins tooke it so ill, hee whispered something in his eare that at last satisfied him, calling Heaven to witnesse, that he never spake word of the Enterprize, nor ever would, either to the prejudice of the businesse, or danger of his person: Notwithstanding, Rawlins kept the Knives in his sleeve all night, and was somewhat troubled, for that hee had made so many acquainted with an action of such importance; but the next day, when hee perceived the Coast cleere, and that there was no cause of further feare, hee somewhat comforted himselfe.

All this while, Rawlins drew the Captaine to lye for the Northerne Cape, assuring him, that thereby he should not misse purchase, which accordingly fell out, as a wish would have it: but his drift was in truth to draw him from any supply, or second of Turkes, if God should give way to their Enterprize, or successe to the victorie: yet for the present the sixth of February, being twelve leagues from the Cape, wee descryed a sayle, and presently tooke the advantage of the wind in chasing her, and at last fetcht her up, making her strike all her sayles, whereby *Tor Bay.* wee knew her to be a Barke belonging to Tor Bay, neere Dartmouth, that came from Averare laden with Salt: ere we had fully dispatched, it chanced to be foule weather, so that we could not, or at least would not make out our Boat, but caused the Master of the Barke to let downe his, and come aboard with his Company, being in the Barke but nine men, and one Boy; and so the Master leaving his Mate with two men in the same, came himselfe with five men, and the boy unto us, whereupon our Turkish Captaine sent ten Turkes to man her, amongst whom were two Dutch, and one English Renegado, who were of our confederacie, and acquainted with the businesse.

But when Rawlins saw this partition of his friends, before they could hoyse out their Boat for the Barke, he

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made meanes to speake with them, and told them plainly, that he would prosecute the matter eyther that night, or the next and therefore whatsoever came of it they should acquaint the English with his resolution, and make toward England, bearing up the helme, whiles the Turkes slept, and suspected no such matter: for by Gods grace in his first watch about mid-night, he would shew them a light, by which they might understand, that the Enterprize was begunne, or at least in a good forwardnesse for the execution: and so the Boat was let downe, and they came to the Barke of Tor Bay, where the Masters Mate beeing left (as before you have heard) apprehended quickly the matter, and heard the Discourse with amazement. But time was precious, and not to be spent in disputing, or casting of doubts, whether the Turkes that were with them, were able to master them, or no, beeing seven to sixe, considering they had the helme of the ship, and the Turkes being Souldiers, and ignorant of Sea Affaires, could not discover, whether they went to Argier or no; [II. vi. 894.] or if they did, they resolved by Rawlins example to cut their throats, or cast them over-board: and so I leave them to make use of the Renegadoes instructions, and returne to Rawlins againe.

The Master of the Barke of Tor Bay, and his Company were quickly searched, and as quickly pillaged, and dismissed to the libertie of the shippe, whereby Rawlins had leisure to entertayne him with the lamentable newes of their extremities, and in a word, of every particular which was befitting to the purpose: yea, he told him, that that night he should lose the sight of them, for they would make the helme for England, and hee would that night and evermore pray for their good successe, and safe deliverance.

When the Master of the Barke of Tor Bay had heard him out, and that his company were partakers of his Storie, they became all silent, not eyther diffident of his Discourse, or afraid of the attempt, but resolved to assist him. Yet to shew himselfe an understanding man, hee demanded

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of Rawlins, what weapons he had, and in what manner he would execute the businesse: to which he answered, that he had Ropes, and Iron Hookes to make fast the Scottels, Gratings, and Cabbines, he had also in the Gunner roome two Curtleaxes, and the slaves had five Crowes of Iron before them: Besides, in the scuffling they made no question of some of the Souldiers weapons: then for the manner, hee told them, they were sure of the Ordnance, the Gunner roome, and the Powder, and so blocking them up, would eyther kill them as they came downe, or turne the Ordnance against their Cabbins, or blow them into the Ayre by one Stratageme or other, and thus were they contented on all sides, and resolved to the Enterprize.

*The Prize out  
of sight.*

The next morning, being the seventh day of February, the Prize of Tor Bay was not to bee seene or found, whereat the Captaine began to storme and sweare, commanding Rawlins to search the Seas up and downe for her, who bestowed all that day in the businesse, but to little purpose: whereupon when the humour was spent, the Captaine pacified himselfe, as conceiting he should sure find her at Argier: but by the permission of the Ruler of all actions, that Argier was England, and all his wickednesse frustrated: for Rawlins beeing now startled, lest hee should returne in this humour for the Streights, the eight of February went downe into the hold, and finding a great deale of water below, told the Captaine of the same, adding, that it did not come to the Pumpe, which he did very politickly, that he might remove the Ordnance: For when the Captaine askt him the reason, he told him the ship was too farre after the head: then hee commanded to use the best meanes he could to bring her in order: sure then, quoth Rawlins, wee must quit our Cables, and bring foure Peeces of Ordnance after, and that would bring the water to the Pumpe, which was presently put in practice, so the Peeces beeing usually made fast thwart the ship, we brought two of them with their mouthes right before the Biticle, and because the Renegadoe Flemmings would not begin, it was thus concluded: that the ship

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having three Deckes, wee that did belong to the Gunner roome should bee all there, and breake up the lower Decke. The English slaves, who alwayes lay in the middle Decke, should doe the like, and watch the Scuttels: Rawlins himselfe prevayled with the Gunner, for so much Powder, as should prime the Peeces, and so told them all there was no better watch-word, nor meanes to begin, then upon the report of the Peece to make a cry and skrich, for God, and King James, and Saint George for England.

When all things were prepared, and every man resolved, as knowing what hee had to doe, and the houre when it should happen, to be two in the afternoone, Rawlins advised the Master Gunner to speake to the Captaine, that the Souldiers might attend on the Poope, which would bring the ship after: to which the Captaine was very willing, and upon the Gunners information, the Souldiers gat themselves to the Poope, to the number of twentie, and five or sixe went into the Captaines Cabbin, where alwayes lay divers Curtleaxes, and some Targets, and so wee fell to worke to pompe the water, and carryed the matter fairely till the next day, which was spent as the former, being the ninth of February, and as God must have the prayse, the triumph of our victorie.

For by that time all things were prepared, and the Souldiers got upon the Poope as the day before: to avoid suspition, all that did belong to the Gunner-roome went downe, and the slaves in the middle decke attended their businesse, so that we may cast up our account in this manner. First, nine English slaves, besides John Rawlins: five of the Tor Bay men, and one boy, foure English Renegadoes, and two French, foure Hollanders: in all foure and twenty and a boy: so that lifting up our hearts and hands to God for the successe of the businesse, we were wonderfully encouraged; and setled our selves, till the report of the peece gave us warning of the enterprise. Now, you must consider, that in this company were two of Rawlins men, James Roe, and John Davies, whom he brought out of England, and whom the fortune of the

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Sea brought into the same predicament with their Master. These were employed about noone (being as I said, the ninth of February) to prepare their matches, while all the Turkes or at least most of them stood on the Poope, to weigh downe the ship as it were, to bring the water forward to the Pumpe: the one brought his match lighted betweene two spoons, the other brought his in a little peece of a Can: and so in the name of God, the Turkes and Moores [II. vi. 895.] being placed as you have heard, and five and forty in number, and Rawlins having proined the Tuch-holes, James Roe gave fire to one of the peeces, about two of the clocke in the afternoone, and the confederates upon the warning, shouted most cheerefully: the report of the peece did teare and breake downe all the Bitickell, and compasses, and the noise of the slaves made all the Souldiers amased at the matter, till seeing the quarter of the ship rent, and feeling the whole body to shake under them: understanding the ship was surprised, and the attempt tended to their utter destruction, never Beare robbed of her whelpes was so fell and mad: For they not onely cald us dogs, and cried out, Usance de Lamair, which is as much as to say, the Fortune of the wars: but attempted to teare up the planckes, setting a worke hammers, hatchets, knives, the oares of the Boate, the Boat-hooke, their curtlexes, and what else came to hand, besides stones and bricke in the Cooke-roome; all which they threw amongst us, attempting still and still to breake and rip up the hatches, and boords of the steering, not desisting from their former execrations, and horrible blasphemies and revilings.

*The onset.*

When John Rawlins perceived them so violent, and understood how the slaves had cleared the deckes of all the Turkes and Moores beneath, he set a guard upon the Powder, and charged their owne Muskets against them, killing them from divers scout-holes, both before and behind, and so lessened their number, to the joy of all our hearts, whereupon they cried out, and called for the Pilot, and so Rawlins, with some to guard him, went to them, and understood them by their kneeling; that they

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cried for mercy, and to have their lives saved, and they would come downe, which he bade them doe, and so they were taken one by one, and bound, yea killed with their owne Curtleaxes; which when the rest perceived, they called us English dogs, and reviled us with many opprobrious tearmes, some leaping over-boord, crying, it was the chance of war, some were manacled, and so throwne over-boord, and some were slaine and mangled with the Curtleaxes, till the ship was well cleared, and our selves assured of the victory.

At the first report of our Peece, and hurliburly in the decks, the Captaine was a writing in his Cabbin, and hearing the noyse, thought it some strange accident, and so came out with his Curtleaxe in his hand, presuming by his authority to pacifie the mischief: But when hee cast his eyes upon us, and saw that we were like to surprise the ship, he threw downe his Curtleaxe, and begged us to save his life, intimating unto Rawlins, how he had redeemed him from Villa-Rise, and ever since admitted him to place of command in the ship, besides honest usage in the whole course of the Voyage. All which Rawlins confessed, and at last condescended to mercy, and brought the Captaine and five more into England. The Captaine was called Ramtham-Rise, but his Christen name, Henry Chandler, and as they say, a Chandlers sonne in South-warke. John Good-ale, was also an English Turke. Richard Clarke, in Turkish, Jafar; George Cooke, Ramdam; John Browne, Mamme; William Winter, Mustapha; besides all the slaves and Hollanders, with other Renegadoes, who were willing to be reconciled to their true Saviour, as being formerly seduced with the hopes of riches, honour, preferment, and such like devillish baits, to catch the soules of mortall men, and entangle frailty in the tarriers of horrible abuses, and imposturing deceit.

*The Victory.*

When all was done, and the ship cleared of the dead bodies, John Rawlins assembled his men together, and with one consent gave the praise unto God, using the

*Praise given  
to God.*

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*They arrive in  
England.*

accustomed service on ship-boord, and for want of bookes lifted up their voyces to God, as he put into their hearts, or renewed their memories: then did they sing a Psalme, and last of all, embraced one another for playing the men in such a Deliverance, whereby our feare was turned into joy, and trembling hearts exhillirated, that we had escaped such inevitable dangers, and especially the slavery and terror of bondage, worse then death it selfe: The same night we washed our ship, put every thing in as good order as we could, repaired the broken quarter, set up the Biticle, and bore up the Helme for England, whereby Gods grace and good guiding, we arrived at Plimmoth, the thirteenth of February, and were welcommed like the recovery of the lost sheepe, or as you read of a loving mother, that runneth with embraces to entertaine her sonne from a long Voyage and escape of many dangers.

*Event of the  
other ship.*

Not long after we understood of our confederats, that returned home in the Barke of Torbay, that they arrived in Pensance in Corne-wall the eleventh of February: and if any aske after their deliverance, considering there were ten Turkes sent to man her, I will tell you that too: the next day after they lost us, as you have heard and that the three Renegadoes had acquainted the Masters Mate, and the two English in her with Rawlins determination, and that they themselves would be true to them, and assist them in any enterprise: then if the worst came, there were but seven to sixe: but as it fell out, they had a more easie passage, then turmoile, or man-slaughter. For they made the Turkes beleeve, the wind was come faire, and that they were sayling to Argier, till they came within sight of England, which one of them amongst the rest discovered, saying plainely, that that land was not like Cape Vincent; yes saith he, that was at the Helme, and you will be contented, and goe downe into the hold, and trim the salt over to wind-ward, whereby the ship may beare full saile, you shall know and see more to morrow: Whereupon five of them went downe very orderly, the Renegadoes faining themselves asleepe, who presently start up, and with the

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helpe of the two English, nailed downe the hatches, whereat the principall amongst them much repined, and began to grow into choller and rage, had it not quickly beene overpassed. For one of them stepped to him, and dasht out his braines, and threw him over-boord: the rest were brought to Excester, and either to be arraigned, according to the punishment of delinquents in such a kind, or disposed of, as the King and Counsell shall thinke meet: and this is the story of this deliverance, and end of John Rawlins Voyage. The Actors in this Comick Tragedie are most of them alive; The Turkes are in prison; the ship is to be scene, and Rawlins himselfe dare justifie the matter.

The names of the English Renegadoes, which consented, and joyned with the slaves in the recovery of the ship, were these.

**R**ichard Clarke, the Gunner, called in Turkish, Jafar, George Cooke, Gunners-mate, called in Turkish, Ramedam. William Winter, Carpenter, in Turkish, Mustapha. John Browne, in Turkish, Memme. One Dutch Renegado. Foure Dutch slaves. One French slave. Five Englishmen and one boy, taken but three dayes before. Nine English slaves which they tooke with them from Argier. In all foure and twenty men and a boy. Which were all safely landed at Plimmoth, the thirteenth of February, 1621. They saved alive the five and forty Turkes and Moores, the Captaine, one Henry Chandlor, borne in South-warke, an English Renegado; and five Turkes more, who are at this present in Plimmoth Goale, &c.

[Chap. VIII.]

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

### Chap. VIII.

Relations of Africa, taken out of Master George Sandys his larger discourse observed in his Journey, begun Ann. 1610. Lib. 2.

#### §. I.

His Voyage from Rhodes to Alexandria, observations there, of Egypt, in generall, and of Nilus.

*I have contracted this History (as others) for brevity: omitting nothing willingly which the Author saw: in other things commonly referring the Reader to M. Sandys his owne booke or other Authors which were his guides. For we write of mens travailes, rather then a history of places & Regions in this worke: which herein differeth from that which I have called my Pilgrimage. Many also of the things left out are in Leo or others here inserted.*



Rhodes is now inhabited by the Turkes and Jewes: those Christians that be, being Greekes, and not suffered after Sun-set to abide in the Citie: the Suburbs whereof are utterly razed. I have heard that all the Monuments, Statues, and inscriptions belonging to the Knights of the Order, are by the Turkes preserved entire, excepting such as the warres had demolished. Heere the Grand Signior maintaineth five Gallies. About this Iland, we expected to have met with Pirats, but were happily deceived.

Now having lost the sight of Rhodes, we saw no land untill the third night after: in the Evening, doubtfully discovering the Coast of Ægypt. Fearing the Lee-shoare, all night we bore out to Sea: the lightning ministring uncomfortable light, intermixed with thunder and tempests. The next day we entred the Haven of Alexandria, newly defamed with a number of wracks, which scattered here and there, did miserably testifie the unsafe protection of that Harbour. For not past two nights before the Northerne winds beating full upon the mouth of the Haven, with violent Seas drove the fore-most ships from their Anchors, who falling foule on the rest, sunke all for company, even two and twenty in number: amongst the rest, that great and warlike ship, called the Red-Lion, but taken the yeere before from the Knights of Malta.

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But before we proceed any further in particulars, meet it is that something be said of Ægypt in generall. The wonderfull fertility of the soile, is rather to bee admired then expressed: in times past reputed the granary of the world; insomuch as it was not thought possible for the Romane Empire to subsist, if not assisted by the affluence of Ægypt. The occasion of that saying of Selymus when he had conquered the Country, that, Now he had taken a Farme that would feed his Jemoglans. Amongst other commodities which this earth doth yeeld, and are fetcht from hence by forrainers, Sugar, Flaxe, Rice, all manner of Graine, Linnen-cloth, Hides, Salt, Buttargo, and Cassia, being now the principall.

Whatsoever here is estimable, proceedeth from the munificency of this River; for progresse, and property of all other the most excellent: unto former ages, though often attempted, (and that by great Potentates) of an undiscovered originall.

Foure miles below Cairo, it devideth into two maine [II. vi. 897.] and navigable branches; that next the East running into the Mid-land Sea by Damiata (heretofore Pelusium:) the other inclining unto the West, and formerly called Canopus, falleth into the selfe-same Sea a little below Rosetta, making of the richest portion of the Land a triangular Iland, named Delta, in that it beareth the forme of that letter: the fresh water keeping together, and changing the colour of the Salt, farre further into the Sea, then the shoare from thence can be discerned. Two other branches there be that runne betweene these, but poore in waters; besides divers channels cut by the labour of man, for conveiances in the time of the inundation; which also are no small strengthening to the Countrey. Of those seven mentioned by Herodotus, and those nine by Ptolomy, these are all that I either saw or could heare of. Nor 's it a thing extraordinarie for Rivers to lose their channels, either choaked by themselves, or by the adverse Seas, with beds of Sand, and turned up gravell resisting their passages. But amongst the hidden mysteries of Nature,

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there is none more wonderfull, then is the overflowin  
this River; making of a meere Desert (for such is F  
unwatred by Nilus) the most fruitfull part of the hat  
world, little when others are great, and their d <sup>p. 124</sup>  
increasing.

Not tide to lawes of other streames; the Sun <sup>Lucan</sup>  
When farthest off, thy streames then poorest; <sup>p. 25?</sup>  
Intemperate heaven to temper, midst of hea <sup>the Sunne.</sup>  
Under the burning Zone, bid to grow great <sup>q. is sanctum</sup>  
Then Nile assists the world; lest fire should <sup>that die</sup>  
The earth: and makes his high-borne waters swe <sup>spreads</sup>  
Against the Lions flaming jawes— <sup>Lucan</sup>

Inde etiam leges aliarum nescit aquarum:  
Nec tumet hybernus quum longe Sole remoto  
Officiis caret unda suis, dare jussus iniquo  
Temperiem cœlo, mediis æstatibus exit.  
Sub torrente plaga, ne terras dissipet ignis  
Nilus ad est mundo, contraque accensa leonis  
Ora tumet——Lucan. l. 10.

The earth then burnt with the violent fervour, never  
refreshed with raine (which here falls rarely, and then  
onely in the Winter) hath helpe from Nilus, most  
constantly observing his accustomed seasons, beginning to  
arise with the arising Sunne on the seventeenth of June;  
swelling by degrees untill it mount sometimes foure and  
twentie cubits, but that the uttermost.

\*He began his  
journey, 1610.  
They cut it  
again in the  
halfe way be-  
twene Cairo  
and Rosetta.

This yeare\* at Cairo it rise three and twentie. About  
two miles above the Citie, at the end of old Cairo, in the  
beginning of August they cut the bankes; then when  
ascended unto his principall height; before kept in, lest  
that the too timely deluge should destroy the fruites of  
the earth ere fit to be reaped. At which the Bassa is  
himselfe in person (who giveth the first stroke) accom-  
panied with a world of people, rowed in Gallies and Barges  
of triumph, and for divers dayes feasting: the Bassa in  
the Castle of Michias, an Iland surrounded with Nile (so  
called, in that there the Pillar doth stand, by which they

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observe the increase of the River) others under Pavilions pitched by the shoare, with barbarous solemnities, and generall rejoycings. At their returne they are met by those of the Citie, who bestrew their heads with flowers, as the welcome forerunners of that they long wished. They returned in water following them at the heeles; boats now wed, where but now they trampled, filling the dustie trenches and long emptied Cisternes: and a while after covering in many places the superficies of the land, which are then appeareth as a troubled Lake. Answerable to the increase of the River, is the plentie or scarcitie of the sere succeeding, bringing with it both earth and water into a sandie and thirstie soile, of it selfe unprofitable: so that it as well manures as moistens, with the fat and pregnant slime which it leaveth behind it. Unto which they owe not their riches onely, but themselves. For the plague which here oft miserably rageth, upon the first of the flood doth instantly cease: insomuch as when five hundred die at Cairo the day before, which is nothing rare (for the sound keepe companie with the sicke, holding death fatall, and to avoid them irreligion) not one doth die the day following. Wherefore no marvell though ignorant and superstitious antiquitie, under the name of Osyris adored this River, which afforded them so many benefits, and such as not apprehended were thought supernaturall. Thus where covered with water, it is no unpleasant sight to behold the Townes appearing like little Ilands; the people passing and repassing by boate, and not seldome swimming: who the lesse they see of their Country, the more is their comfort. About the midst of September it ceaseth to augment: and retiring a moneth after within his proper bounds, giveth way unto Husbandrie (the earth untilld, by throwing the Graine on the mud, and Rice into the water, affording her first increase) untill May decreasing, and then in a marvellous penurie of water. To prove that it proceedeth from a naturall cause, this one, though strange, yet true experiment will suffice. Take of the earth of Egypt adjoyning

*Perhaps rather ceasing upon Sannes entring into Leo, as it doth at Aleppo, and elsewhere in those parts. A vulgar experiment generally affirmed: as by Alpinus in Med. Egypt, l. 4. c. 8. who long lived here, upon the testimonies of Paulus Marcitus the French Consul, Baptiste Elianus a Jesuite, and John Varot an English man.*

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to the River, and preserve it carefully, that it neither come to be wet nor wasted; weigh it daily, and you shall find it neither more nor lesse heaue until the seventeenth of June, at which day it beginneth to grow more ponderous, and augmenteth with the augmentation of the river, whereby they have an unfaillible knowledge of the state of the Deluge: proceeding without doubt from the humiditie of the Aire, which having a recourse through all possible places, and mixing therewith, increaseth the same as it increaseth in moysture. In the tenth and eleventh [II. vi. 898.] yeare of Cleopatra, it is by Writers of those times for a certainty affirmed, that the Nilus increased not; which two yeares defect prognosticated the fall of two great Potentates, Cleopatra and Anthony. Many ages before, Callimachus reports, that it did the like for nine yeares together. From the same cause, no question, but that seven yeares dearth proceeded in the time of Pharao.

It also produceth abundance of Fish, in shape and qualitie much differing from ours: but by reason of the muddy channell, not altogether savorie nor wholesome.

*Palmetrees.*

Throughout this Countrey there are no Wines, yet want they none, in that they desire them not. Neither are here any trees to speake of, but such as are planted, and those in Orchards only: excepting Palmes, which delight in Desarts; and being naturally theirs, doe grow without limits. Of these they have plenty, pleasing the eye with their goodly formes, and with diversitie of benefits enriching their owners. Of body straight, high, round, and slender (yet unfit for buildings) crested about, and by meanes thereof with facilitie ascended. The branches like Sedges, slit on the neather side, and ever greene; growing onely on the uppermost height, resemble faire plumes of feathers, which they yearely prune, by lopping off the lowest, and at the top of all by bearing a little of the bole. Of these there be male and female, both thrust forth cods (which are full of seeds like knotted strings) at the roote of their branches, but the female is

*Male and  
Female.*

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onely fruitfull; and not so, unlesse growing by the male (towards whose upright growth she inclines her crowne) and have of his seedes commixed with hers; which in the beginning of March they no more faile to doe, then to sow the earth at accustomed seasons. Their Dates doe grow like fingers, and are thereof named; not ripe untill the fine of December, which begin to cod about the beginning of February. They open the tops of such as are fruitlesse, or otherwise perisht; and take from thence the white pith, of old called the braine, which they sell up and downe: an excellent sallad, not much unlike in taste, but farre better then an Artichoke. Of the branches they make Bed-steads, Lattices, &c. of the web of the Leaves, Baskets, Mats, Fans, &c. of the outward huske of the Cod, good Cordage; of the inward, Brushes, &c. such and such like affoord they yearely without empaire to themselves. This tree they held to be the perfect image of a man, and by the same represented him: First, for that it doth not fructifie, but by coiture: next, as having a Braine, as it were, in the uppermost part: which once corrupted, as man, even so it perisheth: and lastly, in regard that on the top thereof grow certaine strings, which resemble the haire; the great ends of the branches appearing like hands stretch forth, and the Dates as fingers. And because the Palme is never to be suppressed, but shooteth up against all opposition, the boughs thereof have been proposed as rewards for such as were either victorious in armes or exercises. Wood then is here but scarce in regard of the quantitie; and yet enough, if their uses for the same be considered. For they eate but little flesh (fresh Cheese, sowre Milke made solid, Roots, Fruits and Herbs, especially Colocasia, anciently called the Egyptian Beane, though bearing no Beane, but like the leafe of a Colewort, being their principal sustenance; baking their bread in Cakes on the harth, and mingling therewith the seeds of Coriander.) As for cold, they know it not; having sufficient of the refuse of Palmes, Sugar-canes, and the like, to furnish them with fuell, answerable to their necessities.

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*Wood sold  
by weight.*

*Paper-sedge.*

*\*Having the  
stampe with  
the Sultany,  
the name of  
Cairo added  
where it is  
coined: of  
better value in  
that of finer  
gold by two or  
three Aspers.*

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*The Bassas  
severe justice.*

But forrainers that feed as in colder Countries, doe buy their Wood by weight, which is brought in hither by shipping. The Gallions also of Constantinople, alwaies goe into the Blacke Sea for timber, before they take their voyage for Cairo. Omit I must not the sedge reeds which grow in the Marishes of Egypt, called formerly Papyri, of which they made paper; and whereof ours made of rags, assumeth that name. They divided it into thin flakes, whereinto it naturally parteth: then laying them on a table, and moistning them with the glutinous water of the River, they prest them together, and so dried them in the Sunne. It is now governed by a Bassa who hath his residence in Cairo, and commandeth as an absolute Sovereigne; under whom are sixteene Sanziacks, and a hundred thousand Spacheis. The revenues of this little Countrie amounting to three Millions of \*Shariffes. The Great Turke having one (viz. foure hundred thousand disbursed yearely in Sugar and Rice, and sent to Constantinople; the residue sent over-land with a guard of sixe hundred Souldiers, for feare of the Florentine:) another Million is spent in payes, and in setting forth the Carvan unto Mecha; the third hee hath for the supportance of his owne estate, and entertainment of his dependents. But this is little in regard of that which was raised thereof in the reigne of Auletes, who received seven Millions and a halfe of Crownes; much more supposed to have yeelded to the more provident Romanes.

The Bassa now being, and called Mahomet, is a man well stricken in yeares, of a sowre and inflexible nature. At his first entrance hee cut off the heads of foure thousand Spacheis, that had borne themselves too insolently, and committed many outrages and extortions. Hee sent the great men that bore overmuch sway unto Constantinople; those that refused to goe, he caused to be strangled, using the aide of the Arabians (who justly hated the other) in all his executions. If a robbrie be committed, and the theeves escape, such as are appointed to guard those quarters, do suffer in their stead; insomuch as often they



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attach poore innocents when they cannot apprehend the guiltie, to deliver themselves from punishment: boring holes through the condemneds armes, stretcht wide on staves, in which are Candles stucke, that burne downe into the flesh, and are led in that manner through the Citie unto the place of execution. Others are stript of their skinnnes, yet live in horrible torment so long as the Executioners Steele offends not the Navell. Drunkennesse is punished with death; and all disorders so severely lookt into, that I thinke in no other place you shall see so few amongst such a multitude of people. The malice his rigour procured, had caused himselfe to confine himselfe to the Castle for a twelve-moneth, before our comming to Cairo: but his government is so well approved by the Grand Signior, that to doe him the more honour, he hath given him his daughter in marriage, a childe of foure yeares old, which hath beene solemnized with all possible Ceremonies. One thing more is in him prayseworthy; that hee will hardly suffer a Christian to turne Mahometan, either out of the dislike of his owne Religion, or knowing well that they doe it onely for commoditie and preferment.

*Theeves, how  
punished.*

[II. vi. 899.]

*Drunkennesse  
punished with  
death.*

Those that now inhabit the Countrey, are for the most part Moores. Turkes there are many, and Jewes, which reside onely in Cities. Store of Arabians, and not a few Negroes. Of Christians, the native Copties are the most in number: some Greekes there bee, and a few Armenians.

The Egyptian Moores (descended of the Arabians, and understanding each other) are men of a meane stature, tawnie of complexion, and spare of bodie, shrill tongued, and nimble footed; naturally industrious, affecting more their profit then their ease; yet know they not how to live of a little, as in nothing riotous. Rather craftie they are then wise; more observant then faithfull, by much more devout then the Turkes in the Mahometan Religion. In Learning they are utterly ignorant. Amongst them none are Noble: few admitted to the Souldiery, (nor suffered in Townes to weare Weapons) not any to Magistracie. In Cities the best of them exercise Merchandize: rich by

*The Moores.*

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*Their  
apparell.*

meanes of their Trafficke with the Indians; yet that decayed since our East Indian Voyages: insomuch, as Spices brought out of the Levant heretofore, are now with profit brought thither by our Merchants. In habit they differ little from the Turkes, excepting some of the yonger sort, who weare side Coates of Linnen (the ancient habit of that Countrey) girt to their wastes, and Towels throwne about their neckes of the same. Divers of the Negroes weare Vests like Surplices. Those of the poorest, long Garments of Hayre, streakt blacke and white; in the winter, side Coates of Cotten. The Beggars by singing, both get reliefe, and comfort their povertie, playing withall upon Drummes which are fashioned like Sives.

*The women.*

A number here be afflicted with sore eyes, eyther by the reflecting heate, the salt dust of the soyle, or excessive Venerie: for the Pockes is uncredibly frequent amongst them. The women when out of their houses, are wrapt from the crowne of the head to the foot in ample Robes of Linnen, spreading their armes underneath to appeare more corpulent: for they thinke it a speciall excellencie to be fat; and most of them are so; so in frequenting the Bannias for certayne dayes together, wherein they use such dyet and frictions, as daily use confirmeth for effectuall. They cover their faces with black Cypresse bespotted with red. Their under garments of lighter stuffes then the Turkish, not differing in fashion. The better sort weare hoopoes of Gold and Silver about their armes, and above their ancles: others of Copper, with Peeeces of Coyne halfe covering their fore-heads, and plates hung about their neckes, &c. Both men and women doe brand their armes for the love of each other. Divers of the women have I seene with their chinnes distayned into knots and flowres of blue, made by pricking of the skinne with Needles, and rubbing it over with Inke and the Juyce of an herbe, which will never weare out againe. They have quicke and easie labour, bearing heretofore often two, and sometimes three at a burthen: those also borne in the eighth moneth living, rarely if else-where heard of. In the

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adjoyning Deserts of Saint Macario, a Plant there is, low, leavellesse, browne of colour, branched like Corall, and closed at the top, this in the time of the labour of women, they set in water in some corner of the roome, which strangely displayeth, procuring (as they generally conjecture) easie deliveries. The Countrey people doe follow Husbandry. They are not long in dressing themselves, being onely wrapt in a russet Mantle: nor have the women any better coverture, hiding their faces with beastly clouts, having holes for their eyes; which little is too much to see, and abstayne from lothing. Over their shashes the men weare rounds of stiffned russet, to defend their braines from their piercing fervour. A people breathes not more savage and nastie, crusted with dirt, and stinking of smoke, by reason of the \*fuell, and their houses which have no Chimnies. Some of them dwell under beggerly Tents, and those esteemed of the old Inhabitants.

\*Stercus  
bovinum.

But the Copties are the true Egyptians, retayning the name of Coptus that ancient Citie and Territorie, a little below, and on that side the River where once stood Thebes, against the Iland of the Tenterites. The name signifieth Privation, so called, for that there Isis cut off a locke of her Hayre, and put on funerall Garments for the death of Osiris. Others will have them so called in regard of their Circumcision. These, as I said, are Christians, notwithstanding they are circumcised, whereof they now begin to bee ashamed; saying, that in the Countrey they are thereunto compelled by the Moores; and in Cities where secure from violence, they use it not; howbeit, doing it rather in that an ancient custome of their Nation (mentioned by Herodotus) then out of Religion. They were infected with that heresie of one nature in Christ, long before Jacobus (of whom now named, and of whom wee shall speake hereafter) divulged it in Syria.

*The Christians called commonly and corruptly Copties.*

[II. vi. 900.]

At this day they professe him to be perfect God and perfect man; yet dare not distinguish his natures, for feare of dividing his person. They baptize not their Children untill fortie dayes old. Presently after mid-night

*Their Christianity & rites.*

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they repayre to their Churches, where they remaine wel nigh untill Sunday at noone; during which time, they neither sit nor kneele, but support themselves upon crutches. The Priest is veiled and vested in Linnen, having two or three Boyes appparelled alike, and sequestred from the rest of the people, to assist him; for they conferre inferiour Orders upon children. They sing over most part of the Psalms of David at every meeting, with divers parcels of the Old and New Testaments; the latter, as written by Nicomedes: some in the Copticke Language, understood but by few, most in the Moresco. Often both Priest and people conjoyned in Savage noyses, to our judgements not articulate. The Priest not seldome elevating a red cloth (under which, I suppose, was the Sacrament) which they administer in both kinds, and give it to Infants presently after Baptisme. In their Churches they have the Picture of our Saviour, and the blessed Virgin, but not over their Altars; nor for any thing I could perceive, doe they reverence them.

In certaine Chests they preserve the bones and ashes of such as have turned Mahometan, and afterward recanted; for which they have suffered Martyrdome. At their entrance they kisse their hands, and lay them upon one another: the women in grated Galleries separated from the men. Extreame Uncction, Prayer for the Dead, and Purgatory, they admit not of. The Romane Church they hold for Hereticall, and reject all generall Councils, after that of Ephesus. Yet a multitude of late have beene drawne to receive the Popish Religion (especially in Cairo) by the industry of Friers, having had the Romane Liturgie sent them from Rome, together with the Bible, in the *Patriarke of* Arabecke Language. Of Alexandria hath their *Alexandria.* Patriarke his name, but his abode is in Cairo. Sixe dayes journey above Cairo up the River, they have a great Citie, called Salet; where Christ, with his mother, is said to have made their abode untill the death of Herod: unto which, growing old and sickly, they repaire, as desirous to die there: where there is a goodly Church, though something

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ruinous, built by Hellen the mother of Constantine, and consecrated to the blessed Virgin. They never eate in the day time during the Lent, but on Saturdayes and Sundayes. They weare round Caps, Towels about their neckes, and gownes with wide sleeves of Cloth, and Stuffes lesse ponderous. These live in more subjection then the Moores, by reason of their Religion, and pay yerely a certaine summe for their heads to the Bassa. Ignorant in the excellencies of their ancestors, but retaining their vices. Some of them professe some knowledge in Magicke, being but Juglers, compared with the former, by whom such miracles were effected. *Fasting.*

The Lake Mariotis afforded another Haven unto the Citie,\* then that of the Sea more profitable: by reason of the commodities of India, the Arabian Gulph, and up-land parts of Ægypt, brought downe by the conveniency of that passage by Channels now utterly ruined. And the same by a narrow cut was joyned unto another Lake, farre lesse, and neerer the Sea, which at this day too plentifully furnisheth all Turkie with Salt-peter. Betweene the lesse Lake and the Citie, there passeth an artificall channell which serveth them with water (for they have no wells) in the time of the deluge, conveyed by Conduits into ample Cisterns (now most of them Fennie for want of use, an occasion of much sicknesse in the summer) and so preserved untill the succeeding overflow. For Alexandria is all built upon vaults, supported with carved pillars one above another, and lined with stone; insomuch, as no small proportion thereof lay concealed in earth consider we either of the Coast or quantity. *\* Alexandria.*

Such was this Queene of Cities and Metropolis of Africa: who now hath nothing left her but ruines; and those ill witnesses of his perished beauties: declaring rather, that Townes as well as men, have their ages and destinies. Onely those wals remaine which were founded (as some say) by Ptolomie: one within another, imbatled, & garnished with threescore & eight Turrets, rather stately then strong, if compared with the moderne. Yet these,

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by the former descriptions, and ruines without appeare to have immured but a part of the Citie. After that destroyed by the Saracens, it lay for a long time waste, untill a Mahometan Priest, pronouncing (as he said, out of Mahomets prophesies) indulgences to such as should re-edifie, inhabite, or contribute money thereunto, within certaine dayes, did in a short season repeople it. But a latter destruction it received by the Cypriots, French, and Venetians, about the time that Lewis the fourth was enlarged by the Sultans, who surprised the Citie with a marveilous slaughter. But hearing of the approach of the Sultan, (who had raised a great army for their reliefe) desparing to maintaine it, they set it on fire, and departed. The Sultan repairing the walls as well as he could, built this Castle that now stands on the Pharus for the defence of the Haven; and brought it to the state wherein it remaineth. Sundry Mountaines are raised of the ruines, [II. vi. 901.] by Christians not to be mounted; lest they should take too exact a survey of the Citie: in which are often found (especially after a shower) rich stones, and medals engraven with the figures of their Gods, and men, with such perfection of Art; as these now cut, seeme lame to those, and unlively counterfeits. On the top of one of them stands a watch-tower, where continuall centinell is kept, to give notice of approaching sailes. Of Antiquities there are few remainders: onely Hieroglyphicall Obeliske of Theban Marble, as hard wel-nigh as Porphir, but of a deeper red, *PharosNeedle.* and speckled alike, called Pharoes Needle, standing where once stood the Palace of Alexander: and another lying by, and like it, hafe buried in rubbidge. Without the walls on the South-west side of the Citie, on a little hill stands a Columne of the same, all of one stone, eightie sixe Palmes high, and thirty sixe in compasse, the Palme consisting of nine inches and a quarter, according to the measure of Genoa, as measured for Zigal Bassa by a Genoues, set upon a square cube (and which is to be wondered at) not halfe so large as the foot of the Pillar, called by the Arabians, Hemadeslaeor, which is, the Columne of the Arabians.

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They tell a Fable, how that one of the Ptolomies erected the same in the furthest extent of the Haven, to defend the Citie from Navall incursions: having placed a Magicall glasse of Steele on the top, of vertue (if uncovered) to set on fire such ships as sailed by. But subverted by them, the glasse lost that power, who in this place re-erected the Columne. But by the Westernne Christians it is called the pillar of Pompey: and is said to have beene reared by Cæsar, as a memoriall of his Pompeian Victory. The Patriarke of Alexandria hath here a house adjoyning to a Church, which stands (as they say) in the place where Saint Marke was buried, their first Bishop and Martyr: who in the dayes of Trajan, haled with a rope tied about his neck, unto the place, called Angeles, was there burned for the testimonie of Christ, by the idolatrous Pagans. Afterward his bones were removed to Venice by the Venetians, he being the Saint and Patron of that Citie. There be at this day two Patriarkes, one of the Greeks; another of the Circumcised, the universall Patriarke of the Copties and Abassines. The name of the Greeke Patriarke now being, is Cyril, a man of approved vertue and learning, a friend to the reformed Religion, and opposing the contrary; saying, that the differences betweene us and the Greekes, be but shels; but that those are Kernels betweene them and the other. Of whom something more shall be spoken hereafter. The buildings now being, are meane and few, erected on the ruines of the former: that part that lieth along the shoare inhabited onely, the rest desolate: the walls almost quadrangular; on each side a gate, one opening towards Nilus; another regards Mariotis; the third, the Desarts of Barcha; and the fourth, the Haven. Inhabited by Moores, Turkes, Jewes, Copties, and Grecians; more in regard of Merchandize, (for Alexandria is a Free Port, both for friend and enemy) then for the conveniency of the place: seated in a Desart, where they have neither Tillage nor Pasturage, except what borders on the Lake; that little, and unhusbanded: yet keepe they good store of Goats, that

*Pompeis  
pillar.*

*Two Patri-  
arks.*

*Cyrill the  
Patriarke his  
saying.*

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have eares hanging downe to the ground, which feed amongst ruines. On the Ile of Pharus, now a part of the Continent, there stands a Castle, defending the entrance of the Haven; which hath no water but what is brought upon Camels from the Cisterns of the Citie: this, at our comming in, as is the use, we saluted with our Ordnance.

*Customes.*

As many of us as came ashoare, were brought to the Custome-house, to have our selves and our valeisas searched: where ten in the hundred is to be paid for whatsoever we have, and that in kind, onely money payes, but one and a halfe; whereof they take an exact account, that thereby they may aime at the value of returned commodities; then paying eleven in the hundred more, even for such goods as are in property unaltered. At so high a rate is this free traffique purchased, the Mahumetan here paying as much as the Christian. The Customes are framed by the Jewes, paying for the same unto the Bassa

*\*A coyne of silver that trebles the Asper for value.*

twenty thousand \*Madeins a day, thirty of them amounting to a Ryall of eight. Wee lodged in the house of the French Consul, unto whose protection all strangers commit themselves. The Cane lockt up by the Turkes at noones and at nights, for feare that that the Franks should suffer or offer any outrage. The Vice-consul keepes a table for Merchants, he himselfe a Magnifico, lesse liberall of his presence, then industrious to pleasure; yea, rather stately then proud; expecting respect, and meriting good will: that was a Priest, and would be a Cardinall; with the hopes whereof, they say, that he feasteth his ambition. By him we were provided of a Janisary for our guard unto Cairo: his hire, five peeces of gold, besides his owne diet and his mans, with provision of Powder. For our Asses (not inferiour in this Countrey unto horses for travell) halfe a Shariffe a peece, for our Camels a whole one. At the gate they tooke a Madein a head, for our selves and our Asses, so indifferently doe they prise us: through which wee could not passe without a Tescaria from the Cadee, the principall officer of this Citie.

*The Vice-consul.*




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### §. II.

[II. vi. 902.]

His Journey to Cairo, the things remarkeable there, and by the way.

N the second of February in the afternoone, we undertooke our Journey : passing through a Desart, *A Desart.* producing here and there a few unhusbanded Palmes, Capers, and a weed called Kall by the Arabs. This they use for fuel, and then collecting the ashes, which crusht together like a stone, they sell them in great quantity to the Venetians, who equally mixing the same with the stones that are brought them from Pavia by the River of Ticinum, made thereof their Christaline Glasses. *Matter of Christall Glasses.* On the left hand we left divers ruinous buildings: one said to have been the Royall mansion of Cleopatra. Beyond, which, Bucharis, once a little but ancient Citie, now onely shewing her foundations, where grow many Palmes which sustaine the wretched people that live there-about in beggerly Cottages; where on a Rock stands a Tower, affording light by night to the sailer, the place being full of danger. Anon we passed by a guard of Souldiers, there placed for the securing of that passage, paying a Madein for everie head. Seven or eight miles beyond, we ferried over a Creeke of the sea. On the other side stands a handsome Cane, not long since built by a Moore of Cairo for the reliefe of Travellers, containing a quadrangle within, and arched underneath. Under one of these wee reposed; the stones our beds, our fardels the bolsters. In such like places they unloade their merchandize, refreshing themselves and their Camels with provision brought with them, secured from theeves and violence. Giving a trifle for Oyle, about midnight we departed, having here met with good store of company, such as allowed travelling with their matches light, and prepared to receive all onsets. The Moores to keepe themselves awake, would tell one tale a hundred times over. By the way againe we should have paid Caphar,

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*Rosetta.*

but the benefit of the night excused us. Travelling along the Sea shoare, and at length a little inclining on the right hand, before day we entred Rosetta, repairing to a Cane belonging to the Frankes. Our best entertainment an under-roome, musty, without light, and the unwholsome floore to lie upon.

*Or rather  
in the  
Hungarian.*

This Citie stands upon the principall branch of the Nile, (called heretofore Canophus) which about some three miles beneath dischargeth it selfe into the Sea. Having here (as at Damiata) his entrance crossed with a barre of Sand, changing according to the changes of winds, and beating of the Surges, insomuch, that the Jerbies that passe over, are made without keeles, having flat and round bottoms. A Pilot of the Towne there sounding all the day long, by whose directions they enter, and that so close unto him, that one leapes out of that boate into the other to receive pilotage, and returneth swimming. The Jerbies that can passe over this barre, may, if well directed, proceed unto Cairo, Rosetta (called Rasia by the Egyptians) perhaps derived of Ros, which signifieth Rice in the Turkish Tongue, and so named for the abundance that it uttereth (they here shealing monethly three hundred quarters) was built by the slave of an Egyptian Caliph. The houses are all of Brick, not old, yet seeming ancient: flat-rooft, as generally all bee in these hotter Countries (for the Moores use much to lie on the tops of their houses) jetting over aloft like the poores of ships, to shadow the streets that are but narrow, from the Sunnes reflections. Not small, yet of small defence; being destitute of walls, and other fortifications. I thinke no place under heaven is better furnished with Graine, Flesh, Fish, Sugar, fruites, Rootes, &c. Raw hides are here a principall commoditie, from hence transported into Italy. +

*Breadth of  
Nilus.*

The next day but one that followed, we imbarked for Cairo in a Jerbie, unto which seven water men belonged, which we hired for twelve Dollars. This Arme of the Nile is as broad at Rosetta, as Thames about Tilbury, streightning by little and little; and then in many places so

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shallow, that oft we had much adoe to free our selves from the flats that had ingaged us: the water being ever thicke, as if lately troubled; and passing along with a mute and unspeedy current. Ten miles above Rosetta, is that cut of the River which runnes to Alexandria. By the way wee often bought as much Fish for sixe pence, as would have satisfied twentie. On each side of the River stands many Townes, but of no great esteeme, for the most part oposite, built partly of Brick, and partly of Mud; many of the poorer houses appearing like Bee-hives, seated on little Hills throwne up by the labour of man, to preserve them and their Cattell in the time of the overflow. Upon the bankes all along are infinite numbers of deepe and spacious Vaults, into which they doe let the River, drawing up the water into higher Cisterns, with wheelles set round with Pitchers, and turned about by Buffoloes: from whence it runnes along little trenches, made upon the ridges of banks, and so is conveied into their severall grounds, the Countrie lying all in a levell. The winds blew seldome favourable, insomuch as the poore Moores for most part of the way were enforced to hale up the boate, often wading above their middles to deliver it from the shallowes. At every enforcing of themselves (as in all their labours) crying Elough, perswaded that God is neare them when they name him, the divell farre off, and all impediments lessened. Of these it is strange to see such a number of broken persons, so being by reason of their strong labour and weake food. The pleasant walkes which we had on the shoare, made our lingring passage lesse tedious. The fruitfull soyle possessing us with wonder; and early maturitie of things, there then as forward as with us in June, who beginne to reape in the ending of March.

*Cut of the  
River.*

*Letting in of  
the River  
drawne up by  
Buffoloes.*

*Elough is their  
naming of  
God, as we  
begin, In Gods  
Name.  
[II. vi. 903.]*

The Sugar Canes served our hands for staves, and feasted our tastes with their Liquor. By the way we met with Troupes of Horsemen, appointed to cleere those passages from Theeves, whereof there are many, who also rob by water in little Frigats. Which made our carefull Janizary (for so are most in their undertaken charges) assisted by

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*Bolac.*

*Bountie of an  
English Mer-  
chant at Cairo.  
Cairo  
described.*

two other (to whom wee gave their passage, who otherwise would have taken it) nightly to keepe watch by turnes, discharging their Harquebuses in the evening, and hanging out kindled matches, to terrifie the Theeves, and testifie their vigilancie. Five dayes now almost spent since we first imbarked, an houre before Sun-set we sayled by the Southerne angle of Delta: where the River divideth into another branch, not much inferiour unto this, the East bounds of that Iland (which whether of Asia or Africa is yet to be decided) entring the Sea (as hath beene said before) below Damiata. Proceeding up the river, about twilight we arrived at Bolac the Port Town to Cairo, and not two miles distant: where every Franke at his landing is to pay a Dollar. Leaving our carriages in the Boat, within night we hired sixe Asses with their drivers for the value of sixe pence, to conduct us unto Cairo, where by an English Merchant we were kindly entertained, who fed and housed us gratis.

This Citie is seated on the East side of the River, at the foote of the rockie mountaine Muctac: winding therewith, and representing the forme of a crescent, stretching South and North with the adjoyning Suburbs, five Italian miles; in breadth scarce one and a halfe where it is at the broadest: the walles (if it be walled) rather seeming to belong unto private houses then otherwise. Yet is the Citie of a marveilous strength, as appeared by that three dayes battell carried through it by Selymus, and maintained by a poore remainder of the Mamalucks. For the streets are narrow, and the houses high-built, all of stone well nigh to the top, at the end almost of each a Gate, which shut (as nightly they are) make every street as defensive as a Castle. The houses more beautifull without, then commodious within, being ill contrived with combersome passages. Yet are the roofes high pitcht, and the uppermost lightly open in the midst to let in the comfortable aire. Flat, and plaistred above: the walls surmounting their roofes, commonly of single bricks (as are many of the walls of the uppermost stories)

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which ruined above, to such as stand aloft afford a confused spectacle, and may be compared to a Grove of flourishing Trees that have onely seere and perished Crownes. Their Lockes and Keyes bee of wood; even unto doores that are plated with Iron. But the private buildings are not worth the mentioning, if compared to the publike, of which the Mosques exceed in magnificencie: the stones of many being curiously carved without, supported with Pillars of Marble, adorned with what Art can devise, and their Religion tollerate. Yet differ they in forme from those of Constantinople; some being square with open roofes in the middle of a huge proportion, the covered Circle Tarrast above: others stretching out in length, and many fitted unto the place where they stand. One built (and that the greatest) by Gehor, called Gemith Hashare: hee beeing named Hashare by the Caliph, which signifieth Noble. Of these in this Citie there is reported to bee such a number, as passes beliefe, so that I list not name it.

*Lockes and  
Keyes of  
wood.*

Adjoyning unto them are lodgings for Santons, (which are fooles, and mad men) of whom we have spoken already. When one of them dye, they carry his body about in procession with great rejoycings, whose soule they suppose to bee rapt into Paradise. Heere bee also divers goodly Hospitals, both for building, revenue, and attendance.

*Fooles foolishly  
admired, and  
mad Saints.*

Next to these in beautie are the Great mens Serraglios. By which if a Christian ride they will pull him from his Asse (for they prohibit us Horses as not worthy to bestride them) with indignation and contumely. The streets are unpaved, and exceeding dirtie after a shower (for here it rayneth sometimes in the winter contrary to the received opinion, and then most subject to plagues) over which many beames are laid athwart on the tops of houses, and covered with Mats to shelter them from the Sunne. The like coverture there is betweene two high Mosques in the principall street of the Citie, under which when the Basha passeth, or others of qualitie, they shoot up arrowes, which sticke above in abundance. The occasion of that

*Contempt of  
Christians.*

*Raine in  
Egypt.*

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*Little Byram.*

custome I know not. During our abode in the Citie fell out the Feast of their little Byram, when in their private houses they slaughter a number of sheepe; which cut in gobbets, they distribute unto their slaves and poorer sort of people, besmearing the doores with their blood: perhaps in imitation of the Passeover.

[II. vi. 904.]

*Stately palace.*

*The Lake.*

The Nile (a mile distant) in the time of the inundation, by sundry channels flowes into the Citie. When these channels grow emptie, or the water corrupted, they have it brought them thence-forth from the River by Camels. For although they have many Wels, yet is the water bad, and good for no other use then to coole the streets, or to cleanse their houses. In the heart of the Towne stands a spacious Cave, which they call the Besestan; in which (as in those at Constantinople) are sold all kind of Wares of the finer sort, selling old things by the call, of, Who gives more? imitating therein the Venetians, or imitated by them. Three principall gates there be to this Citie, Bebe Nanfre, or the Gate of Victorie, opening towards the Redde Sea; Bab Zueila leading to Nilus, and the old Towne (betweene these the chiefe street of the Citie doth extend) and Bebel Futuli, or the Port of Triumph, on the North of the Citie, and opening to the Lake called Esbykie. Three sides thereof are inclosed with goodly buildings, having galleries of pleasure which jettie over, sustayned upon Pillars. On the other side (now a heape of ruines) stood the stately Pallace of Dultibe, Wife to the Sultan Caitheus: in which were doores and Jaumes of Ivorie; the walles and pavements checkered with discoloured Marble, Columnes of Porphir, Alabaster, and Serpentine: the seelings flourished with Gold and Azure, and inlayd with Indian Ebony, a Tree, which being cut downe, almost equals a stone in hardnesse. In a word, the magnificencie was such as could be devised or effected by a womans curiositie, and the Purse of a Monarch, levelled with the ground by Selymus, the stones and ornaments thereof were conveyed unto Constantinople.

The Lake both square and large, is but onely a Lake

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when the River over-floweth; joyned thereunto by a channell, where the Moores (rowed up and downe in Barges, shaded with Damaskes, and Stuffes of India) accustome to solace themselves in the evening. The water fallen, yet the place rather changeth then loseth his delightfulness: affording the profit of five Harvests in a yeare, together with the pleasure, frequented much in the coole of the day. I cannot forget the injurie received in this place, and withall the justice. Abused by a beggerly Moore, (for such onely will) who then but seemed to begin his knavery, wee were glad to flye unto another for succour, seeming a man of good sort; and by kissing of his garment, insinuated into his favour; who rebuked him for the wrong hee did us. When crossing us againe, ere wee had gone farre, he used us farre worse then before: we offering to returne to the other, which he fearing, interposed; doing us much villany to the merriment of the beholders, esteeming of Christians as of Dogges and Infidels. At length we got by, and againe complayned. Hee in a marvellous rage made his slaves to pursue him; who caught him, stript him, and beat him with Rods all along the Levell, calling us to bee lookers on, and so conveyed him to the place of correction; where by all likelihood he had a hundred blowes on the feet to season his pastimes. Beyond this are a number of stragling houses, extending well-nigh to Bolac, which is the Key unto Cairo, a large Towne, and stretching alongst the River; in fashion of building, in some part not much inferiour to the other. Within and without the Citie are a number of delicate Orchards, watered as they doe their fields, in which grow variety of excellent fruits; as Oranges, Lemons, Pomegranates, Apples of Paradise, Sicamor figs, and others, (whose barkes they bore full of holes, the trees being as great as the greatest Oakes, the fruit not growing amongst the leaves, but out of the bole and branches) Dates, Almonds, Cassia fistula, (leaved like an Ash, the fruit hanging downe like Sausages) Locust, (flat, and of the forme of a Cycle) Galls growing upon

*Five Harvests  
in a yeare.*

*Base knaverie,  
& good justice.*

*Admirable  
fertility of  
fruits, and  
their varietie.*

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*Plantans  
supposed  
supplanters.*

*Embleme of  
good Magis-  
trates.*

*Cameleons  
described at  
large.*

Tamarix, Apples no bigger then Berries, Plantains that have a broad flaggie leafe, growing in clusters, and shaped like Cucumers, the rind like a Pescod, solid within, without stones or kernels, to the taste exceeding delicious, (this the Mahometans say was the forbidden fruit; which beeing eaten by our first Parents, and their nakednesse discovered unto them, they made them Aprons of the leaves thereof) and many more, not knowne by name, nor seene by mee else-where: some bearing fruit all the yeare, and almost all of them their leaves. To these adde those whole fields of Palmes (and yet no prejudice to the undergrowing Corne) of all others most delightfull.

In the aforesaid Orchards there are great numbers of Cameleons; yet not easily found, in that neere to the colour of that whereon they sit. A creature about the bignesse of an ordinary Lizard. His head unproportionably bigge, his eyes great, and mooving without the writhing of his necke which is inflexible, his backe crooked, his skinne spotted with little tumors, lesse eminent as neerer the belly; his tayle slender and long: on each foot he hath five fingers, three on the out-side, and two on the inside slow of pace, but swiftly extending his tongue, of a marvellous length for the proportion of his body, wherewith he preyes upon Flyes, the top thereof being hollowed by Nature for that purpose. So that deceived they be who thinke that they eat nothing, but onely live upon Ayre; though surely Aire is their principall sustenance. For those that have kept them for a whole yeare together, could never perceive that they fed upon any thing else, and might observe their bellies to swell, after they had exhausted the Ayre, and closed their jawes; which they expanse against the rayes of the Sunne. Of colour greene, and of a duskey yellow: brighter and whiter towards the belly, yet spotted with blue, white, and red. They change not into all colours, as reported: laid upon greene: the greene predominates; upon yellow the yellow: but laid upon blue, or red, or white, the greene retayneth his hue notwithstanding; onely the other spots



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receive a more orient lustre: laid upon black, they looke black, yet not without a mixture of greene. All of them in all places are not coloured alike. They are said to beare a deadly hatred to the Serpent, insomuch as when they espie them basking in the Sunne, or in the shade, they will climbe to the over-hanging branches, and let downe from their mouthes a thred, like to that of a Spinsters, having at the end a little round drop, which shineth like Quicksilver, that falling on their heads doth destroy them: and what is more to be admired, if the boughes hang not so over, that the thred may perpendicularly descend, with their former feet they will so direct it, that it shall fall directly. [II. vi. 905.]

Aloft, and neere the top of the Mountaine, against the South end of the Citie, stands the Castle (once the stately Mansion of the Mamaluck Sultans, and destroyed by Selymus) ascended unto by one way onely, and that hewen out of the Rocke; which rising leisurely with easie steepes and spacious distances, (though of a great height) may bee on horse-backe without difficultie mounted. From the top, the Citie by reason of the Palmes dispersed throughout, appeareth most beautifull; the whole Countrey below lying open to the view. The Castle so great, that it seemeth a Citie of it selfe, immured with high wals, divided into partitions, and entred by doores of Iron; wherein are many spacious Courts, in times past the places of exercise. The ancient buildings all ruinated, doe onely shew that they have beene sumptuous, there beeing many Pillars of solid Marble yet standing, of so huge a proportion, that how they came thither is not least to be wondred at. Here hath the Bassa his Residence, wherein the Divan is kept, on Sundayes, Mundayes, and Tuesdayes the Chauses as Advocates, preferring the Suites of their Clients. Fortie Janizaries he hath of his Guard, attyred like those at Constantinople, the rest employed about the Countrey, for the most part are not the sonnes of Christians, yet faithfull unto such as are under their charges, whom should they betray, they not onely lose their lives,

*The Castle.*

*Marbles  
marvels.*

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but also the pay which is due to their Posteritie. Such is this Citie, the fairest in Turkie, yet differing from what it was, as from a body being young and healthfull, doth the same growne old and wasted with Diseases.

*Armenians.* Now Cairo, this great Citie is inhabited by Moores, Turkes, Negroes, Jewes, Copties, Greekes, and Armenians: who are here the poorest, and every-where the honestest; labouring painfully, and living soberly. Those that are not subject to the Turke, if taken in warres, are freed from bondage: who are, live freely, and pay no Tribute of Children as doe other Christians. This privilege enjoy they, for that a certaine Armenian foretold of the greatnesse and glory of Mahomet. They once were under the Patriarke of Constantinople: but about the Heresie of Eutyches they fell from his government, and communion with the Grecians, whom they detest above all other: rebaptizing such as convert to their Sect. They beleieve that there is but one nature in Christ, not by a commixtion of the divine with the humane, as Eutyches taught, but by a conjunction, even as the soule is joyned to the body. They deny the Reall Presence in the Sacrament, and administer it as the Copties doe: with whom they agree also, concerning Purgatorie, and not praying for the dead: as with the Greekes, that the Holy Ghost proceedeth onely from the Father, and that the dead neither doe nor shall feele joy or torment untill the day of Doome.

*Laonicus  
Chal. lib. 3.*

Their Patriarke hath his being at Tyberis in Persia: in which Countrey they live wealthily, and in good estimation. There are three hundred Bishops of that Nation; the Priests marry not twice: eat flesh but five times a yeare, and then lest the people should thinke it a sinne to eate, in regard of their abstinence. They erre that write, that the people abstaine from all meates prohibited by the Mosaicall Law; for Hogges flesh they eate where they can, without offence, to the Mahometans. They observe the Lent most strictly, yet eate flesh upon Fridayes betweene Easter and Whitsontide. As for Images they adore them

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not. Here they have their Assemblies in obscure Chambers. Comming in (which was on a Sunday in the afternoone) we found one sitting in the middest of the Congregation, in habit not differing from the rest, reading on a Bible in the Chaldean Tongue. Anon the Bishop entred in a Hood and Vest of blacke, with a staffe in his hand, to which they attributed much holinesse. First, hee prayed, and then sung certaine Psalmes, assisted by two or three; after all sung joyntly, at interims praying to themselves: resembling the Turkes in the positure of their bodies, and often prostrations: the Bishop excepted; who erecting his hands stood all the while with his face to the Altar. The Service ended, one after another doe kisse his hand, and bestowe their Almes, he laying the other on their heads, and blessing them. Lastly, prescribeth succeeding Fasts and Festivals. Where is to be noted, that they fast upon the Day of the Nativitie of our Saviour.

Here also is a Monasterie of Greeke Coloieros, belonging unto the capitall Monastery of Saint Katherine of Mount Sina, from Cairo some eight dayes journey over the Deserts; said to bee the daughter of King Costa, a King of Cyprus, who in the time of Maxentius converted many unto Christ. Tortured on a Wheele, and finally beheaded at Alexandria (where two goodly Pillars of Theban Marble (though halfe swallowed with ruines) preserve the memory of the place,) she was conveyed (as they affirme) by an Angell, and buried in this Mountaine. It hath three tops of a marvellous height: that on the West-side of old called Mount Horeb, where God appeared to Moses in a bush, fruitfull in pastorage; farre lower, and shadowed when the Sunne ariseth by the middlemost, that whereon God gave the Law unto Moses. The Monastery stands at the foot of the mountaine, resembling a Castle, with an Iron doore; wherein they shew the Tombe of the Saint much visited by Pilgrims, from whence the top by fourteene thousand steps of stone is ascended, where stands a ruined Chappell. A plentifull Spring

*Greekes.*

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[II. vi. 906.] descendeth from thence and watering the Valley below, is againe drunke up by the thirstie sand. This strong Monasterie is to entertayne all Pilgrims, (for there is no other place of entertainment) having an annuall Revenue of sixtie thousand Dollars from Christian Princes. Of which foundation sixe and twentie other depend, dispersed through divers Countries. They give also daily Almes to the Arabs, to be the better secured from out-rage. Yet will they not suffer them to enter, but let it downe from the Battlements. Their Orchard aboundeth with excellent Fruites: amongst which Apples, rare in these Countries, transferred from Damasco. They are neither subject to Pope, nor Patriarke, but have a Superintendent of their owne, at this present in Cairo. These here made us a collation, where I could not but observe their gulling in of Wine with a deare felicitie, whereof they have their provision from Candy.

During our abode here, a Carvan went forth with much solemnity, to meet and relieve the great Carvan in their returne from Mecha, which consisteth of many thousands of Pilgrims that travell yeerely thither in devotion and for Merchandize; every one with his bandroll in his hand, and their Camels gallantly trickt (the Alcoran carried upon one, in a precious case covered over with needle-worke, and laid on a rich pillow, invironed with a number of their chanting Priests) guarded by divers companies of Souldiers, and certaine field peeces. Forty easie dayes Journey it is distant from hence: divided by a wilderness of sand, that lyeth in drifts, and dangerously mooveth with the wind, through which they are guided in many places by starres, as ships in the Ocean.

*Egges hatched  
by art.*

Then Cairo, no Citie can be more populous, nor better served with all sorts of provision. Here hatch they egges by artificiall heat in infinite numbers, the manner as seene thus briefly. In a narrow entry on each side stood two rowes of Ovens, one over another. On the floores of the lower they lay the offals of flaxe; over those mats, and upon them their egges, at least sixe thousand in an Oven.

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The floores of the upper Ovens were as rooffes to the under, grated over like Kilnes, onely having tunnels in the middle, with covers unto them. These gratings are covered with Mats, on them three inches thicke lyeth the dry and pulverated dung of Camels, Buffoloes, &c. At the hither and farther sides of those upper Ovens are Trenches of Lome; a handfull deepe, and two handfuls broad. In these they burne of the foresaid dung, which giveth a smothering heat without visible fire. Under the mouthes of the upper Ovens are conveyances for smoke, having round roofes, and vents at the top to shut and to open. Thus lye the Egges in the lower Ovens for the space of eight dayes, turned daily, and carefully lookt to that the heate be but moderate. Then cull they the bad from the good, by that time distinguishable (holding them betweene a Lampe and the Eye) which are two parts of three for the most part. Two dayes after they put out the fire, and convey by the passages in the middle, the one halfe into the upper Ovens: then shutting all close, they let them alone for ten dayes longer, at which time they become disclosed in an instant. This they practise from the beginning of January untill the midst of June, the Egges being then most fit for that purpose; neither are they (as reported) prejudiced by Thunder: yet these declare that imitated Nature will never be equalled, all of them being in some part defective or monstrous.

Most of the Inhabitants of Cairo consist of Merchants and Artificers: yet the Merchants frequent no forrein Marts. All of a Trade keepe their shops in one place, which they shut about the houre of five, and solace themselves for the rest of the day, Cookes excepted, who keepe theirs open till late in the evening. For few, but such as have great Families dresse meate in their houses, which the men doe buy ready drest; the women too fine fingerd to meddle with houswifry, who ride abroad upon pleasure on easie-going Asses, and tye their Husbands to the benevolence that is due; which if neglected, they will complaine to the Magistrate, and procure a Divorcement.

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Many practitioners here are in Physick, invited thereunto by the store of Simples brought hither, and here growing, an Art wherein the Egyptians have excelled from the beginning.

*Rue whole-  
some.*

A kind of Rue is here much in request, wherewith they perfume themselves in the mornings, not onely as a preservative against infection, but esteeming it prevalent against hurtfull spirits. So the Barbarians of old accustomed to doe with the Roots of wild Galingal. There are in this Citie, and have beene of long, a sort of people that doe get their livings by the shewing of feats with Birds and Beasts, exceeding therein all such as have beene famous amongst us. I have heard a Raven to speake so perfectly, as it hath amazed me. They use both their throats and tongues in uttering of sounds, which other Birds doe not, and therefore more fit for that purpose. Scaliger the Father, reports of one that was kept in a Monasterie heard by him; which, when hungry, would call upon Conrade, the Cooke, so plainly, as often mistaken for a man. I have seene them make both Dogges and Goats to set their foure feet on a little turned Pillar of wood, about a foot high, and no broader at the end then the palme of a hand, climing from one to two, set on the top of one another, and so to the third and fourth; and there turne about as often as their Masters would bid them. They carry also dancing Camels about, taught when young, by setting them on a hot hearth, and playing all the while on an Instrument: the poore beast through the extremity of heat lifting up his feet one after another. This practise they for certaine moneths together, so that at length whensoever he heareth the fiddle, he will fall a dancing. Asses they will teach to doe such tricks, as if possessed with reason: to whom Bankes his horse would have proved but a Zany.

*See Leo.*

[II. vi. 907.]

*Matarea.*

The time of our departure proroged, we rode to Matarea, five miles North-east of the Citie. By the way we saw sand cast upon the earth, to moderate the fertility. Here they say, that our Saviour, and the blessed Virgin,

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with Joseph, reposed themselves, as they fled from the fury of Herod, when oppressed with thirst, a Fountaine forthwith burst forth at their feet to refresh them. We saw a Well environed with a poore mud wall, the water drawne up by \*Buffolos into a little Cisterne; from whence it ran into a laver of Marble within a small Chappell, by the Moores (in contempt of Christians) spitefully defiled. In the wall there is a little concave lined with sweet wood (diminished by affectors of relicks) and smoked with incense: in the sole, a stone of Porphyry, whereon (they say) she did set our Saviour. Of so many thousand Wells (a thing most miraculous) this onely affordeth gustable waters, and that so excellent, that the Bassa refuseth the river to drinke thereof, and drinkes of no other; and when they ceasse for any time to exhaust it, it sendeth forth of it selfe so plentifull a streame, as able to turne an over-fall Mill. Passing through the Chappell, it watereth a pleasant Orchard; in a corner whereof there standeth an over-growne fig-tree, which opened (as they report) to receive our Saviour and his mother, then hardly escaping the pursuers; closing againe till the pursute was past; then againe dividing, as now it remaineth. A large hole there is through one of the sides of the leaning bulke: this (they say) no bastard can thred, but shall sticke fast by the middle. The tree is all to be-hackt for the wood thereof, reputed of soveraigne vertue. But I abuse my time, and provoke my Reader. In an inclosure adjoyning, they shewed us a plant of Balme, the whole remainder of that store which this Orchard produced, destroyed by the Turkes, or envy of the Jewes, as by them reported, being transported out of Jury, in the dayes of Herod the Great, by the commandement of Antonius, at the suite of Cleopatra: but others say, brought hither out of Arabia Felix, at the cost of a Saracen Sultan.

*\*Salanicus  
tom. 10. cap. 6.  
dares to report  
(as he saith,  
himselfe seeing  
it) that from  
Sunday at  
noone untill  
Monday morn-  
ing they will  
not labour in  
the drawing up  
of water,  
though urged  
with stripes.*

*Balme.*

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### §. III.

The Pyramides viewed, Sphynx and other antiquities. Journey from Cairo to Gaza.

*Strange, if the  
dealing be as  
true as the  
telling.*

A

Day or two after, wee crossed the Nilus. Three miles beyond on the left hand left we the place where upon Good-friday the armes and legs of a number of men appeare stretched foorth of the earth, to the astonishment of the multitude. This I have heard confirmed by Christians, Mahometans, and Jewes, as seene upon their severall faiths. An impostury perhaps contrived by the water-men, who fetching them from the Mummes, (whereof there are an unconsumeable number) and keeping the mystery in their families, doe sticke them over night in the sand, obtaining thereby the yeerely Ferrying over of many thousands of passengers. Three or foure miles further, on the right hand, and in sight, athwart the Plaine, there extendeth a caussey supported with Arches five Furlongs long, ten paces high, and five in breadth, of smooth and figured stone; built by the builder of the Pyramides, for a passage over the soft and unsupporting earth with weighty carriages. Now having ridden through a goodly Plaine, some twelve miles over (in that place the whole breadth of Ægypt) we came to the foot of the Libyan Desarts.

*Mummeys.*

*Pyramides.*

Full West of the Citie, close upon these Desarts, aloft on a Rockie Levell adjoyning to the Valley, stands those three Pyramides (the barbarous Monuments of prodigality and vaine glory) so universally celebrated. The name is derived from a flame of fire, in regard of their shape; broad below, and sharpe above, like a pointed Diamond. By such the ancient did expresse the originall of things, and that formelesse forme-taking substance. For as a Pyramis beginning at a point, and the principall height, by little and little dilateth into all parts: so Nature proceeding from one undevidable Fountaine (even God the Sovereigne Essence) receiveth diversitie of formes, effused



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into severall kinds and multitudes of figures; uniting all in the supream head, from whence all excellencies issue.

Most manifest it is, that these, as the rest, were the Regall Sepulchers of the Egyptians. The greatest of the three, and chiefe of the Worlds seven wonders, being square at the bottome, is supposed to take up eight Acres of ground. Every square being three hundred single paces in length, the square at the top consisting of three stones onely, yet large enough for threescore to stand upon: ascended by two hundred and fiftie five steps, each step above three feet high, of a breadth proportionable. No stone so little throughout the whole, as to be drawne by our Carriages, yet were these hewen out of the Trojan mountaynes, farre off in Arabia, so called of the Captive [II. vi. 908.] Trojans, brought by Menelaus into Egypt, and there afterward planted. A wonder how conveyed hither: how so mounted, a greater. Twentie yeares it was a building, by three hundred threescore and sixe thousand men continually wrought upon: who onely in Radishes, Garlicke, and Onions, are said to have consumed one thousand and eight hundred Talents. By these and the like Inventions exhausted they their Treasure, and employed the people, for feare lest such infinite wealth should corrupt their Successors, and dangerous idlenesse beget in the Subject a desire of innovation.

Yet this hath beene too great a morsell for Time to devoure; having stood, as may be probably conjectured, about three thousand and two hundred yeares; and now rather old then ruinous: yet the North-side most worne, by reason of the humiditie of the Northerne wind, which here is the moistest. The top at length we ascended with many pauses and much difficultie, from whence with delighted eyes we beheld that soveraigne of streames, and most excellent of Countries. Southward and neare hand the Mummies: a-farre off divers huge Pyramides; each of which, were this away, might supply the repute of a wonder. During a great part of the day it casteth no shadow on the Earth, but is at once illuminated on all

*North moist.*

*Other Pyra-  
mides.*

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sides. Descending againe, on the East-side, below, from each corner equally distant, we approched the entrance, seeming heretofore to have beene closed up, or so intended, both by the place it selfe, as appeareth by the following Picture, and conveyances within.

Into this our Janizaries discharged their Harquebuses, lest some should have skulkt within to have done us a mischief, and guarded the mouth whilst wee entred, for feare of the wilde Arabs. To take the better footing we put off our shooes, and most of our apparell: foretold of the heate within, not inferiour to a Stove. Our guide (a Moore) went foremost: every one of us with our lights in our hands. A most dreadfull passage, and no lesse cumbersome; not above a yard in breadth, and foure feet in height: each stone containyng that measure. So that alwayes stooping, and sometimes creeping, by reason of the rubbidge, we descended (not by staires, but as downe the steepe of a hill) a hundred feet: where the place for a little circuit enlarged; and the fearefull descent continued, which, they say, none ever durst attempt any farther. Save that a Bassa of Cairo, curious to search into the secrets thereof, caused divers condemned persons to undertake the performance; well stored with lights and other provision: and that some of them ascended againe wel-nigh thirtie miles off in the Deserts. A Fable devised onely to beget wonder. But others have written, that at the bottome there is a spacious Pit eightie and sixe Cubits deepe, filled at the over-flow by concealed Conduits: in the midst a little Iland, and on that a Tombe containyng the bodie of Cheops, a King of Egypt, and the builder of this Pyramis: which with the truth hath a greater affinitie. For since I have beene told by one out of his owne experience, that in the uttermost depth there is a large square place (though without water) into which he was led by another entry opening to the South, knowne but unto few (that now open being shut by some order) and came up at this place. A turning on the right hand leadeth into a little roome, which by reason of the noysome

[II. vi. 909.]





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savour, and uneasie passage wee refused to enter. Clambering over the mouth of the aforesaid Dungeon, we ascended as upon the bow of an Arch, the way no larger then the former, about a hundred and twentie feet. Here we passed through a long entry which led directly forward ; so low, that it tooke even from us that uneasie benefit of stooping. Which brought us into a little roome with a compast roofe, more long then broad, of polished Marble, whose gravel-like smell, halfe full of rubbidge forced our quicke returne. Climing also over this entrance, we ascended as before, about an hundred and twentie feet higher. This entrie being of an exceeding height, yet no broader from side to side then a man may fathome, benched on each side, and closed above with admirable Architecture, the Marble so great, and so cunningly joyned, as had it beene hewen through the living Rocke. At the top we entred into a goodly Chamber, twentie foot wide, and fortie in length, the roofe of a marvellous height ; and the stones so great, that eight floores it, eight roofes it, eight flagge the ends, and sixteene the sides, all of well wrought Theban Marble. Athwart the roome at the upper end there standeth a Tombe, uncovered, empty, and all of one stone ; brest high, seven feet in length, not foure in breadth, and sounding like a Bell. In this, no doubt, lay the bodie of the Builder. They erecting such costly Monuments, not onely out of a vaine ostentation : but beeing of opinion, that after the dissolution of the flesh the soule should survive ; and when thirtie sixe thousand yeares were expired, againe bee joyned unto the selvesame bodie, restored unto his former condition : gathered in their conceits from Astronomically demonstrations. Against one end of the Tombe, and close to the wall, there openeth a Pit with a long and narrow mouth, which leadeth into an under Chamber. In the walles on each side of the upper roome, there are two holes, one opposite to another ; their ends not discernable, nor bigge enough to be crept into : sootie within ; and made, as they say, by a flame of fire which darteth through it. This is

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all that this huge masse containeth within his darkesome entrailes: at least to be discovered.

*The Cheops.*

[II. vi. 910.]

Herodotus reports that King Cheops became so poore by the building thereof, that hee was compelled to prostitute his Daughter, charging her to take whatsoever shee could get: who affecting her particular glorie, of her severall Customers demanded severall stones, with which she erected the second Pyramis; farre lesse then the former, smoothe without, and not to be entred. The third which standeth on the higher ground, is very small if compared with the other; yet saith both Herodotus and Strabo, greater in beautie, and of no lesse cost: beeing all built of Touch-stone; difficult to be wrought, and brought from the farthest Æthiopian mountaines: but surely not so; yet intended they to have covered it with Theban Marble; whereof a great quantitie lyeth by it. Made by Mycerinus the Sonne of Cheops; some say, by a Curtizan of Naucretis, called Dorica by Sappho the Poetresse, beloved of her Brother Caraxus, who fraught with Wines, oft sayled hither from Lesbos. Others name Rhodope, another of that Trade; at the first fellow slave with Æsop the writer of Fables: who obtaining her libertie dwelt in this Citie: where such in some sort were reputed noble. But that she should get by whoring such a masse of Treasure, is incredible.

Some tell a Storie, how that one day washing her selfe, an Eagle snatcht away her shooe and bearing it to Memphis, let it fall from on high into the lap of the King. Who astonished with the accident, & admiring the forme, forth-with made a search for the owner throughout all his Kingdome. Found in Naucretis, and brought unto him, he made her his Queene, and after her death enclosed her in this Monument. She lived in the dayes of Amasis.

*The Colossus.*

Not farre off from these the Colossus doth stand, unto the mouth consisting of the naturall rocke, as if for such a purpose advanced by Nature, the rest of huge flat stones laid thereon, wrought altogether into the forme of an Æthiopian woman, and adored heretofore by the Countrey

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people as a rurall Diety. Under this, they say, lieth buried the body of Amasis. Of shape, lesse monstrous then is Plinies report: who affirmeth, the head to be an hundred and two feet in compasse, when the whole is but sixtie foot high, the face is something disfigured by Time, or indignation of the Moores, detesting Images. The fore-said Author (together with others) doe call it a Sphynx. The upper part of a Sphynx resembled a Maide, and the lower a Lion; whereby the Egyptians defigured the increase of the River, (and consequently of their riches) then rising when the Sunne is in Leo and Virgo. This but from the shoulders upward surmounteth the ground, though Pliny give it a belly, which I know not how to reconcile unto the truth, unlesse the sand doe cover the remainder. By a Sphynx the Egyptians in their Hieroglyphickes presented an Harlot, having an amiable and alluring face; but withall the tyrannie, and rapacitie of a Lion: exercised over the poore heart-broken, and voluntarily perishing Lover.

*Plinie taxed.*

The Images of these they also erected before the entrances of their Temples; declaring that secrets of Philosophy, and sacred Mysterie, should be folded in Ænigmaticall expressions, separated from the understanding of the prophane multitude.

Five miles South-east of these, and two West of the River, towards which inclineth this brow of the mountaine, stood the Regall Citie of Memphis: the strength and glory of old Egypt, built by Ogdoo, and called Memphis, by the name of his Daughter, compressed (as they faine) by Nilus, in the likenesse of a Bull. In this was the Temple of Apis (which is the same with Osiris) as Osiris with Nilus, Bacchus, Apollo, &c.

But why spend I time about that that is not? The very ruines now almost ruined, yet some few impressions are left, and divers throwne downe, Statues of monstrous resemblances, a scarce sufficient testimonie to shew to the curious seeker, that there it had beene.

This hath made some erroneously affirme old Memphis

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to have beene the same with new Cairo : new in respect of the other. But those that have both seene and writ of the former, report it to have stood three Schœnes above the South Angle of Delta, (each Schœne containyng five miles at the least, and sometimes seven and a halfe, differing according to their severall customes) which South-angle is distant but barely foure miles from Cairo. Besides, these Pyramides appertaining unto Memphis, affirmed to have stood five miles North-west of that Citie, standing directly West, and full twelve from this. But the most pregnant prooffe hereof are the Mummies, (lying in a place where many generations have had their Sepulchres) not farre above Memphis, neere the brow of the Libyan Desart, and streightning of the Mountaines, from Cairo wel-nigh twenty miles. Nor likely it is that they would so farre carry their dead, having as convenient a place adjoyning to the Citie.

These we had purposed to have seene, but the chargeable guard, and feare of the Arabs, there then solemnizing their festival, being besides to have laine out al night, made us content our selves with what we had heard ; having before seene divers of the embalmed bodies, and some broken up, to be bought for Dollars a peece at the Citie. In that place are some indifferent great, and a number of little Pyramides, with Tombes of severall fashions : many ruined, as many violated by the Moores and Arabians, who make a profit of the dead, and infringe the priviledge of Sepulchres. These were the graves of the ancient Ægyptians, from the first inhabiting of that Countrey ; coveting to be there interred, as the place supposed to containe the body of Osiris. Under every one, or where-soever lies stones not naturall to the place, by remooving the same, descents are discovered like the narrow mouths  
[II. vi. 911.] of Wells (having holes in each side of the walls to descend by, yet so troublesome, that many refuse to goe downe, that come thither of purpose) some wel-nigh ten fathoms deepe, leading into long vaults (belonging, as should seeme, to particular families) hewne out of the Rocke,







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with Pillars of the same. Betweene every Arch the corses lie ranckt one by another, shrowded in a number of folds of linnen, swathled with bands of the same: the brests of divers being stained with Hieroglyphicall Characters. Within their bellies are painted papers, and their Gods inclosed in little Models of stone or mettall, some of the shape of men, in coat-armours, with the heads of Sheepe, Hawkes, Dogs, &c. others of Cats, Beetles, Monkies, and such like. Of these I brought away divers with mee, such in similitude.

- A. This with the head of a Monkie or Baboon, should seeme by what is said before, to have beene worshipped by those of Thebais.
- B. Anubis, whereof Virgil,  
The Monster-Gods, Anubis barking buckle,  
With Neptune, Venus, Pallas.

Omnigenumque deum monstra, & latrator Anubis.  
Contra Neptunum & Venerem, contraque Minervam,  
Tela tenent. *Æn.* l. 8.

Some say, he was the eldest sonne of Osiris, being figured with the head of a dogge, in that he gave a dogge for his Ensigne. Others, that under this shape they adored Mercurie, in regard of the sagacitie of that creature. The Dogge throughout *Ægypt* was universally worshipped, but especially by the Cynopolites.

- C. These of Sait did principally worship the sheepe, it should seeme in this forme.
- D. This I conjecture (how ever unlike) hath the head of a Hawke, being generally worshipped by the *Ægyptians*, under which forme they presented Osiris.
- E. I know not what to make of it (for the originall is greatly defaced) unlesse it be a Lyon; under which shape they adored Isis.
- F. Not so much as the Beetle, but received Divine

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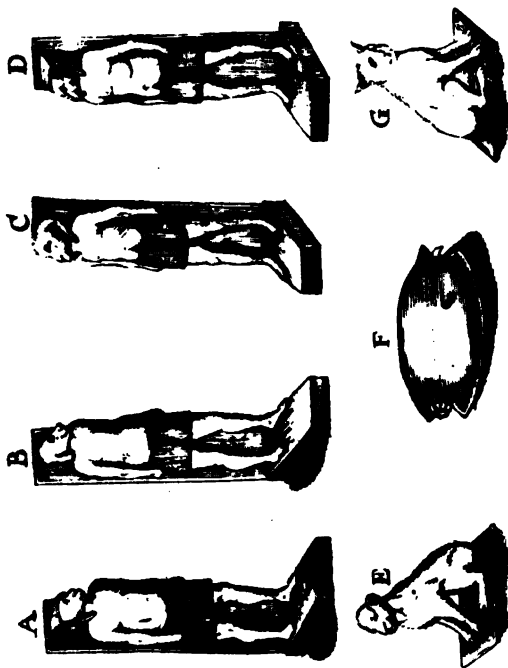
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Honours : and why? see Plutar. in Isis and Osiris, neare the end.

- G. The Cat all generally adored : they honouring such creatures, for that their vanquish and run-away Gods tooke on them such shapes to escape the furie of pursuing Typhon.

The Linnen pulled off (in colour, and like in substance to the inward filme betweene the Barke and the bole, long dried, and brittle) the body appeareth solid, uncorrupt, and perfect in all his dimensions : whereof the musculous parts are browne of colour, some blacke, hard as stone-pitch, and hath in Physicke an operation not unlike, though more Soveraigne. In the preparing of these, to keepe them from putrifaction, they drew out the braines at the nostrils with an instrument of iron, replenishing the same with preservative spices. Then cutting up the belly with an Æthiopian stone, and extracting the bowels, they censed the inside with wine, and stuffing the same with a composition of Cassia, Myrrhe, and other odours, closed it againe. The like the poorer sort of people effected with Bitumen (as the inside of their skuls and bellies yet testifie) fetcht from the lake of Asphalites in Jury. So did they with the juyce of Cedars ; which by the extreame bitternesse, and siccative faculty, not onely forthwith subdued the cause of interior corruption, but hath to this day (a continuance of above three thousand yeeres) preserved them uncorrupted. Such is the differing nature of that tree, procuring life as it were to the dead, and death to the living. This done, they wrapt the body with linnen in multitudes of folds, besmeared with Gum, in manner of seare-cloth. Their ceremonies (which were

[II. vi. 912.] many) performed, they layd the corps in a boate, to be wafted over Acherusia, a lake on the South of the Citie, by one onely whom they called Charon, which gave to Orpheus the invention of his infernall Ferri-man : About this lake stood the shady Temple of Hecate, with the Ports of Cocytus and Oblivion, separated by barres of



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brasse, the originall of like fables. When landed on the other side, the body was brought before certaine Judges, to whom if convinced of an evill life, they deprived it of buriall; if otherwise, they suffered it to be interred as aforesaid. So sumptuous were they in these houses of death, so carefull to preserve their carkasses. Forsomuch as the soule, knowing it selfe by divine instinct immortall, doth desire that the body (her beloved companion) might injoy (as farre foorth as may be) the like felicitie: giving, by erecting such loftie Pyramides, and those dues of funerall, all possible eternity. Neither was the losse of this lesse feared, then the obtaining coveted.

Returning by the way that we came, and having repast the Nilus, we inclined on the right hand to see the ruines of the old Citie adjoyning to the South of Cairo, called formerly Babylon, of certaine Babylonians then suffered to inhabite by the ancient Ægyptian Kings; who built a Castle in the selfe same place where this now standeth, described before, which was long after the Garrison Towne of one of the three Legions, set to defend this Countrey in the time of the Romanes, and anciently gave the name of Babylon unto this Citie below, now called Misrulhetich by the Arabians, said to have beene built by Omar the successor unto Mahomet; but surely, rather reedified by him then founded, having had in it such store of Christian Churches as testified by their ruines. We past by a mighty Cisterne closed within a Tower, and standing upon an in-let of the River, built as they heare say, at the charge of the Jewes, to appease the anger of the King, incensed by them against the innocent Christians; who by the removing of a Montaine (the taske imposed upon their faith) converted him unto their Religion, and his displeasure upon their accusers. This serveth the Castle with water running along an aquaduct borne upon three hundred Arches. The ruines of the Citie are great, so were the buildings; amongst which, many of Christian Monasteries and Temples, one lately (the last that stood) throwne by this Bassa (as they say) for that it hindred his

*Babylon.*

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prospect: If so, he surely would not have given leave unto the Patriarke, to rebuild it; for which he was spitefully spoken of by the Moores, as a suspected favourer of the Christian Religion, who subverted forthwith what he had begun. Whereupon the worthy Cerill made a Voyage unto Constantinople, to procure the Grand Signiors Commandement for the support of his purpose, when by the Greeks there, not altogether with his will, he was chosen their Patriarch, but within a short space displanted (as the manner is) by the bribery of another, he returned unto Cairo. Besides, here is a little Chappell dedicated to our Lady, underneath it a grott, in which it is said that she hid her selfe, when pursued by Herod. Much frequented it is by the Christians, as is the Tombe of

*See Leo.* Nafissa (here being) by the Mahometans.

The few inhabitants that here be, are Greekes and Armenians: Here we saw certaine great Serraglios, exceeding high, and propt up by buttresses. These they call the Granaries of Joseph, wherein he hoarded corne in the yeer of plenty against the succeding famine. In all there be seven, three standing, and imployed to the selfe same use, the other ruined. From thence up the River for twenty miles space, there is nothing but ruines: thus with the day we ended our Progresse.

Upon the fourth of March we departed from Cairo, in the habites of Pilgrims, foure of us English consorted with three Italians, of whom one was a Priest, and another a Physician. For our selves we hired three Camels with their keepers; two to carry us, and the third for our provision. The price we shall know at Gaza, upon the dividing of the great Carvan, answerable to the successe of the journey. We also hired a Coptie for halfe a Dollor a day, to be our interpreter, and to attend on us. Our provision for so long a Voyage we bore along with us, viz. Biscot, Rice, Raisins, Figs, Dates, Almonds, Olives, Oyle, Sherbets, &c. buying Pewter, Brasse, and such like implements, as if to set up house-keeping. Our water we carried in Goat skins. Wee rid in shallow Cradles



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(which we bought also) two on a Camell, harboured above, and covered with linnen, to us exceeding uneasie ; not so to the people of these Countreys, who sit crosse-legd with a naturall felicity. That night we pitched by Hangia, *Hangia.* some foureteene miles from the Citie. In the evening came the Captaine, a Turke, well mounted, and attended on. Here we stayest the next day following, for the gathering together of the Carvan ; paying foure Madeins a Camell unto them of the Village. These (as those elsewhere) doe nightly guard us, making good whatsoever is stolne. Ever and anon one crying Washed, is answered, Elough, by another (joyntly signifying one onely God) which passing about the Carvan, doth assure them that all is in safety. Amongst us were divers Jewish women : in the extremity of their age undertaking so wearisome a journey, onely to die at Jerusalem, bearing along with them the bones of their Parents, Husbands, Children, and Kinsfolke ; as they doe from all other parts where they can conveniently. The Merchants brought with them many Negros ; not the worst of their Merchandizes. These they buy of their Parents, some thirty dayes journey above, *Unnaturall Parents.* and on the West side of the River. As the wealth of others consists in multitudes of cattell, so theirs in the multitude of their children, whom they part from with as little passion ; never after to be scene or heard of : *[II. vi. 913.]* regarding more the price then condition of their slavery. These are descended of Chus, the Sonne of cursed Cham ; *Chams Curse continuing stil.* as are all of that complexion. Not so by reason of their Seed, nor heat of the Climate : Nor of the Soyle, as some have supposed ; for neither haply, will other Races in that Soyle proove black, nor that Race in other Soyles grow to better complexion : but rather from the Curse of Noe upon Cham in the Posteritie of Chus. *Black colour whence.*

About ten of clocke in the night the Carvan dislodged, and at seven the next morning pitched at Bilbesh, which *Bilbesh.* is in the Land of Goshen. Paying two Madeines for a Camell, at midnight we departed from thence. Our Companions had their Cradles strucke downe through the

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negligence of the Camellers, which accident cast us behind the Carvan. In danger to have beene surprized by the Peasants, we were by a Spahie that followed, delivered from that mischiefe. About nine in the forenoone, we pitched by Catara, where we payed foure Madeines for a Camell.

*The tree  
Alchan.*

Here about, but neerer the Nile, there is a certaine Tree, called Alchan, by the Arabs, the leaves thereof being dried and reduced into powder, doe dye a reddish yellow. There is yearely spent of this through the Turkish Empire, to the value of fourescore thousand Sultanies. The women with it doe dye their haire and nayles, some of them their hands and feet; and not a few, the most of their bodies tempered onely with Gumme, and laid on in the Bannia, that it may penetrate the deeper. The Christians of Bosna, Valachia, and Russia, doe use it as well as the Mahometans. Trees also here be that doe bring forth Cottens. The next morning before day, we removed and came by nine of the clocke to Salhia, where we over-tooke the rest of the Carvan: all Christians of those Countries riding upon Mules, and Asses. Who had procured leave to set forward a day before; desirous to arrive by Palme Sunday at Jerusalem, (this Carvan staying ten dayes longer then accustomed, because of certaine principall Merchants) but they durst not by themselves venture over the mayne Deserts: which all this whole wee had trented along, and now were to passe through.

*Salhia.*

A little beneath is the Lake Sirbonis, called by the old Egyptians the place of Typhons expiration, now Bayrena, dividing Egypt from Syria. A place to such as knew it not, in those times full of unsuspected danger. Then two hundred furlongs long, being but narrow, and bordered on each side with hils of sand, which borne into the water by the winds so thickned the same, as not by the eye to bee distinguished from the part of the Continent: by meanes whereof whole Armies have beene devoured. For the sands neere hand seeming firme, a good way entred slid farther off, and left no way of returning,

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but with a lingring crueltie swallowed the ingaged: whereupon it was called Barathrum. Now but a little Lake and waxing lesse daily: the passage long since choaked up which it had into the Sea. Close to this standeth the Mountaine Cassius (no other then a huge mole of sand) famous for the Temple of Jupiter, and Sepulchre of Pompey, there obscurely buried by the pietie of a private Souldier; upon whom hee is made by Lucan, to bestow this Epitaph:

Here the Great Pompey lyes, so Fortune pleas'd  
To instile this stone; whom Cæsars selfe would have  
Interr'd, before he should have mist a Grave.

Hic situs est magnus placet hoc Fortuna sepulchrum  
Dicere Pompei: quo condi maluit illum  
Quam terra caruisse Socer——

Who lost his head not farre from thence by the treacherie and commandement of the ungratefull Ptolomie. His Tombe was sumptuously re-edified by the Emperour Adrian. North hereof lyes Idumea, betweene Arabia, and the Sea extending to Judea.

The Subassee of Sahia invited himselfe to our Tent, who feeding on such provision as we had, would in conclusion have fed upon us; had not our commandement (which stood us in foure Shariffes) from the Bassa of Cairo, and the favour of the Captaine, by meanes of our Physician, protected us: otherwise, right or wrong had bin but a silly plea to barbarous covetousnesse armed with power. We seven were all the Frankes that were in the company, we heard how hee had served others, and rejoyced not a little in being thus fortified against him. The whole Carvan being now assembled, consists of a thousand Horses, Mules and Asses; and of five hundred Camels. These are the ships of Arabia, their Seas are the Deserts. A Creature created for burthen. Sixe hundred weight is his ordinary load; yet will he carrie a thousand. When in lading or unlading he lyes on his belly, and will rise (as it is said) when laden proportionably

*The Carvan  
described.*

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to his strength, nor suffer more to be laid on him. Foure dayes together hee will well travell without water, for a necessitie fourteene: in his often belchings thrusting up a Bladder, wherewith hee moysteneth his mouth and throat, when in a Journey they cramme them with Barley dough. They are, as some say, the onely that ingender backward. Their paces slow, and intollerable hard, beeing withall unsure of foot, where never so little slippery or uneven. They are not made to amend their paces when wearie, with blowes; but are encouraged by Songs, and the going before of their Keepers. A beast gentle and tractable, but in the time of his Venery: then, as if remembring his former hard usage, he will bite his Keeper, throw him downe and kicke him: fortie dayes continuuing in that furie, and then returning to his former meeknesse. About their neckes they hang certaine Charmes included in Leather, and writ by their Dervises, to defend them from mischances, and the poyson of ill eyes. Here we paid five Madeines for a Camell.

[II. vi. 914.]

*Arabia  
petrea.*

Having with two dayes rest refreshed them, now to begin the worst of their Journey, on the tenth of March we entred the mayne Deserts, a part of Arabiapetrea: so called of Petrea, the principall Citie, now Rathalalah. On the North and West it borders on Syria and Egypt. Southward on Arabia Foelix and the Red Sea; and on the East it hath Arabia the Desert: a barren and desolate Countrey, bearing neither Grasse nor Trees, save onely here and there a few Palmes which will not forsake those forsaken places. That little that growes on the Earth, is wild Hysope, whereupon they doe pasture their Camels, a Creature content with little, whose Milke and flesh is their principall sustenance. They have no water that is sweet, all being a meere Wildernesse of sand. The winds having raysed high Mountaynes, which lye in Drifts, according to the quarters from whence they blow.

*Assault of  
wild Arabs.*

About mid-night (the Souldiers beeing in the head of the Carvan) these Arabs assayled our Rere. The clamour was great, and the Passengers, together with their Leaders,

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fled from their Camels. I and my companion imagining the noise to bee onely an encouragement unto one another, were left alone; yet preserved from violence. They carryed away with them divers Mules and Asses laden with Drugges, and abandoned by their Owners, not daring to stay too long, nor cumber themselves with too much luggage, for feare of the Souldiers. These are descended of Ismael, called also Sarracens of Sarra, which signifieth a Desert, and saken, to inhabit. And not onely of the place, but of the manner of their lives, for Sarrack imports as much as a Thiefe, as now, being given from the beginning unto Theft and Rapine. They dwell in Tents, which they remove like walking Cities, for opportunitie of prey, and benefit of pasturage. They acknowledge no Sovereigne, not worth the conquering, nor can they bee conquered, retyring to places impassable for Armies, by reason of the rolling sands and penurie of all things. A Nation from the beginning unmixed with others, boasting of their Nobilitie, & at this day hating all Mechanicall Sciences. They hang about the skirts of the habitable Countries; and having robbed, retyre with a marvellous celeritie. Those that are not detected persons, frequent the neighbouring Villages for provision, and trafficke without molestation, they not daring to intreat them evilly. They are of meane statures, raw-boned, tawnie, having feminine voyces, of a swift and noyselesse pace, behind you ere aware of them. Their Religion Mahometanisme, glorying in that that the Impostor was their Countriman: their Language extending as farre as that Religion extendeth. They ride on swift Horses (not misse-shapen, though leane) and patient of labour. They feed them twice a day with the milke of Camels, nor are they esteemed of, if not of sufficient speed to over-take an Ostridge. Of those there are store in the Deserts. They keepe in flockes, and oft affrighted the stranger Passenger with their fearefull shreeches, appearing asfarre off like a troupe of Horsemen. Their bodies are too heavie to bee supported with their wings, which uselesse for flight, doe serve them onely to

*Ostridges.*

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*Dromedaries.*

runne the more speedily. They are the simplest of Fowles, and Symbols of folly. What they find, they swallow, without delight, even stones and Iron. When they have laid their Egges, not lesse great then the bullet of a Culverin (whereof there are great numbers to be sold in Cairo) they leave them, and unmindfull where, sit on those they next meet with. The Arabs catch the young ones, running apace as soone as disclosed; and when fatted, doe eate them, so doe they some part of the old, and sell their skinnnes with the feathers upon them. They ride also on Dromedaries, like in shape, but lesse then a Camell, of a jumping gate, and incredible speed. They will carrie a man (yet unfit for burthen) a hundred miles a day; living without water, and with little food satisfied. If one of these Arabians undertake your conduct, he will performe it faithfully, neyther will any of the Nation molest you. They will leade you by unknowne nearer wayes, and farther in foure dayes, then you can travell by Carvan in fourteene. Their Weapons are Bowes, Darts, Slings, and long Javelings headed like Partisans. As the Turkes sit crosse-legged, so doe they on their heeles, differing little in habit from the Rustick Egyptians.

*Jewish Superstition.*

About breake of day we pitched by two Wels of brackish water, called the Wels of Duedar. Hither followed the Subassee of Salheia, with the Jewes which we left behind, who would not travell the day before, in that it was their Sabbath. Their Superstition had put them to much trouble and charge; as of late at Tunis it did to some paine. For a sort of them being to imbarke for Salonica, the wind comming faire on the Saturday, and the Master then hoysing sayles, loth to infringe their Law, and as loth to lose the benefit of that passage, to coozen their consciences, they hyred certayne Janizaries to force them aboard, who tooke their money, made a jest of beating them in earnest. At three of the clocke wee departed from thence, and an houre before mid-night pitched by the Castle of Catie, about which there is nothing vegetive, but a few solitary Palmes. The water

*Fraudes pietatis, rewarded with piæ fraudes.*

*Catie.*

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bad, insomuch that that which the Captaine drinkes is brought from Tina, a Sea-bordering Towne, and twelve miles distant. Threescore Souldiers lye here in Garrison. We paid a piece of Gold for every Camell, and halfe a Dollar a piece for Horses, Mules and Asses, to the Captaine, besides, five Madeines a Camell to the Arabs. It seemeth strange to me, how these Merchants can get by their Wares so far fetcht, and travelling through such a number of expences.

The thirteenth spent in paying of Caphar, on the [II. vi. 915.]  
fourteenth of March by five of the clocke we departed, and rested about noone by the Wells of Slaves. Hither followed the Governour of Catie, accompanied with twenty horse, and pitched his tent besides us. The reason why hee came with so slight a Conduct, through a passage so dangerous (for there, not long before, a Carvan of three hundred Camels had beene borne away by the Arabs) was for that he was in fee with the chiefe of them, who upon the payment of a certaine tax, secured both goods and passengers. Of these there were divers in the company. Before midnight we dislodged, and by sixe the next morning, we pitched by another Well of brackish water, called the Wel of the mother of Assan. In the afternoone we departed. As we went, one would have thought the Sea to have beene hard by, and to have remooved upon his approaches, by reason of the glistering Nitre. And no doubt, but much of these Desarts have in times past beene Sea, manifested by the saltnesse of the soile, and shels that lie on the sand in infinite numbers. The next morning by five of the clocke, we came to Arissa, a small Castle, environed with a few houses: the Garrison consisting of a hundred Souldiers. This place is something better then Desert, two miles removed from the Sea, and blest with good water. Here we paid two Madeins for a Camell, and halfe as much for our Asses; two of them for the most part rated unto one of the other. On the seventeenth of March, we dislodged betimes in the morning, resting about noone by the Wels of Feare; the earth here looking

*Nitre.*

*Africa.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Haniones.*

greene, yet waste, and unhusbanded. In the evening we departed. Having passed in the night by the Castle Haniones, by the breake of day they followed us to gather their Caphar; being three Madeins upon every Camell. The Countrey from that place pleasant, and indifferent fruitfull. By seven of the clocke, we pitched close under the Citie of Gaza.

And here we will leave him till our Asian opportunity doth reinvite us: returning now to the more Southerly and Westerly parts of Africa, passing from Nilus to Niger. Onely in the way, we will with our Author touch at Malta an African Iland, and with his eyes observe the rarities there.

### §. III.

Arrivall at Malta, and observations there.

*Five English  
ships.*

**N**OW out of sight of Candie, the Winds both slacke and contrary, we were forced to beare Northward of our course, untill we came within view of Zant, where our Master purposed to put in (since we could not shorten our way) but anon we discovered five sailes making towards us; and imagining them to be men of warre, made all things readie for defence. But to our better comfort, they prooved all English, and bound for England: with whom we consorted to furnish the ship with fresh water, and other provisions: they having supplied our necessities.

So on the second of June being Sunday, we entred the Haven that lies on the East side of the Citie of Valetta, which we saluted with eighteene peeces of Ordnance, but we were not suffered to come into the Citie (though every ship had a neat Patent to shew, that those places from whence they came were free from the infection) nor suffered to depart, when the wind blew faire; which was within a day or two after. For the Gallies of the Religion were then setting forth, to make some attempt upon Barbarie. The reason thereof, lest being taken by the Pyrats, or



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touching upon occasion at Tripoli, Tunis, or Argire, their designes might be by compulsion, or voluntarily revealed : nor would they suffer any Frigat of their owne, for feare of surprisall, to goe out of the Haven, untill many dayes after that the Gallies were departed. But because the English were so strong (a great ship of Holland putting also in to seeke company) and that they intended to make no more Ports : On the sixt of June, they were licenced to set saile, the Masters having the night before, in their severall long-boats, attended their returne of the great Master (who had beene abroad in his Gallie to view a Fort that then was in building) and welcomed him home with one and twenty peeces of Ordnance.

But no intreaty could get me abroad, choosing rather to undergoe all hazards and hardnesse whatsoever, then so long a Voyage by sea, to my nature so irkesome. And so was I left alone on a naked promontory right against the Citie, remote from the concourse of people, without provision, and not knowing how to dispose of my selfe. At length a little boat made towards me, rowed by an officer appointed to attend on strangers that had not pratticke, lest others by comming into their company, should receive the infection ; who carried me to the hollow hanging of a rocke, where I was for that night to take up my lodging ; and the day following to be conveyed by him unto the Lazaretta, there to remaine for thirty or forty dayes before I could be admitted into the Citie. But behold, an accident, which I rather thought at the first to have been a vision, then (as I found it) reall. My guardian being departed to fetch me some victuals, laid along, and musing on my present condition, a Phalucco arriveth at the place. Out of which there stept two olde women ; the one made mee doubt whether shee were so or no, shee drew her face into so many formes, and with such anticke gestures stared upon me. These two did spread a Turkie Carpet on the rocke, and on that a tablecloth, which they furnished with varietie of the choycest viands. Anon, another arrived, which set a Gallant

*Curiositie of  
admitting  
strangers.*

[II. vi. 916.]

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*Greek  
mothers, bawds  
to their  
daughters.*

*Impudence of  
Curtizans,  
no rarity, but  
as common as  
themselves.*

*Description of  
Malta.*

ashoare with his two Amarosaes, attired like Nymphs, with Lutes in their hands, full of disport and sorcery. For little would they suffer him to eate, but what he received with his mouth from their fingers. Sometimes the one would play on the Lute, whilst the other sang, and laid his head in her lap; their false eyes looking upon him, as their hearts were troubled with passions. The attending Hags had no small part in the Comedie, administring matter of myrth with their ridiculous moppings. Who indeed (as I after heard) were their mothers borne in Greece, and by them brought hither to trade amongst the unmarried fraternitie. At length, the French Captaine (for such he was, and of much regard) came and intreated me to take a part of their banquet; which my stomacke perswaded me to accept of. He willed them to make much of the Forestier: but they were not to be taught entertainment, and grew so familiar, as was to neither of our likings. But both he and they, in pittie of my hard lodging, did offer to bring me into the Citie by night (an offence, that if knowne, is punished by death) and backe againe in the morning. Whilest they were urging me thereunto, my guardian returned; with him a Maltese, whose father was an English man, he made acquainted therewith, did by all meanes dehort them. At length (the Captaine having promised to labour by admittance into the Citie) they departed. When a good way from shoare, the Curtizans stript themselves, and leapt into the Sea, where they violated all the prescriptions of modestie. But the Captain the next morning was not unmindfull of his promise, soliciting the Great Master in my behalfe, as he sate in Counsell; who with the assent of the great Crosses, granted me Pratticke. So I came into the Citie, and was kindly entertained in the house of the foresaid Maltese, where for three weekes space, with much contentment I remained.

Malta doth lie in the Lybian Sea, right betweene Tripolis of Barbarie and the South-east angle of Sicilia: distant an hundred fourescore and ten miles from the one,

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and threescore from the other ; containing also threescore miles in circuit, called formerly Melita, of the abundance of honey. A Countrey altogether Champion, being no other then a rock covered over with earth, but two feet deepe where the deepest ; having few trees, but such as beare fruit ; whereof of all sorts plentifully furnished, so that their wood they have from Sicilia, yet there is a kind of great Thistle, which together with Cow-dung serves the Countrey people for fuell, who need not much in a Clime so exceeding hot ; hotter by much then any other which is seated in the same parallell, yet sometimes tempered by the comfortable winds, to which it lies open. Rivers here are none, but sundry fountaines. The soile produceth no graine but Barley, bread made of it, and Olives, is the Villagers ordinary diet : and with the straw they sustaine their Cattell, Commin-seed, Annis-seed, and honey, they have here in abundance, whereof they make Merchandize, and an indifferent quantity of Cotten-wooll ; but that the best of all other. The inhabitants die more with age then diseases, and heretofore were reputed fortunate for their excellencie in Arts and curious Weavings. They were at first a Colonie of the Phœnicians, who exercising Merchandize as farre as the great Ocean, betooke themselves to this Iland ; and by the commoditie of the Haven, attained to much riches and honour (who yet retaine some print of the Punicke Language, yet so that they now differ not much from the Moresco) and built in the middest thereof the Citie of Melita (now called old Malta) giving or taking a name from the Iland. Now whether it came into the hands of Spaine with the Kingdome of Sicilia, or won from the Moores by their swords, (probable both by their Language, and that it belongeth to Africa) I am ignorant : but by Charles the fifth it was given to the Knights of the Rhodes.

This order of Knight-hood received their denomination from John the charitable Patriarch of Alexandria, though vowed to Saint John Baptist as their Patron. Their first seat was the Hospitall of Saint John in Jerusalem (where-

*The order of  
Knights  
Hospitalars.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

upon they were called Knight-hospitallers) built by one Gerrard, at such time as the Holy land became famous by the succesfull expeditions of the Christians; who drew divers worthy persons into that societie, approved by Pope Galasius the second. They by the allowance of Honorius the second, wore garments of blacke, signed with a white crosse. Raymond, the first Master of the Order, did amplifie their Canons; instiling himselfe, The poore servant of Christ, and Guardian of the Hospitall in Jerusalem. In every Countrey throughout Christendome they had Hospitals, and Revenues assigned them, with contributions procured by Pope Innocent the second. They were tied by their vowes to entertaine all Pilgrims with singular humanitie; to safeguard their passages from theeves and incursions, and valiantly to sacrifice their lives in defence of that Countrey. But the Christians being driven out of Syria, the Knights had the Rhodes assigned them by the Greeke Emperour, (others say, by Clement the fifth) which they won from the Turke, and lost againe as aforesaid; retiring from thence unto Malta. There are of them here seven Alberges or Seminaries, one of France in generall, one of Auerne, one of Province, one of Castile, one of Aragon, one of Italie, one of Almanay: and an eight there was of England, untill by Henry the Eighth dissolved, with what Justice, I know not. Yet is there one that supplyeth the place in the Election of the Great Master. Of every one there is a Grand Prior, who lives in great reputation in his Countrey, and orders the affaires of their Order.

[II. vi. 917.]

*All Gentle-  
men.*

*Women  
capable.*

Saint Johns without Smith-field, being in times past the Mansion of the Grand Prior of England, an Irish-man living in Naples, and receiving a large Pension from the King of Spaine, now beareth that Title. Those that come for the Order are to bring a testimonie of their Gentry for sixe Descents, which is to be examined, and approved by the Knights of their Nation, he being first to remaine here a yeare for a probation. Nor are women exempted from that dignitie, admitted by a Statute made in the

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Mastership of Hugo Revelus, perhaps, for that one Agnis, a noble Ladie was the Author, as they affirme, of their Order; but that there be any now of it, is more then I could be informed. The Ceremonies used in Knighting, are these. First, carrying in his hand a Taper of white Waxe, hee kneeleth before the Altar, clothed in a long loose Garment, and desireth the Order of the Ordinarie. Then, in the Name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy Ghost, he receiveth a Sword, therewith to defend the Catholike Church, to repulse and vanquish the Enemie, to relieve the oppressed, if need should be, to expose himselfe unto death for the Faith, and all by the power of the Crosse, which by the Crosse-hilt is defigured. Then is he girt with a Belt, and thrice strooke on the shoulders with his Sword, to put him in mind that for the honour of Christ he is chearefully to suffer whatsoever is grievous, who taking it of him, thrice flourisheth it aloft as a provokement to the Adversary, and so sheathes it againe, having wiped it first on his arme, to testifie that thence-forth hee will live undefiledly. Then hee that gives him Knight-hood laying his hand on his shoulder, doth exhort him to be vigilant in the Faith, and to aspire unto true honour by couragious and laudable actions, &c. Which done, two Knights doe put on his Spurres, guilt; to signifie that he should spurne Gold as durt, not to doe what were ignoble for reward. And so goes hee to Masse with the Taper in his hand, the workes of Pietie, Hospitalitie, and redemption of Captives, being commended unto him, told also of what he was to performe in regard of his Order. Being asked if he bee a free man, if not joyned in Matrimonie, if un vowed to another Order, or not of any profession, and if he were resolved to live amongst them, to revenge their injuries, and quit the authoritie of Secular Magistracie. Having answered thereunto, upon the receipt of the Sacrament, he vowes in this Order, I vow to the Almighty God, to the Virgin Mary his immaculate Mother, and to Saint John Baptist, perpetually, by the helpe of God to bee truly obedient to

*Ceremonies of  
creation.*

*Their Vow.*

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*\*Hastie lye.*

all my Superiours, appointed by God and this Order, to live without any thing of my owne, and withall to live chastly.\* Whereupon he is made a partaker of their Priviledges and Indulgences, granted unto them by the Sea of Rome. Besides, other Prayers, they are commanded to say a hundred and fiftie Pater nosters daily, for such as have beene slaine in their Warres. They weare Ribands about their neckes with Brouches of the Crosse, and Clokes of blacke with large white Crosses set thereinto on the shoulder, of fine Linnen, but in time of Warre, they weare Crimson Mandilions, behind and before so crossed, over their Armour.

*Degradation  
and death.*

They come hither exceeding young, that they may the sooner attayne to a commendam at home, (whereof many be of great value) not got by favour but signioritie, and are to live here for the space of five yeares (but not necessarily together) and to goe on foure Expeditions. If one of them be convicted of a capitall crime, hee is first publikely disgraded in the Church of Saint John where he received his Knight-hood, then strangled, and throwne after into the Sea in the night time. Every Nation doe feed by themselves in their severall Alberges, and sit at the Table like Fryers, but such as upon suite doe get leave to eat apart, have sixtie Crownes allowed them by the Religion yearely, as all have five and twentie a piece for apparell.

*Their number  
and govern-  
ment.*

There are here resident about five hundred, not to depart without leave, and as many more dispersed through Christendome, who hither repaire upon every summons, or notice of invasion. The Religion is their generall Heire wheresoever they dye, onely each Knight may dispose of a fifth part of his substance. There be sixteene of them Counsellors of State, and of principall authoritie, called Great Crosses, who weare Tippetts, and Coates also under their Cloakes, that be signed therewith. Of these are the Martiall, the Master of the Hospitall, the Admirall, the Chancelor, &c. When one doth dye another is elected by the Great Master and his Knights, who give their

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voyses (if I forget not) by Bullets, as doe the Venetians, whereby both envie and faction is avoyded. Now, if the Great Master fall sicke, they will suffer no Vessell to goe out of the Haven, untill hee bee either recovered, or dead, and another elected, lest the Pope should intrude into the Election, which they challenge to be theirs, and is in this manner performed.

*The Great  
Master and  
his Election.*

The severall Nations elect two Knights a piece of their owne, and two are elected for the English, from amongst themselves these sixteene choose eight, and those eight doe nominate a Knight, a Priest, and a Fryer-servant (who also weares Armes) and they three choose the Great Master, out of the sixteen Great Crosses. This man is a Pickard borne, about the age of sixtie, and hath governed eight yeare. His Name and Title, The Illustrious and most Reverent Prince my Lord Fryer Alosius of Wignian-court, [II. vi. 918.] Great Master of the Hospitall of Saint Johns of Jerusalem, Prince of Malta, and Goza. For albeit a Fryer, (as the rest of the Knights) yet is he an absolute Sovereaigne, and is bravely attended on by a number of gallant yong Gentlemen. The Clergie doe weare the Cognizance of the Order, who are subject to like Lawes except in military matters.

There are sixtie Villages in the Iland, under the command of ten Captaines, and foure Cities. Old Malta is seated (as hath beene said before) in the midst of the Iland, upon a hill, and formed like a Scutchion: held of no great importance, yet kept by a Garrison. In it there is a Grot, where they say Saint Paul lay when he suffered shipwracke; of great devotion amongst them. The refined stone thereof they cast into little Medals, with the Effigies of Saint Paul on the one side, and a Viper on the other, Agnus Dei, and the like: of which they vent store to the Forreiner. They say, that being drunke in wine it doth cure the venome of Serpents, and withall, though there be many Serpents in the Iland, that they have not the power of hurting although handled, and angred; bereft of their venome ever since the being here

*The Villages  
and Cities.*

*Serpents not  
hurtfull.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Their glorious  
withstanding  
the Turke.*

of the Apostle. The other three Cities (if they may all be so termed) are about eight miles distant, and not much without a Musket shot each of other, neere the East-end, and on the North-side of the Iland, where there is a double Haven divided by a tongue of rocke, which extendeth no further then the conveniently large entrance. The East Haven resembleth the horne of a Stag, the first branch (as the Palme) affording an excellent harbour for the greatest shippes, and the second for Gallies; the rest are shallow. Close to the uppermost toppe there is a Fountayne of fresh water, which plentifully furnisheth all Vessels that doe enter. On the tip of the foresaid tongue stood the strong Castle of Saint Hermes, the first that the Turke besieged, which after many furious assaults, twentie thousand Canon shot (whose horrible roarings were heard to Messina) and the losse of ten thousand lives, they tooke in the yeare 1565. in the moneth of June, but to the greater glory of the vanquished, that losse rather inraging then dis-heartning the remaynder.

*Pietie of a  
Mahometan.*

Now upon the point of the Promontory which lyes betweene these two branches of that Haven, where the Ships and Gallies have their stations, on a steepe rocke stands the Castle of Saint Angelo, whose strength appeared in frustrating those violent batteries (being next besieged by the Turke) whereof it yet beareth the skarres. At the foot of the Rocke are certaine Canons planted, that front the mouth of the Haven. This Castle is onely divided by a Trench cut through the Rocke, from the Burgo, a little Citie which possesseth the rest of that Promontory, being all a Rock, hewen hollow within, for their better defence; disjoynd by a great deep Ditch from the Land. South of this, and on the next Promontory, stands another Towne, which is called, La Isula, on the point thereof a platforme, and at the other end the strong Fort of Saint Michael, yet inferiour in strength to that of Saint Angelo. Here remember we the pietie of a Mahometan, descended, no doubt of Christian Parentage, and favouring our Religion, who in the time



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of the strictest siege, and smallest comfort to the besieged, leapt into the Sea, and maugre all the shot that was made at him, swamme to this Castle: where first requiring and receiving Baptisme, hee made knowne unto them the secrets of the Enemie, advised how to frustrate their purposes, and bravely thrust himselfe forward in every extremitie. But the Knights of the Order assisting one another by their proper valour, so nobly behaved themselves, that the Turke began to despaire of successe, and upon the rumoured approach of the Christian succours (which in the best construction by the over-circumspect Vice-Roy of Sicilia had beene dangerously protracted) imbarqued themselves, and departed. But all, saving Burgo and Saint Angelo, reduced into powder, and the returne of the Turke distrusted, it was propounded amongst the Knights, to abandon the Iland, rather then vainly to repaire, and endeavour to defend those lamentable ruines, the Adversaries unequall power, and backward ayde of the Christian Princes considered. But it too much concerned the state of Christendome, (especially of the Countries confining) it being as it were both the Key and Bulwarke thereof, insomuch that the Pope, the Florentine, and the rest of the Princes of Italy, encouraged them to stay, assisting them with money, and all necessary provision; but especially the King of Spaine, who over and above did send them three thousand Pioners, levied in the Kingdome of Naples and Sicilia, to repaire their old Fortresses, and begin a new Citie upon that tongue of Land which divideth the two Havens, now almost absolutely finished.

This is called the Citie of Valetta, in the honour of *Valetta.* John de Valetta, who then was Great Master. Not great, but faire, exactly contrived, and strong above all others, mounted aloft, and no where assailable by Land, but at the South end. The walls of the rest doe joine to the upright Rocke, as if of one piece, and beaten upon by the Sea. That towards the Land, is but a narrow Isthmos, where the Rocke doth naturally rise, the Ditch without,

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hewen downe exceeding broad, and of an incredible profunditie, strongly flankt, and not wanting what fortification can doe. This way openeth the onely gate of the Citie, *Saint Hermes.* (the other two, whereof one leadeth to Saint Hermes, and the other to the Haven, being but small Posternes) and hard within are two great Bulwarks, planted on the top with Ordnance. At the other end (but without the wall) stands the Castle of Saint Hermes, now stronger then ever, whereof (as of that Saint Angelo) no French man can be Governour. Almost every where there are platformes on [II. vi. 919.] the walls, well stored with Ordnance. The walls on the inside not above sixe foot high, unimbattald, and shelving on the outside, the buildings throughout a good distance off both to leave roome for the Souldiers, and to secure them from batterie. Neere the South end, and on the West side, there is a great pit hewne into the rocke, out of which a Port cut under the wall into the West Haven, intended (for yet unfinished) to have beene made an Arsenall for their Gallies, (that harbour being too shallow for ships) a worke of great difficulty. The market place is spacious, out of which the streets doe point on the round. The buildings for the most part uniforme, all of free stone, two stories high, and flat at the top; the upper roomes of most having out tarrasses. *The Palace.* The Great Masters Palace is a Princely structure, having a Tower which overlooketh the whole Iland. The chamber where they sit in Counsell, is curiously painted with their fights by Sea and by Land, both forraigne and defensive. *The seven Alberge.* The seven Alberges of the Knights, be of no meane building; amongst whom the Citie is quartered. Magnificent is the Church of S. Paul, and that of Saint Johns: the one the seat of a Bishop, and the other of a Prior. *Saint Johns Hospital.* And Saint Johns Hospitall doth merite regard, not onely for the building, but for the entertainment there given. For all that fall sicke are admitted thereunto, the Knights themselves there lodge when hurt or diseased, where they have Physicke for the bodie, and for the soule also (such as they give.) The attendants many, the beds over-spread with faire Canopies;

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every fortnight having change of Linnen. Served by the Junior Knights in silver, and every Friday by the Great Master, accompanied with the great Crosses. A service obliged unto from their first institution; and thereupon called Knight-hospitallers. The Jesuits have of late crept into the Citie, who now have a Colledge a building. Heere bee also three Nunneries; the one for Virgins, another for penitent Whores, (of impenitent here are store) and the third for their bastards.

The barrennesse of this Ile is supplied with the fertilitie of Sicilia, from whence they have their provision. The Citie is victualed for three yeeres, kept under the ground, and supplied with new as they spend of the old. They have some fresh water Fountaines, and the raine that falleth, they reserve in Cisternes. Besides the Knights and their dependants, the Citizens and Ilanders be within the muster of their forces; in which there are not of living soules above twentie thousand. They keepe a Court of guard nightly, and almost every minute of the night, the watch of one Fort gives two or three tolls with a bell, which is answered by the other in order. The Religion hath onely five Gallies, and stinted they are, as I have heard, to that number, (if more, they belong unto private men) and but one ship. The custome is, or hath beene, having hung out a flagge, to lend money to all commers that would dice it, if they win, to repay it with advantage; if lose, to serve untill their entertainment amounted to that summe. Now the expeditions that they make, are little better then for bootie; sometimes landing in the night time on the maine of Africa, and surprising some village, or scouring along the coasts, take certaine small Barks, which disburdened of their lading and people, they suffer to hull with the weather. For they made good profit of their slaves, either employing them in their drudgeries, (they having at this instant above fiftene hundred of them) or by putting them to ransome. For ever and anon you shall have a little boat with a flag of treaty, come hither from Tripoli, Tunis, or Algeirs, to

*Their Gallies.*

*Their expeditions.*

A.D.  
1611.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

agree for the redemption of captives, as doe the Malteses to those places who are served with the same measure. During my abode here, there arrived a Barke, brought in by eight English men, who had for a long time served the Turkish Pirats of Tunis, they bound for Algeirs, tooke weapons in hand, and drove the distrustlesse Turkes (being twice as many) into the sterne, kept there by two, whilst the other dressed the sailes for Malta. Amongst them there was one, who saying he would never be slave to a Christian, stript himselfe secretly, propping up his gowne, and laying his Turbant upon it, as if still there, and dropt it into the Sea. But the deceiver was deceived by the high land which seemed neerer then it was, and so wearied with swimming, sunke in their sights. The Inquisition would have seized both on their persons and purchase, because they had served the Infidell: but they were protected by the Great Master (being desirous to serve him) who will not suffer their cruell authoritie to enter into the new City, so that they are faine to reside in Burgo.

*The people.*

The Malteses are little lesse Tawnie then the Moores, especially those of the Countrey, who goe halfe clad, are indeed a miserable people; but the Citizens are altogether Frenchified; the Great Master, and major part of the Knights being French men. The women weare long blacke stoles, wherewith they cover their faces (for it is a great reproach to be seene otherwise) who converse not with men, and are guarded according to the manner of Italy. But the jealous are better secured, by the number of allowed Curtizans (for the most part Grecians) who sit playing in their doores on instruments; and with the arte of their eyes inveagled these continent by vow, but contrary in practise, as if chastitie were onely violated by marriage. They here stirre early and late, in regard of the immoderate heat, and sleepe at noone day. Their markets they keepe on Sundayes.

Now were the Gallies returned with indifferent successe, and yet my stay was proroged by the approaching festivall

## SANDYS' RELATIONS OF AFRICA

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1612.

of their Patron; for untill that was past, no boat would stirre out of the Harbour. The Palace, Temples, [II. vi. 920.]  
Alberges, and other principall houses, were stucke round on the outside with lampes, the evening before: and amongst other solemnities, they honoured the day with the discharge of all their Artillery. The Forts put forth their Banners, and every Alberge the Ensigne of his Nation, at night having Bone-fires before them; five great ones being made in the Court of the Palace; whereof, the first was kindled by the Great Master, the second by the Bishop, the third by the Prior, the fourth and fifth by the Marshall and Admirall. On the foure and twentieth of June, I departed from Malta in a Phalucco of Naples, rowed by five, and not twice so big as a Wherry, yet will for a space keepe way with a Gally. They use to set foorth in such boats as these, two houres before Sun-set, and if they discover a suspected saile betweene that and night (for the Turkes continually lie there in waite) doe returne againe: if not, they proceed; and by the next morning (as now did we) reach the Coast of Sicilia.

*Pompous  
solemnitie.*

THE END OF THE SIXTH BOOKE.

[II. vii. 921.]

Navigations, Voyages,  
and Discoveries of the Sea-coasts and In-land  
Regions of Africa, which is generally  
called Æthiopia: by English-  
men and others.

*THE SEVENTH BOOKE.*

Chap. I.

A true Relation of Master Richard Jobsons Voyage, employed by Sir William Saint John, Knight, and others; for the Discoverie of Gambia, in the *Sion*, a ship of two hundred tuns, Admirall; and the *Saint John* sixtie, Vice-Admirall. In which they passed nine hundred and sixtie miles up the River into the Continent. Extracted out of his large Journall.



WE set sayle from Gravesend, on Saturday the fift of October, 1620. On the five and twentieth, we departed from Dartmouth, we sailed from Dartmouth to the Canaries.

The fourteenth of February, we came to an anchor in Travisco Road, where we found three Frenchmen, and one Flemming. Fran-

## RICHARD JOBSON

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cisco a Portugall here dwelling was busie to enquire if we went to Gambra, having a letter as he said from M. Cramp, who had lately departed thence for Sierra Liona, set forth by the Company. This Portugall fearing just revenge for the ship taken and men betrayed and murdered by them in Gambra, had procured a Letter in behalfe of some of his friends. In the River of Borsall we entred, where we tooke a small Boat belonging in part to Hector Numez, the principall in that Treachery and Murther aforesaid and detayned some of his goods therein for satisfaction, taking thereof a publike Inventorie, that if any other could lay just clayme they might be restored. This was done by punishing Numez, and to terrifie others from like treacherous attempts, not without effect. The Portugals were glad they so escaped, knowing and cursing Numez his villanie. The Portugalls which trade here, and inhabit the River are banished men, Renegadoes, and baser people, and behave themselves accordingly.

*The Katherine  
betrayed.  
Gambra.*

*Portugals  
which trade.*

We built a Shallop, and lanced it the two and twentieth. The next day we set sayle up the River, and the tyde spent, anchored against a litle Iland on the South-side some foure leagues up. From October till May, the winds are generally Easterly, and downe the River which much hindred our course up the same. We past up by tydes, intending to stay at a Towne called Taukerovalle, but over-shot it in the night, and the next morning were against another Towne foure leagues higher, called Tindobauge. Our ship with her Ordnance might here come both sides the River.

*The generall  
winds.*

*Taukerovalle.*

[II. vii. 922.]  
*Tindobauge.*

Here dwelt Emanuel Corseen a Portugall, which told us that Master Tomson was killed by one of his Company, and that the rest were in health. It was intended the Sion should stay here, and therefore the Kings Customers were paid, who dwelt some sixe miles from the River, but had his drunken Officers to receive them.

Leaving her with five and twentie men and boyes, on Wednesday, the nine and twentieth, the Saint John and two shallops, we set sayle up the River twelve men in the

*The Voyage up  
the River.*

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1621.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Pudding  
Iland.*

*Maugegar.*

*Wolley,  
Wolley.  
Cassan.  
Portugals  
perfidie.*

bigger, with Henry Lowe, and thirteene in the lesser with my selfe, which with the Boat towed her up in calmes.

On the first of December, we came to Pudding Iland, sixteene leagues from the ship. The second, we anchored against a little Creeke which leads into a Towne Maugegar. We went to this Towne, meeting by the way a Portugall, called Bastian Roderigo, who gave mee an Ounces skinne. On Munday the fourth, the King with his Alcade came aboard, and drunke himselfe with his Consorts so drunke, that the Customes were deferred till next day. Henry Lowe agreed for a house, and left there Humfrey Davis, John Blithe, and one Nicholas a prettie youth, which two last dyed there. On the seventh, we passed thence by a Towne on the North-side, called Wolley, Wolley, bigger then any wee had yet seene, and in the after-noone came to an anchor at Cassan (where the Katharine was betrayed) where no Portugall would now be seene. This King is under the great King of Bursall. The Alcade shewed us friendship, and told us that the Portugals had hired men of that Towne to kill us as we went up, in some narrower Streights of the River, for feare whereof we could not get any Blackman to goe with us to be our Pilot and Linguist. This Towne is populous and after their manner warlike. We here had intelligence, that Salt is a good Commoditie above in the River, and that within eight dayes there would come a Caravan from Tynda for Salt before this place.

*Pometon.*

*Jeraconde.*

*English at  
Oranto.*

On the fourteenth, we came to a Towne on the South-side, called Pompeton, above which dwels no Portugall in this River. Next morning we came to the Port of Jeraconde, two miles from which dwelt Farran a perpetuall Drunkard, but which held his Countrey in greatest awe. Hence Henry Lowe sent a slave with a Letter to Oranto sixteene miles off, where the English dwelt. On the seventeenth, Matthew Broad and Henry Bridges came to us by Land, which were exceeding glad after so long space to see their Countrimen, as we also to heare them report their securitie amongst those wild people. Broad said,



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much good might bee done up the River, but that it must be done without delay, the River falling daily. Coming within sixe miles of Oranto we landed and went thither, where Brewer which had beene at Tinda with Tomson, filled us with golden hopes. But the neglect of bringing Salt thorough ignorance or emulation was a hinderance. The King of Oranto abode on the other side of the River; his name Summa Tumba, a blind man and subject to the great King of Cantore. We went to him and had a speech made to him of thankfulnessse, for our Countreymens kind usage; His answere was repeated by the mouth of another, after the fashion of the Countrey: which Ceremonie done, he made hast to drowne his wits in the Aquavitæ and good liquor we brought him. His Custome paid, we departed.

*Oranto.*

The one and twentieth, I sent away my Boat, & the next day came abundance of people; some to sell; all to begge; the King sometimes by his Wife, sometimes by his Daughter, but every day his Sonnes were there, and likewise divers others of the better sort, but Count, from many great persons: which word they use for commendations. You must returne something againe, or it will be ill taken.

On Christmas day, Ferambra sent us as much Elephants flesh as one could well carrie, new killed. This Ferambra went foure miles off, and was a friend of our people, and when the Portugals had dealt with the King of Naoy, to kill them all, who sent his forces to performe it, he put himselfe and his people in Armes for their defence, and conveyed them over the River to his Brother, called Bo John, and saved their goods. On the one and thirtieth, came the Shallop backe.

*Ferumbas  
faith.*

We being ten white men, went the second of January from Oranto for Tinda: the first tyde we went to Batto, Bo Johns Towne, and there agreed with a young Mary-bucke to goe with us. Lowes emulation hindred us with delays, both now and before. On the sixth, Sumaway, King of Bereck under the great King of Cantore, came

*Batto.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Sea-horses,  
high-ways.*

aboord with his Wife, and begged our courtesie. We tooke in Sangully, a blacke Boy, who had lived with Master Tomson, and spake prettie English. On the ninth, we anchored in a vast place both at noone and night, where was a world of Sea-horses, whose pathes where they went on shore to feed, were beaten with tracts as great as London high-way. Next morning we anchored at Massamacoalum, fiftene leagues from Pereck. On the eleventh, at Benanko. The twelfth, after rockie passages to Baraconda. The tyde went no further. Beyond were no Townes, neere the River, nor Boates nor people to be seene.

[II. vii. 923.]

*Marybuckes  
sacred persons,  
by the super-  
stition of those  
parts, and are  
their Priests  
and Mer-  
chants.*

*Sea-horses  
abounding in  
the fresh  
water, both in  
the water and  
on shoare.*

*They are like  
a horse, but  
with clawes on  
their feet, and  
short legs,  
tuskes, manes,  
&c. Monkies  
and Baboones.  
Crocodiles  
thirty foot  
long.*

On the fourteenth, Bacay Tombo, the chiefe man of the Towne, came a board with his wife, and brought us a Beefe. We hired another Marybuck, because they are people which may travell freely: & now were ten white and foure blacke. Having now the streame against us, we durst not for feare of Rockes in the night, nor could for immoderate heat in the Suns height proceed, but were forced to chuse our houres in the morning till nine, and after three in the afternoone. We past by Wolley a small River, and found above shallow waters, wherein were many Sea Horses curvetting and snorting hard by us, one came swimming by us dead and stinking, yet the Negros were displeased they might not eate him.

On the seventeenth, on both sides the River we saw thousands of Baboones and Monkies. A Sea Horse gave the Boat a shrewd blow, but did no harme. We had still our Canoe before us to sound the depth.

On the eighteenth, we were forced to enter the River naked, very fearefull of the Bumbos, (so they call the Crocodiles) and carry the Boat against the current, and over or thorow the sand, heaving and shoving till we come in deepe water.

The nineteenth, we met with a violent current, that all the strength of sixe Oares could prevaile but a mile in an houre. The twentieth, on the Star-board side, we had Cantore River, which hath a faire entrance, where Ferran

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Cabo is the great King. On the one and twentieth, we sent a shoare to the Mountaine tops, whence might be perceived onely Desarts, replenished with terrible wild Beasts, whose roaring we heard every night. The Blackes are so afraid of the Bumbos, that they dare not put their hands into the water, divers of them being by them devoured. Yet did they avoid from us, whether it were our noise or multitude which caused it. Some we saw thirty foot long, yet would not come neere us. On the two and twentieth, walking on the banke, I espied sixteene great Elephants together hard by me. A Blacke with me fell a trembling. The sedge in the place was almost as high againe as our heads; so that we could not be seene till we were within Pistoll shot of them. We saw divers little ones by their sides. We made an offer to shoot, but the Peece would not off, which they perceiving began to run, in a miles space not so much as turning nor looking behind them; making speed to the Mountaines, like a Deare in the Forrest. The Moores wondred at our adventure. On the three & twentieth, we were faine to enter the water, & by strength of hand, to carry the boat a mile & a halfe into deeper water. On the foure and twentieth, we towed her, sometimes adding haling by the Boats side, as sholds and trees permitted: and met with one vehement current, overthwart broken rockes, so that we were forced to hold her by force, till one taking the Anchor on his neck, waded above that quicke fall, and letting it fall, we haled by our hasor, and escaped that gut.

*Elephants.*

The five and twenty, troubled with sholds, we heard as we passed, a gush of water, hidden by the greene trees, with which water we stored our selves; that of the River being so ranke with a muskie sent of the Crocodiles, as we supposed that it was distastefull; whereas this was pleasant. One of our Moores was taken, and like to be lost in a Whirlepoole; notwithstanding, he could swimme well, had not one of our men laid hold on him as he rose the third time, almost spent, from under water. On the

*Muskie water  
distastefull.*

A.D.  
1621.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

sixe and twentie, we were comforted with the sight of the hill of Tinda, being high rockie land. We sent three Moores thither with a present to the King, and to Buckor Sano, a Merchant of Tinda, intreating him to come downe to us with provision, for we had no flesh. Deare and Fowle were plentiful on both sides the River, had we beene provided of a good Peece. And the River fish did so taste of Muske, that (like the water) we could not endure the shoare. I went ashoare to view the River, & might see sometimes twentie Crocodiles one by another: and in the night, specially towards breake of day, they would call one to another, much resembling the sound of a deepe Well, and might be easily heard a League. We past the sholds, and against Tinda River, recovered steepe water, and saw many Sea Horses, which love deepe waters.

*Tinda.* On the thirtieth, we killed an Anthelope bigger then any Windsore Stagge, the blood of him drew a world of Eagles, and other Fowle; amongst which came one Stalker, a Fowle higher then a man, which we likewise killed. Presently after, came our men backe with Buckor Sanos brother, and a servant of the Kings, with Hens. Our Deare was killed in good season for their entertainment: the report passing among them current, that with our

*Muskie fish.* thunder (so they called our Guns) we could kill whatsoever we would. They much fearing the same, as having never seene or heard it, whereof we made good use.

*Antelope.*

*Gun-thunder.*

On Thursday, the first of February, came Buckor Sano with a troupe of forty people, amongst which his wife and daughter. Having tasted of our strong Waters, hee lay drunke aboard that night (he was never so after) and was sicke the next day. He gave us a Beafe, and many of the people brought Goats, Cocks, and Hens, which we bought easily. On Saturday, we began to trade our Salt, which is the chiefe thing they desired; other things they asked for, which we had not provided: slaves (he told us) were the things they held dearest; for any thing else we should have, if we would maintaine our comming thither, he would provide it. We had some Elephants teeth, Negros

*Salt, chiefe trade.*

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Clothes, Cotten Yearne, and some gold of them. We refused to buy Hides, because we would not lade our Boat downe the River, the water falling every day, which wee kept note of by the shoare. The people came daily more and more to us, and upon the shoare they built houses, we also had a house open to trade under, so as it seemed like a pretty Towne. Our Blackes went over the River, and three dayes after brought other people, which built a Siege Towne on the other side the River. And within three dayes there were five hundred, which were a more Savage people; having breeches of beasts skins, neither had they ever scene any white people before. The women would run and hide themselves when we came neere them at their first comming; but after grew bold to buy and sell with us. These people likewise were all for Salt, and had Teeth and Hides store. Our Salt was almost gone before they came; for we had but forty bushels at first. [II. vii. 924.]

Bajay Dinko the chiefe was aboard, very desirous we should come againe. On that side wee saw likewise there was Gold, and those people had familiarity with each other, whereby it seemed they had trade and commerce, by some higher part of the River.

*Bajay Dinko  
usko was the  
chiefe man, &  
called by the  
name of his  
Countrey,  
under the  
great King of  
Cantor.  
Juddies or  
Fidlers.  
He bought and  
sold &c. for us.*

On the seventh, the King of Jelicot on Tinda side, under the great King of Wolley, came downe with his Juddies or Fidlers, which plaid before him and his wives, such being the fashion of the great ones. These Juddies are as the Irish Rimers: all the time he eats, they play and sing songs in his prayse, and his ancestors: When they die, they are put in an hollow tree upright, and not buried, we gave him a Present, and he a Beefe to us.

On the eighth, Buckor Sano would needs be stiled the white mans Alcaid; I tooke it kindly, and put about his necke a string of Christall, and a double string of Currall. Broad gave him a silver chaine, and with drinking a cup of Rosa-solis, and shooting off five Muskets, a solemne cry, Alcaide, Alcaide, was proclaimed: he adding his fidlers musicke, the people also ready with their bowes and arrowes, his wife with matts on shoare to attend the

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Nuts of pre-  
cious esteeme.  
He seemeth to  
be the Cola.*

*The Countrey  
given to the  
English.*

*In this manner  
the Kings take  
possession of  
the lands they  
came to.*

solemnity. So soone as he came on shoare, he frankly gave his nuts to the people, rejoycing in this new honor. These nuts are of great account through all the River, and are a great favour from the King: five hundred of them will buy a wife of a great house. Their taste is very bitter, but causeth the water presently after to taste very pleasant. This done, he went to the Kings house, who sate without doores, their fashion being assoone as it is darke, to make a fire of Reed without doores, and the best sort to have matts, on which to sit downe, and use their Ceremonies. He placed me by the King, and went himselfe sixe paces off, right before him, and made a speech, which one repeats after him as he speakes, to intreat his kind usage to the white men. The King answered with a like speech, giving us liberty to shoot any thing on the land, and none should offend us. Buckor Sano kneeled downe, and gave him thankes, and sent unto him in our behalfe the Currall and Christall. Whereupon the King made a long speech, concluding, that he would give him that land whereon we were, for us, for ever. Upon which words, Buckor Sano pulled off his shirt in token of thankfulnessse, and kneeled downe naked, untill divers Marybucks with their hands raked up a heape off the ground, upon which he lay flat with his belly, and covered him with the earth lightly from head to heele. Then with his hands he threw the earth round about amongst us all: after which, the Marybuckes gathered a round heape againe together, and compassing it with a round ring of the same earth, wrote with his finger as much as the round would containe: which done, Buckor Sano tooke of that earth into his mouth, and put it forth againe, and then taking both his hands full of the earth, and our two Marybuckes following him upon their hands and knees, they came to me where I sate, and threw it into my lap. This done, he rose up, and two women were ready with clothes to wipe him, and a third woman with a cloth to fan him, and stepping a little off, he had his best clothes brought him, which he put on, and his sheafe of arrowes about his necke,

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a bow and an arrow in his hand. He came in againe, and twenty more, with bow and arrowes, after he had gone twice or thrice about, presenting himselfe by drawing his arrow up to the head, as if he were to shoot, he delivered them, and sate downe by me. The rest with their bowes and arrowes came one after another, and kneeling at his foot with their faces from him presented their bowes, as hee did. Then began others to dance after their fashion, at the end whereof they began to make severall speeches, (for every one of the better sort will have his speech) wherewith we were weary, and left them for that night. Our manner was to set our watch with a Psalme, which they hearing, would be still, and after a shot would leave us quiet till morning.

I shewed this Bucker Sano a small Globe, and our Compasse, whereupon he told us that he had seene with his eyes a Countrey Southward, whose houses were all covered with gold, the people wearing iron in rings through their lips and eares, and other places, to which place hee told us it was foure moones travell. Hee told us likewise of a people which hee called Arabecke, who came unto this Countrey, and would be at a Towne, called Mombarr, but sixe dayes journey from Tinda, the second moone after, which was in March. And there was a Town called Jaye, from whence much gold came, but three dayes journey from Mombarr, whither these Arabeckes went not. More I might have knowne, had not the emulations of my companie hindred, who would not suffer the blacke boy to let me know what he speake.

*Iron preferred  
before Gold.*

Some people which came to us, were of Combaconda, a Towne foure dayes journey thence, which we thinke is Tombuto. A Marybucke was here of Master Tomsons acquaintance, borne in Jaye, which would not company with the people of Tinda, but came to us, and told us that many people were comming, but were sent backe by some that returned, and reported our Salt was gone. He offered, if we were past these people, he would undertake to bring us to Mombarr and Gago. We made haste to

*Much Gold.*

*Combaconda.  
Tombuto.*

[II. vii. 925.]

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

be gone: for by our marke the water was sunke above sixe inches, promising to returne in May, when the water increased. We called this place Saints Johns Mart.

*Barraconde.* On Saturday the tenth of February, we came away, the wind and streame served, but wee durst not sayle for the sholds, nor row by night. On Wednesday at night, having but three miles to Barraconde, by the Moores intreatie wee went thither over Land, and passed easily in sixe dayes downe, what had cost us twelve dayes labour and trouble. We had a great chase at an Elephant, wounded and made him flie, but lost him in the high sedge, and after found him in the River, where being shot in the eare he turned head on us, and made us row off, and leave him thrice wounded, our Peece failing in the discharge.

*Circumcision.* Munday the nineteenth, we came to Butto, Bo Johns Towne, wee had our first Marybucke and the blacke Boy which spake English, whose age of sixteene yeares was now ripe for their Circumcision. Hither we came in season for that Solemnitie, hearing before we came, shoutes, Drummes and Countrey Musicke. The Boy knew the meaning, and told us it was for cutting of prickes, a world of people being gathered for that purpose, like an English Faire. Under everie great tree, and among all their houses at night were fires without doores, and in especiall places dancing, the Musicall Instruments made with Keyes like unto Virginals, whereupon one playes with two stickes which have round Balls of leather at the end, about their wrists Iron Bracelets. They are called Ballardes, and contayne some seventeene Keyes. The women for the most part dance with strange bending of their bodies, and cringing of their knees, their legges crooked, the standers by keeping a time in clapping their hands together to grace the dance. If the men dance, it is one alone with such Swords as they weare, naked in his hand, with which he acteth.

*Dances.*

About two furlongs from their houses under a great tree were many fires, and much drumming with great



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noyse: here they said were those which were cut, but would not suffer mee to goe see. Some distance beyond we might heare a great roaring noyse, which they fearfully said was the voyce of Hore, that is, after their imposture a Spirit, which approacheth at great Feasts, for whom they provide store of Rice, Corne, Beefe, and other flesh readie drest, which is instantly devoured. And if he be not satisfied, he carries some of their Sonnes (the uncircumcised Females he regards not) and keepes nine dayes or more in his belly, then to bee redeemed with a Beefe, or other belly-timber: and so many dayes after must they be mute, and cannot be enforced to speake. This seemes an illusion of their Priests to exact Circumcision, and the hoarsenesse of some shewed they had lost their throats in that roaring. This roaring, shouting and dancing continued all night. We saw our blacke Boy circumcised, not by a Marybucke, but an ordinary fellow hackling off with a Knife at three cuts his præpuce, holding his member in his hand, the Boy neyther holden nor bound the while. He was carryed to the rest, nor would they suffer our Surgeon to heale him. The people in twentie miles space came in to this Feast with their provision.

*Hore.*

I made haste backe to Setico, to meete the Tinda Merchants, and on the sixe and twentieth, being within two miles of the place, I received a great and dangerous blow by a Sea-horse which indangered our sinking, but we made shift to stop it with some losse. We came to Setico foure miles from the water side, the greatest Towne we saw in the Countrey, higher then which the Portugall Trade not, and from hence carry much Gold; the most of the Inhabitants Marybuckes, and the Towne governed by one of them, called Fodea Brani. They are stored with Asses and Slaves, their Merchandize Salt. The chiefe Marybucke dying, there came multitudes of people to his Funerall. Of the Grave-Earth digged for him every principall Marybucke made a Ball mingled with water out of one pot, which they esteemed as a Relike. They lay all sweet smels they can get into the ground with him,

*Setico.*

*Blow by a  
Sea-horse.*

*Marybucks  
Funerall.*

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and tooke it kindly that I bestowed some. Much Gold is buried with them, or before by themselves in a private place, for their use in another World. Much singing, or howling, and crying is used many dayes about the Grave. This recourse was also to establish his eldest Sonne in his dignitie, to which many Presents are sent. I saw among other beasts one Ramme of a hayrie Wooll like Goats. Sonnes succeed their Fathers, but the Kings Brethren take place before the Sonnes. The sicknesse of our men in the Saint John, hastened my departure.

*Devils oracles.* Sunday the eleventh of March, I returned, and on Wednesday came to the Saint John. The next day, I set forward to the Sion, and on Saturday came to Pompetan, where the Portugall made us good cheere. Hee told us of the Devils giving notice of our beeing in the River, and comming up, which the circumstances made probable. On Munday, we came to Cassan, a hill where the Sion did ride: the Master and many others dead, and not above foure able men in the Company.

[II.vii. 926.] Here we lay from the nineteenth of March, to the eighteenth of Aprill, wee weighed and came the next morning to anchor against Wolley, Wolley, under the King of Cassan. Whiles wee were there, came a new King from the King of Bursall to take possession of the Countrey, the old King being ejected as the Sonne of a Captive woman, whereas this was right Heire by both Parents, and now comne of age, who now transported himselfe and his over the River, to give place to this new King, which promised us all kindnesse.

The twentieth, we came to Mangegar, within a mile of which, every Munday is a great concourse and market, but miserable Merchandize. The last of Aprill, the Saint John came to us, and the fourth of May we sayled downe the River together. From May to October, it blowes up the River except in the Ternado, which comes for the most part South-east. On the eighteenth, we prepared our Shallop. On the nineteenth, we set up Tents on the shoare. The King of the Countrey called Cumbo, came

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to us, and was very kind and familiar, promising all favour, labours of calking and other businesse, watching and Musketos, which here exceedingly abounded, did much molest us. On the ninth, wee turned out of the River. Next morning before day, we had a violent storme, or Ternado, with Thunder, Lightning, and exceeding store of raine. This weather is frequent from May to September. Wee put in at Travisco for Workmen, our Carpenters being dead. Thence we hasted home.

### Chap. II.

A description and historicall declaration of the golden Kingdome of Guinea, otherwise called the golden Coast of Myna, lying in a part of Africa, shewing their beliefe, opinions, trafficking, bartering, and manner of speech; together with the situation of the Countrie, Townes, Cottages, and Houses of the same; with their Persons and Proportions, Havens and Rivers, as they are now found out and discovered: all perfectly viewed and curiously discovered, and written by one that hath oftentimes beene there. Translated out of Dutch, conferred also with the Latine Edition,\* and contracted.

#### §. I.

What course the ships hold which seeke to goe to the Gold Coast of Guinea. Of Cape Verde, and the course from thence.

**S**uch ships as passe by the Ilands of Canadai, must thence (if they will have traffique at Cape Verde) hold their course South and by East, and South South-east, till they be under fiftene degrees, and then seeing no Land, they must hold their course East, till they find Land, and not South because of stormes, which alwayes come from

*\*Translated out of Dutch by G. Artus Dantisc, and the sixt part of De Bry, his Ind. Orient. The Voyage from the Tessel, November the first, 1600. til January the third, when they arrived at Meurre, I omit.*

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*Sierra Leona  
& las Palmas.*

*\*The Graine  
Coast is  
Manigette, so  
called of a kind  
of Grape.*

*Baixas de S.  
Anna.*

the East, and having done at Cape Verde, they must hold their course somewhat South and by West, untill they be a good way from the Land, or at least without it, for that commonly they can hardly get from the Land, by reason of the stormes, and the wind that comes out of the Sea, which alwayes driveth them to the Land, whereby commonly men are neerer to the Land, then oftentimes they thinke they are. And those that meane also to traffique on the Coast of Manigette, when they are above the Bassis of Rio grande, then they must seeke to get to the Land, that they may enter into Sierra Leona, and other Rivers, there to make their profit, and all along the Coast in other Rivers and Townes, untill they come to Cape de las Palmas, and then they must take their course along by the Cape de tres punctas. But they that desire not to goe neerer to Cape Verde, or the Graine \* Coast, but only seeke to goe right forth, to the Gold Coast of Myna, hold their course by the Ilands of Canaria, and sayle Southward, untill they have past by the Ilands of Cape Verde, leaving them commonly on Bagh-boord, or as the wind serveth them, being under ten, nine or eight degrees, then they begin to make towards the Land, and to hold their course South and by East, and by the same course to seeke to get above all Bassis and shallowes, without altering their course; for they that fall upon Saint Annes shallowes, lying under sixe degrees, have much labour and pain before they can get off from them again; and on the otherside they lose a great deale of time, oftentimes thinking that they are off from the shallowes, when their ship is still upon them, which is because it is no continuall shallow, but full of deepe pits: for in one place you shall have three fathome deepe, and then againe ten fathome, and then againe, the streame drives you still to Land, so that many men by meanes of their negligence know not what to do, and are put to much trouble before they can bring their Voyage to an end. Now, sayling further, and comming under seven and sixe degrees, there commonly

[II.vii. 927.] you find calmes, specially, when it is not a time of Trava-

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does, which is in Aprill, May, and June, whereof men are in great feare. It fell out so with us, that beeing under those highthes, we were twentie dayes driving in a calme, without winning any great highth, and that which we wonne with the Current, the next day we lost it againe with a contrary wind; so that you must beware of the Land in any hand, specially, those that goe to Brasilia. for they must take heed, not to goe too neere the Land, lest the calme taketh them: I once found a ship thereabouts, which thought to sayle to the Bay de Todos los Sanctos, and thinking that the streame drave him upon the Coast of West India, fell there upon the Graine Coast, so that hee was forced to goe backe againe, and beeing not able to fall into his right course, hee was constrayned to leave it, and in stead of sayling to Brasilia, he was forced to goe to Saint Thomas, so that under those highthes, you can doe nothing with the wind, but onely by the current, which alwaies runnes East with the bough.

*All Saints  
Bay.*

*See what hap-  
pened to the  
Dragon and  
Hector in Cap-  
taine Keelings  
Voyage. Lib. 3.*

They that sayle to East India, also shunne this calme as much as possible they may, to get above the sand, or rise of Brasilia, for otherwise they must whether they will or not, goe to Cape Toxes Consalves, and then sayle along under the Equinoctiall Line, at least three or foure hundred miles, before they can get againe into their right course, as it happened not long since to some of our ships, which was a great hinderance unto their Voyage, further having past this calme, and towards the Land about Cape de las Palmas, or to some other places, which you know, then you must hold your course along by the Land, but no neerer to the Land then eight and twentie fathomes deepe, till you come to Cape de tres punctas, where the Golden Coast begins, and where the Hollanders traffique with the Negroes.

*Description of  
Cape Verde.*

First, passing the River of Senega, you begin to draw neere to Cape Verde, which is a piece of Land easily to be knowne, for the first point sheweth it selfe with two hillockes or hovels, and lyeth farre into the Sea, and on

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both the North and South-side thereof loseth the Land, but Southward from the point, about halfe a mile from the Land, there is an Iland seene, whereon many Fowles breed, and great numbers of Egges are found therein, behind this Iland there lyeth a great Rocke, a little separated from the Land. This Iland is very unfit to rayse shallops on, you may sayle betweene the Land and this Iland, with a ship of three hundred and twentie tuns, but not without great feare, for that there are many Rockes lying under the water, but for the best securitie of ship and goods, it is better to sayle on the West side of the Iland to the other Iland, where shallops may be set together, which you may see being right against the first Iland, lying about three miles Southeast from the other: these Ilands are not inhabited, and there is nothing to be had in them but great store of ballast and wood to burne, but for that there is a convenient Valley to make shallops in, therefore those places are much used, and are the cause that many ships sayle to them, but on the firme Land there are great store of Negroes inhabiting, which traffique with all Nations.

*The people &  
their apparell.*

The Countrey people goe naked, only that they hang a piece of Linnen cloth before their privie members, but their Governours (as Captaines and Gentlemen) are better apparelled then the common sort of people, and are well knowne by their Garments to be such. They go in a long Cotton Garment close about them like a womans smocke, full of blue stripes, like feather bed tikes, on their armes they weare many foure-cornerd leather bagges, all close joyned together, and the like upon their legges, but what is within them, I know not, because they will not let us see. About their neckes they weare Beads made of Sea-horse Teeth, and some Corals, or Beades which wee bring them, on their heads they weare Caps of the same stuffe that their clothes are, they are people that are very industrious and carefull to get their livings, their chiefest Trade is Husbandry, to sowe Rice and Corne: their great riches is in Cowes, which there are very scant and deare,

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but further into the Countrey there are great store, for that men lade whole ships full of Salt hides at Porta dallia, which they take in exchange or barter for Iron, which place lyeth but seven or eight miles from Cape Verde. They make very faire Iron worke, and in that Countrey, there is great store of Iron spent, specially faire long barres, whereof they are as curious as any man in the World can be, those they use to make Instruments of, wherewith to fish, and to labour upon the Land, as also to make weapons, as Bowes, Arrowes, Aponers, and \*Assagayen. They have no knowledge of God; those that traffique and are conversant among strange Countrey people, are civiller then the common sort of people, they are very greedie eaters, and no lesse drinkers, and very lecherous, and theevish, and much addicted to uncleannesse: one man hath as many wives as hee is able to keepe and maintaine.

\*Kind of Darts  
made Javelin-  
fashion at both  
ends.

The women also are much addicted to lecherie, specially, with strange Countrey people, of whom they are not jealous, as of their owne Countrey people and Neighbours; their Religion is after the manner of Mahomets law, for circumcision and such like toyes. They are also great Lyers, and not to be credited, the principall Commodities that men traffique for there, are Hides, Amber-greece, Gumme of Arabia, Salt, and other wares of small importance, as Rice, Graine, Teeth, and some Civet. The Portugals also dwell there, with other Nations, wherewith they may freely traffique, because they are not subjects to the King of Spaine; and besides, that they are not Masters of the Countrey, and have no command but over their slaves. The Negroes are under the command of their owne Governours, which are called Algaier in their Language, which is a Captain of a Village, for every Village hath his severall Algaier, and when any ship come to anchor there, then the Captaine comes presently aboard with a Canoe, to aske Anchoridge money, which is commonly three barres of Iron, but of such as know not their custome, they take as much as they can; their bodies are very blacke, and of a good proportion. When they

Their women.

Commodities.

[II. vii. 928.]

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*The course  
from Cape  
Verde.*

*Miles are to  
be understood  
Dutch, or as  
the Latin hath,  
leagues leacæ  
seu mil.  
gallica.*

*\* Nesurade R.  
Chostes.*

speake, they put out their neckes, like Turkie Cockes, and speake very fast. They have a speech by themselves.

Leaving Cape Verde, to saile to the Golden Coast of Myna, the course is best (if the wind will serve) along by the land, to the place where you will Trafique, and deale with the Negros: from Cape Verde to Rio de Gambra, it is five and twenty miles, from Rio Gambra to the Baixos of Rio Grande thirty miles, from thence to Sierra Liona, threescore miles; there is a good place to lie in the Winter time, for in the entrie of the River, you have five fathome deepe at the least, and so for the space of fourteene miles going South-east towards the Roade, you have sixteene, fourteene, twelve, ten, and eight fathome water: from the River of Sierra Liona, to Rio de Galinas, (that is, the River of Hens, because there are many Hens, and very good cheape, at a Mesken a peece) fourty miles from Rio de Galinas to Cape de Monte eighteene miles, the land of Cape de Monte reacheth South-east and by South, it is a low land, but the Cape is high land, like a hill, or like a horse necke, with a falling in: from Cape de Monte, to Cape dos Baixos, fiftie miles; from Cape de Bassis to Cape de las Palmas, fiftie miles. These are the three principallest Capes of all the gold Coast; this Cape lieth under foure Degrees, and is the furthest land of all the Coast, which reacheth towards the Equinoctiall line, all the land for the most part lieth South-east, and North-west, low ground, sometimes rising, but no high hils to be seene inward to the land; from Cape das Palmas, to Cape de Apollonia, and so to Cape de tres Punctas sixtie miles, from Cape de Monte, to Cape de Miserade,\* sixteene miles (this Cape is a high land) from Cape de Miserade to Rio de Ceste, foure and twentie miles, all along hither to you have good Anchor ground at twelve fathome, the West point is rising land, like to a hill that riseth and sheweth it selfe within the Countrey, when you are North from it you are then right against Rio de Cestes, before in the mouth of the River, there lieth a small Iland, and the Village where you Traffique lieth a mile upwards within



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the River. From Rio de Cestes to Cape das Baixos five miles, this Cape sheweth like a saile, and it is a white Rocke which lieth out into the Sea, being two miles from the Cape you saw, foure and thirty, and five and thirty fathome water, good Anchor ground, you may hold your course along by the land at two and thirty, three & thirty, and foure & thirty fathome deepe; but go not neere if you desire not to go to the gold Coast, because of stormes, with a wind out of the Sea, as also because of Rockes, and foule ground, that are, and is found to be there, which will rather hurt, then doe you good. From Cape de Bassis to Sanguin three miles, there is much Graine to be bought, and good Traffique to be made. From Sanguin to Bofoe a mile and a halfe, there also is Traffique; from Bofoe to Sertres two miles, there also you may Traffique, and it is a good place: from Sertres to Botowa two miles, it is also a good place to Traffique in: from Bottowa to Synno, five miles. There also is Traffique; from Synno to Sonweroboe three miles, from Sonweroboe to Baddoe two miles, from Baddoe to Crou two miles; from Crou to Wappa foure miles; from Wappa to Granchetre two miles: (This the French men call Paris) from Granchetre to Goyaua, foure miles, thither there commeth great store of Graine to sell, and it is a good place to Traffique in with the Negros, from Goyaua to Cape de las Palmas three miles, all this from Cape Verde to Cape de las Palmas is called the Graine or golden Coast (otherwise Mellegette) wherein the Kingdome of Mellie is contained, which by us that are the Netherlanders is called the Graine Coast: but by others it is called the Coast of Mellegette: This Kingdome of Mellie hath an other Kingdome under it, called Bitonni, which lieth not farre from Rio Cestes.

*Note.*

*Melli.*

The Kingdome of Mellie is rich of Corne, Graine, Rice, Cotten, and Flesh, and some Elephants, where by they sell many of their teeth unto strangers. The inhabitants are mischievous and cruell, (yet better in one place then in another) alwayes seeking to spoile and intrap strangers, that come thither, and cruelly to murther them; but some

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Countri-men are better welcome unto them then others, and those are Frenchmen, because of their long Traffique into those Countreys. The Portugalls come very little thither, our Countrey men are better entertained in one place then in another, & that by reason they have sometimes swaggred there abouts, and for that cause the Negros seeke to be revenged. The greatest Traffique here is Graine, Teeth, and some Rice; other Wares that are there to be had cannot be bartered for in any great quantity, as gold and Teeth, for there is little to be had, but other necessities for sustenance of man, are there reasonably to be had, and wine of Palme, which they draw out of the trees, is there very delicate, exceeding sweet, and as excellent as any can be found in those Coasts. The Inhabitants are subjects to their Captain, whom they call Taba, and are very submissive and ready to obey his commandement. The Kings or Captaines of their Villages, are very grave, and rule with great severitie, holding their subjects in great subjection. Their Language differeth in the one place from the other: but most of them speake a little French, by reason, that they are used to deale much with the French men, and so get some part of their speech, as they on the gold Coast also doe, who likewise speake a little Portugall, by reason also that the Portugalls in times past used to Traffique much there. They are very expert in husbandry, as to some Graine, wherewith they have a great Traffique, they are also very cunning, and fine workmen to make many fine things; specially, very faire Canoes or small Scutes, wherewith they also rowe into Sea, which they cut out of a whole tree (like to a Venetian Gondel) which are very swift to goe; the men have as many wives as they can maintaine, but they keepe them very short, and looke neere unto them. They are likewise very Jealous of their wives: for if they perceive that any of their wives have plaid false with them, they will seeke great revenge against the partie that hath done them the wrong, and will make warre upon him, and for that cause, raise all their Countrey, so that the women are not here so

[II. vii. 929.]

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common, as on the golden Coast of Mina, and else where. Passing further from Cape de las Palmas, you find many Rivers, where you may barter for great store of Teeth, to Cape de Tres Punctas, and for that cause it is called the tooth Coast.

Passing Cape de Apolonia, (which lieth betweene Cape de las Palmas, and Cape de Tres Punctas) five miles further: there lieth a small Castle, but not strong, which is held by the Portugalls, the Village is called Achombeue, and the Castle Ariem, there many Negros dwell, but come seldome aboard our ships that lie there at Anchor, which the Portugalls forbid them to doe. Thus you have read the Description of the Graine or gold Coast, as also the Tooth Coast, and now you shall read of the Coast of Mina. \*And \*See Cap. 8. first of the Iron people in this golden Coast.

### §. II.

How they marrie each with other, and what goods their Fathers give with their Children; their House-keeping together; the womans lying in; education of their Children: Their proportions, industrie and conditions.

**W**hen their children begin to attaine to yeeres of discretion, and are able to be married to a wife, Then the father seeketh out a wife for his Son, which he thinks wil like his Son well, and yet he never saw, nor knew her before, & without wooing each other. Who being thus brought together, the Father giveth nothing at all with his son towards houshold: but if he hath gotten any thing himselfe, by fishing or carrying Merchants aboard the ship, that is his owne to begin houshold withall. But the Brides friends, give the value of fourteene Gulderns in gold with their daughter, for their marriage good; which is to be understood, that if they be any thing worth, then the Father giveth his daughter a Peso and a halfe of gold, and the mother halfe

*Provision of a wife.*

54a

*Portion.*

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a Peso of gold: which after our reckoning altogether, is halfe an ounce of gold Troy weight, which they give them to buy wine de Palme, to keepe their Bridall withall: for she hath nothing else, but that which her Father and Mother giveth her, for she getteth nothing in her youth, as her husband did. And if it be a Kings sonne or daughter, they also give no more with them to their marriage; for it is a common custome with them to give no more with their daughters in marriage, then they give them as a liberalitie, but when they goe to keepe house, they give them a slave to serve them. Besides this, the Bride in the presence of her friends which come to the Banquet, maketh a promise, and sweareth, to be true to her husband, and not to use the bodily company of any other man; but the man taketh no such oath, but is free thereof.]

59b  
*Rites of marriage.*

*Divorce and forfeiture.*

Now, if she chanceth to commit whoredome with an other man, either willingly or against her will, and that her husband heareth thereof, then he must put her away for it; and the man that hath committed the act, shall forfeit to the King foure and twenty Pesos (which after our account is nine ounces) of gold. But if it be a Dutch man, he payeth no fine, because he is a stranger, and knew not whether the woman was married or not, which excuseth him (yet the fault is laid upon the woman that hath done such an offence, and she must pay to her husband foure Pesos, or halfe an ounce of gold, because she committed adultery with another man, if she hath gotten any thing; but if she hath nothing, and cannot pay the fine to her husband, it excuseth her not: for if he hath no great fantasie to his wife, or that they have little affection one unto the other, if he will, he may put her away from him, and as then the band of Matrimonie is broken betweene them, and he may take an other wife when he will.

5c  
But if he cannot learne that his wife hath committed such a fact, by information of other men, but presumeth it of himselfe, or suspecteth that his wife hath laine with

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any other man, he chargeth her with it, and making her cate certaine Salt, useth other Ceremonies of their Idolatrous Fetissos, wherewith the woman knowing her selfe to be cleere, and not to have committed adultery with an other man, willingly taketh her oath. But knowing her selfe to bee faulty, she dare not take her oath fearing, that if she should forswear her selfe, her Fetisso would make her die, whereby oftentimes the wife discovers her owne offence, and procureth the means to moove her husband to be devorced from her, which chiefly hapneth, by meanes of the Jelousie which the man hath of his first wife, for it causeth a great hatred and contention betweene them, because it is a great scandall unto him, and oftentimes there groweth so great strife about it, that he seeketh to murder the man that doth the fault, and Although he hath paid the fine imposed upon him, the married man hath the Priviledge to drive him out of the Towne. ]

*Triall of  
jealousie.*

[II. vii. 930.]

S 10

Further, when they keepe house together, if the man beginneth to thrive, he hath meanes to buy an other wife, he may not buy her without the consent of his first wife, unlesse he were at controversie with her, and put her away, for some thing that he could charge her withall; but with her good will he may buy another. He giveth his first wife sixe Englishen of gold, or two, three, foure or five, as much as he can get, or hath need of, keeping his other wife for his slave, or to serve him, or for his Etigufou, or in our Language, his Whore or Concubine, to whom he beareth not so great affection, nor is not so jealous of her, as of, and to his wife, and those serve for every man, for he may complaine of no man for her, nor cause him to pay any fine for her. His first wife waxing old, and her mind being not so much addicted unto lust, if he perceiveth it, then he cleaveth to his yonger wife, to have his pleasure with her, and ever after esteeming most of her, maketh his old wife doe the household worke, giving her meat and drinke as long as she liveth, and putteth her not away, but she is forced to serve the yong

*Polygamy.*

S 7

S 7

S 1

S 1

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wife,] and shall never trouble her selfe with any thing, but onely to eate and drinke well, to have a care to please her husband, and to doe whatsoever he commandeth.

Although a man hath as many wives as he is able to keepe, yet all are not of one, but of severall ages, the one yonger then the other, that they may be the better served by their wives. For when the eldest can doe no more for age, (that he may not want worke) and that the yongest wives might doe him more pleasure, they make most of the yongest; and every wife dwelleth in a house by her selfe, although he had ten wives, as many of them have. The wife keepes her husbands money, and when he needeth any, he fetcheth some of her. [They eate not one with the other, but either of them alone by themselves; the husband eateth with one of his companions that he dealeth with, or with whom he goeth to Sea: his wives also eate with their friends or neighbours,] every one bringing their meat with them, and so make good cheare together, and at evening, the women goe home to their houses againe, and are together but in the day time. [The man and wife lie each of them in a severall roome, at night] spreading a mat upon the ground, and lay a wooden stoole under their heads, in stead of a pillow, and then making a little fire of wood, when it burneth they lie downe, with the soles of their feet before it, that the heat thereof might draw out the cold, which they by day have drawne up into them from the earth by going bare-footed, esteeming it to be very good for them, which we must also acknowledge. [Now, when he hath a desire to use any of his wives, either he calleth or fetcheth her, and that night he lieth with her, & the next day, she goeth to her house againe,] where she dwelleth, not once making any of the rest acquainted, what she did that night, or that her husband lay with her; for then they would be too jealous.

*Child-birth.* Being with child, when their time of deliverance, and bringing foorth of their child into the world commeth, when she is in labour, both men, women, maids, yong men & children, run unto her, and she in most shamelesse

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manner, is delivered before them all. I would say much more hereof, but in respect of the credit of women, I will leave it. When the child is borne, she goes to the water to wash & make cleane her selfe, not once dreaming of a moneths lying in, nor of making Caudles of Ipocras, and other wines, as women here with us use to doe: they use no Nurses to helpe them when they lie in child-bed, neither seeke to lie dainty and soft; but they presently take a spoonefull of Oyle, and a handfull of Manigette or Graine, whereof they make a drinke, and drinke it up.

[The next day after, they goe abroad in the streets, to doe their businesse, as other women doe. They give their child such a name, as they thinke good to themselves, and blesse the same with their Fetissos, and other witchcrafts, and when time serveth, circumcise both boyes and girles:] at which time they make a great feast, whereof they make great account. But where the women are most shamelesse at the time of the birth of their children, the men in three moneths after, lie not with that wife, nor once have the use of her body, which neverthesse, I thinke they doe not for any shame or regard that they have, to deale with that woman, but onely because they have other wives enough. They take the yong child as soone as it is borne, and wrapping a cleane cloth about the middle thereof, lay it downe on a mat upon the ground, and not in a cradle, and there let it turne and sprawle about, and doe what it will, and when it is two or three moneths old, the mother ties the child with a peece of cloth at her backe, and so lets it hang there, as the high Dutches wives use to follow their husbands in the warres. When the child crieth to sucke, the mother casteth one of her dugs backward over her shoulder, and so the child suckes it as it hangs. The women goe up and downe from place to place, and still carry their children in that sort, as lightly, as if they had nothing at their backes, the childs head lies just upon her shoulder, and so she goes shaking of the child most pitifully to behold, whereby we wondered that they brake not the childs joynts, by bearing them in that

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*Names.*

*Usage of children.*

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[II. vii. 931.] sort, being so young, and yet you find very few or no lame persons in those Countreys. They teach their children to goe very young, for they make no reckoning thereof, and suffer them to creepe and runne abroad when they are very little, and teach them to speake very soone, whereby you find many children there among them that can both goe and speake ere they bee a yeare old, and some of them speake so plainly, that you may understand what they say in their Language, for they speake and goe farre sooner then our children doe, which we wondred at, besides this, they are strong, fat and well disposed, whereof we will speake hereafter in another place.

*Devillish  
preservatives  
against the  
Devill.*

*Fetissos.*

The children being a moneth or two old, then they hang a Net about the bodie thereof, like a little shirt, which is made of the barke of a tree, which they hang full of their Fetissos, as golden Crosses, strings with Corall about their hands, feet, and neckes, and their haire is filled full of shels, whereof they make great account, for they say, that as long as the young childe hath that Net about him, the Devill cannot take nor beare the child away, and leaving it off, the Devill would carrie it away, for they say, the childe being so little, it would not bee strong enough to resist the Devill, but having that Net upon the bodie, it is armed, and then the Devill hath no power over it; the Corals which they hang about the child, which they call a Fetisso, they esteeme much, for that hanging such a Fetisso about the childes necke, they say, it is good against vomiting; the second Fetisso, which they hang about his necke, they say, it is good against falling the third, they say, is good against bleeding; the fourth is very good to procure sleepe, which they hang about the necke thereof, in the night-time, that it may sleepe well; the fift, is good against wild beasts, and the unwholsomenesse of the Aire, with divers other such like Fetissos, each having a name a-part, to shew what vertue it hath, and what they are good for, and they credibly beleeeve them to be good against vomiting, falling, bleeding, (which they presently helpe) and for sleepe; they feed their young children with all kind of



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grosse meates, almost from the first, for when they leave suckling (they suffer them not to suck long) then they beginne to learne the childe to eate of their grosse meates, and to drinke water; when they be used thereunto, then they take little heed to them, but beate the children lying downe in their house, like Dogges, rooting in the ground like Hogges, whereby it falleth out that the young children soone learne to goe.

[Every woman bringeth up her owne children, and each child knoweth the Mother, and remayneth with her, untill the Father either buyeth it of her, or that it goeth away from the Mother, it oftentimes falleth out, that the Husband taketh the child from the Mother, & selleth it to other men for a slave.] When they begin to goe, they presently learne to swimme, and to runne into the water, and when they are first borne they are not blacke, but reddish, as the Brasilians are; and then by little and little begin to be blacke; and at last, to bee as blacke as Pitch, and growing bigger, run up and downe like Savage men, Boyes and Girles together, fighting one with another, taking each others meate from them, and from their childhood upwards, begin to be envious one against the other, and so grow bigger and exercise all kind of villanie and knaverie, their Parents not once teaching them any civilitie, nor shewing them what they should doe, suffering both Boyes and Girles to goe starke naked as they were borne, with their privie members all open, without any shame or civilitie.

Colour.

[They use to beate and chasten their children most cruelly, striking them with great staves] in such sort that we wondred that they did not breake their bones, which they doe not, but for some great cause (whereby their children respect them much) and for that they beate them cruelly, so that they doe not easily forget it. [Other good Discipline they teach them not, but they grow up like wild trees: having spent their time thus uncivilly, and beginning to be eight, ten, or twelve yeares old, then their Parents begin to instruct and teach them to do some thing,

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Arts.* and to labour with their hands, the Fathers teach their Sonnes to spinne Thred made of barkes of Trees, and to knit Nets, which having learned they goe to Sea with their Fathers to fish, and when they know how to rowe, and to guide a Boat, then two or three Boyes will goe out together in a Canoe or Almadia to fish, and that which they take they carrie to their Parents for food, but when they are eightene or twentie yeares old, then their Sonnes beginne to deale for themselves, and leave their Fathers, and go and dwell two or three of them together in a house, buying or hyring a Canoe, (which is one of their Boats) and therewith goe to Sea together, and what fish they get they sell for Gold, first keeping as much as serveth for food for themselves, with that they sell, they buy a fathome of Linnen cloth, which they hang about their bodies, and betweene their legges, wherewith they cover their privie members, for then they begin to be shame-faced; whence they proceed further and beginne to deale and traffique with Merchandize, and to carrie it aboard the ship in their Canoes, and serve Merchants to carry them to and from their ships, and so learne to deale with Gold, and to get some thing.] After that, beginning to be amorous, and to looke after young Wenches, then they are esteemed to bee men, which when their Fathers perceive, they looke them out Wives, and then they marrie, which they doe very young, so that in those Countries, Children get Children. [Touching the Girles, they also begin to worke, and that some-what sooner then the Boyes, they learne to make Baskets, Mats and straw Hats of greene Rushes, which they fold with their hands, they also learne to make Caps, Purses, and apparell made of barkes of Trees, dyed with all kinds of colours, most cunningly done, as if they were fastened together with cords, much to bee wondred at, they also learne to grind their Corne or Millia, and thereof make Bread, which they goe and sell for their Mothers, and bring them the money to buy other meate withall, and whatsoever they get, they give it to their Mothers, who for that (when they marrie) give

*First apparell.*

*Wiving.*

[II.vii. 932.]

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them some gift, as I have said before.] In this sort the Girles begin to labour, and to learne to doe household worke, wherein according to their manner of house keeping, they are very curious, and exceed the men in cunning workmanship.

[The men in those Countries] are of a very good proportion, with faire members, strong legs, and well-shaped bodies, which is easily to be seene, for that they goe almost naked of their bodies, they have round faces, and no great lips, nor wide mouthes, as the Barbarian Moores have, but their Noses are flat, which they make flat when they are young, for they esteeme a flat Nose to be a great ornament unto them, and to say truth, it doth not amisse in them, for that according to the proportion of bodie, it beautifieth their faces:] their eares are small, their eyes white, their eye browes very great, white teeth in their mouthes, (for they keepe their teeth very cleane, scouring them with small stickes, and thereby make them very smooth, and shining like Ivorie) they have little beard, and are at least thirtie yeares of age, before they have any. [They] have broad sholders, thicke armes, great hands, and long fingers, and let their nailes grow very long, which they keepe very cleane with scraping, for some of them let them grow as long as the joynt of a mans finger, which they esteeme for a great ornament, for that cause thinking themselves to be Gentlemen. [The Merchants also] that dwell within the Land, use those long nailes for a great shew, for they keepe them as white as Ivorie, by scraping them, and againe they have good use for them, for that sometimes when they have not a Spooone by them, and that they untie their Purses to weigh Gold, and wanting a Spooone to take it out, for haste they use their long nailes, and therewith put the Gold into the Scales, and I have seene some of them at one time, take at least halfe an ounce of small Gold like sand out of their Purses. They have small bellies, long legs, broad feet, and long toes, little haire upon their bodies, scurled haire upon their heads, but not so much curled as the Tawnie Moores, for theirs is almost

*Their limbes  
and members.*

*Long nailes, a  
signe of idle  
Gentrie.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

like bristels, and not like Wooll.) In the palmes of their hands, under their feet, and under their lips, they are very white, [their skins are as soft as Velvet, and smooth, which they raze not, they likewise have a great privie member, whereof they make great account, therein they much surpasse our Countymen.]

As they grow in yeares, they become blacker and blacker, at thirtie yeares of age beeing in their best time, but when they are seventie or eightie yeares old, then their blacknesse beginnes to decay, and their bodies become yellowish, and their skins begin to be rugged, and to wrinkle like Spanish Leather; [they exceed all other Moores in Africa, for proportion and stature of bodie.]

*ph 5*  
*Their wity age  
subletie.*

[The men are industrious and subtill persons as can be, good Workmen or Labourers,] strong of bodie, strait, and very upright, [ingenious to learne any thing, and readie to conceive it: for any thing whatsoever they see done before them, they will soone imitate and counterfeit,] they are of a very sharpe sight, and see further then our Netherlanders, for if there be any ships at the Sea, they will see them sooner then we, [they are subtill Merchants to traffique with all, and everie day more and more learne of the Netherlanders, so that in time they will surpasse them,] for they have good skill and knowledge in the Merchandizes which we sell them, they are hard of complexion, and have very hot stomackes, for they are able to digest raw and most strange meates (whereat we wondred) [for if they had an Ostridge maw, they could not better digest such raw meate as they many times eate, as I will further declare, when I speake more of their manner of feeding. [They are very envious and spitefull one against the other, and will beare malice against a man ten yeares together, and when they have the meanes to be revenged, then they will make their malice knowne, and untill then keepe it secret.]

*Stomackes.*

*ph 7*  
*Stomacks and  
revenge.*

*Superstition.  
Nicetie.*

They are Idolatrous, and very superstitious in their Religion. They have a strong complexion or savour of their bodies, much like Oyle of Palme, wherewith they often anoint themselves. They are very curious to keepe

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their bodies cleane, and often wash and scour them. They are much troubled with Lice and Fleas. They are not ashamed to shew their naked bodies, but they are very carefull not to let a Fart, if any bodie be by them; they wonder at our Netherlanders, that use it so commonly, for they cannot abide that a man should Fart before them, esteeming it to be a great shame and contempt done unto them; when they ease themselves, they commonly goe in the morning to the Townes end (where there is a place purposely made for them) that they may not bee seene, as also because men passing by should not bee molested with the smell thereof, they also esteeme it a bad thing that men should ease themselves upon the ground, and therefore they make houses which are borne up above the ground, wherein they ease themselves, and every time they doe it, they wipe; or else they goe to the water side, to ease themselves in the sand, and when these Privie-houses are full, they set fire in them, and let them burne to ashes; they pisse by Jobs as Hogs doe, and not all at one time; [they are very covetous, and much addicted thereunto, and they can begge so well, and are so expert therein, that they surpass all the beggers in our Countrey] who although they had set ten or twelve yeeres ordinarily at the Church doores, in Holland or Zeland; or gone from doore to doore to begge an almes: yet they cannot have their lessons so perfectly as these. And although they are very hard and nigardly, and will give but little, yet when they have gotten any thing by their begging, then they will be somewhat liberall thereof, when it costs them nothing.

*Easements.*

*h6  
Covetise and  
begging.*

[II. vii. 933.]

*pinis*

*Lechery.*

[They are very lecherous, and much addicted to uncleanness; especially with yong women, whereby they are much subject to the Poxe, and other uncleane diseases, that are gotten thereby; which they make small account of, and are nothing ashamed of them. They are no lesse given to drinking; for they are great drunkards, and dainty mouthed, and can eate and drinke of the best. In their feeding, they are very greedy.] They cannot endure that any raine should fall upon their bodies, and therefore they

*Drunkennesse  
and greedinessse.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Lying and  
stealing.*

shun it. [They are very great liers, and not to be credited.]  
They are likewise much inclined to theft, for they will  
steale like dogs, for their Kings and Captaines practise it,  
and they are so well used thereunto, that they cannot leave  
stealing. [They are very expert and cunning to fish, and  
to till the land, and in their apparell, and going very  
proud, they are very stout, proud and curious in all their  
actions.] They are not to be trusted nor credited, for they  
are no good pay-masters, you were as good give it, as  
trust them with any thing. They are of a very good  
memorie, and will remember a thing long. [They are by  
nature warme and hott, and therefore cannot endure cold.]  
they are not frugall, for whatsoever they get, they spend  
it presently: for it grieves them to keepe it, so that therein  
they are like to little children, that can keepe nothing.  
They are excellent Swimmers and Divers in the water,  
and are so expert therein, that they much surpasse our  
Countrey men.

### §. III.

Of their Apparell, Customes within doores,  
Manner of diet, Merchandising, the use of  
Dache; Wares carried thither.

*Cutting  
their haire.*

**A**Lthough their apparell and manner of dressing is  
not variable, yet they take a great pride therein;  
as first, in cutting their haire, every one of a  
several fashion, and as finely as he can devise it: some  
with a halfe moone, some crosse wise, others with three  
or foure hornes upon their heads, and every one a severall  
way, so that among fiftie men, you shall scarce find two or  
three that are cut alike. On their armes they hang Iron  
rings, three or foure upon one arme cut, some round,  
others flat, which are raced, and markt as we make fairings  
for children. About their neckes they weare a string of  
Beades, of divers colours, which our Netherlanders bring  
them; but the Gentlemen weare Rings of gold about

*Rings.*

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their necks, on their feet, they weare many strange wreathes, which they call *Fetissos*, (which name they derive from their Idolatry) for when they eate or drinke, then they power meat and drinke upon them: and first give them to eate and drinke. At their knees also they weare a string of Venice beades, with some gold among them, of divers fashions, much after the manner that our yong maids weare their Corall bracelets about their armes. They weare caps made of Barkes of trees, with a long string hanging at them, which they bind about their heads, after the Turkish manner, in stead of a hat-band, painted and dyed of divers colours. They also make caps of Reeds, they likewise have hats of Straw, as we have, and some of greene Rushes, they also make caps of Dogs and Goats skins; which they spread upon a blocke of wood, all finely made, they weare at least two fathome of Linnen about the middle of their bodies, and betweene their legs, and round about them like a girdle, and let it hang downe beneath their knees, like the Portugals Breeches; and when they goe out of doores, they take a fathome of Linnen cloth, Sey, or Stuffle, and weare it about their neckes, and crosse under their armes like a Cloake, and in their hands they weare an Assagaie or two, and when they goe in this manner in the streets, they have a Boy or a Slave following them, which carrieth a stoole after them, and where they stay, there their slaves sets downe their stooles for them to sit and prate; they are very proud in their going, for they goe very slowly, and use a long pace as they goe along through the streets, they looke forward, and never cast up their eyes, untill some body that is better then themselves, speaketh unto them, and with them they will stand and talke, and make them an answer; but if they be such as are of meaner qualitie then themselves, to them they will make no answer: but with an angry countenance, and dispitefully, saying, hold your peace, speake not to me, esteeming themselves embased, by speaking to a meaner person then themselves in the streets; for there are very great men among them, very

*Fetissos.* ✓

*Caps.*

52)

*Pride.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

5 \ proud in speech, and doe much honour and reuerence to strangers, to the end you should doe the like to them.]

[II.vii.934.] When they goe to Sea, then they put off their clothes, and taking a little peece of Linnen or cloth, about a handfull broad, tie that about their bodies, and betweene their legs, before their privy members, and when they goe on land againe, then they put it off, and wash themselves from head to feet, and anoint their bodies with Oyle of Palme, or fat of beasts, to make them shine; and betweene their toes put Soape, to keepe them cleane: they also use to anoint their bodies to keepe them from the biting of Flies.

*Salutations.* 1 In the morning, when they goe out and meet with any of their friends or acquaintance, they salute each other very solemnly, bidding them good morrow, embracing each other in their armes, & putting forth the two fore-fingers of their right hands, one to the other, they hold each other fast by them, and kinckling them twice or thrice together, at every time bowing their heads, they say, Auzy, Auzy, which in their Language is good morrow.

5 \ [The Portugals in Mina marry Mullato women, halfe white, halfe blacke, because white women cannot live there. These weare their haire short, as the men, weare many Corals, and are bravely apparelled. But of the Native women of these parts.] First, I will tell you of their  
*Their lust.* 1 Natures, Complexions, and Conditions [from their youths upwards, they are given to Lust and uncleannesse, for a great while they goe with their privie members uncovered, as I said before; and as they have no shame at all, so when they begin to weare some thing upon their bodies, they begin to expresse shamefac'tnesse, but then begin to be lecherous, which they naturally learne from their youth upwards: and before the Netherlanders and Portugals dwelt among them, and Traffique in that Countrey, the women were not so proud nor curious, as they are now; but that they have learned much of us, by seeing that we rather desire a handsome, then an evill favoured wench;

*Through you is my name blasphemed amongst the Gentiles. Rom. 2. 2. Let Christians read this with shame, especially travellers. Let not Heathens be made worse by Christians which, alas, is now common in all remote parts. And this is one chiefe cause of the death of so many there.*



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and for that cause, they give themselves thereunto, that they might be beloved of us; for they esteeme it to be good fortune for them to have carnall copulation with a Netherlander, and among themselves, brag and boast thereof. In former time, they use to goe starke naked untill they were very great, as yet they doe among those that dwell within the land, as the Negros themselves have told us; but on the Sea side they are growne more shamefaced, by meanes of such as comes out of Europe to Traffique with them. They are also theevish, but thereof they have not so much need as the men. They are very proud in their gate and apparell, they curle and fold the haire of their heads, making a hill in the middle of their heads like a Hat, such as the Dutch Gentlemen use to weare, and round about the same, they make round strikes as bigge as a Dollor, which they dresse and trim so long, till it be as they would have it; and then they anoint it with Palme Oyle, which makes it very much frizled. They have long Combes with two teeth onely, each tooth being a finger long, which they thrust into their haire, and combe it therewith; for they are troubled with Lice: they use their combes also for a kind of salutation or reverence, which they doe unto men; for when they bid one good morrow, and kincke fingers together, they put their combes out of their haire, and put them in againe, which they use for a kind of reverence, in stead of bowing their heads. Upon their foreheads they cut three or foure slashes in the flesh, about the length of the joint of a mans finger, and also on their cheekes not farre from their eares, which they suffer to swell, and rise up, about the breadth of a knife, which they cover over with painting, and under their eye browes, they also make white strikes, and on their faces they set white spots, which a farre off shew like Pearles. They also race their armes and their breasts with divers kinds of cuts, every morning putting divers colours upon them, whereby they shew like blacke silke doublets cut and pinckt, or like a womans Sattin stomacher, they weare eare rings of Copper or Tin,

*Combes for  
courtesie.*

*Racing.*

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1600.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

and Copper bracelets about their armes, and some of Ivorie, and upon their legs also they weare many red and yellow Copper Rings. *Rings.* [But a yong maid that is unmarried, weareth many Iron Rings about her armes, sometimes thirty or forty upon one arme: a Whore (by them called Etigafou) oftentimes weare Copper Rings upon her legs, with Bels hanging at them, which she goes ringing through the streets. They are well proportioned and membred, much surpassing our women, in strength and agility of body, both when they are delivered of their children, and otherwise, as I have said before. *3* They are very wise and diligent in house keeping, good House-wives and Cookes, but not very skilfull to make cleane & scoure their Copper Kettles & Dishes, to make them shine. They keepe no more Houshold-stuffe then they have need of, *✓* you find the women more at home in their houses, then the men *✓* commonly are; for they use not to goe abroad to prate with their neighbours, they are not over fruitfull: for *3* commonly it is two or three yeers before they are with child, which I thinke proceeds from their hot natures, and the aire of the Countrey, and secondly, because their husbands have so many wives, two, three, foure, five, and sixe, and some more, each one as he hath power and abilitie to keepe them, *✓* and with them, he lieth according to their manner, every one her turne, and useth not one onely, but hath so much to doe with them all, that it is long before some of them are gotten with child. Their men are diligenter therein then we are, & *Signe of riches.* the first thing they will tell you, is of their wives and children, for he that among them hath many wives and children, hee is a rich man. The women teach their daughters from their youths upwards, to bake bread, and to grind Millia, with other Housewivery; whereby it commeth to passe, that they have good skill in house-keeping, because they are brought up therein from their youths. They are alwaies rubbing their teeth with a certaine kind of wood, where with they make them so smooth that they shine, as is before said, as white as

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Ivory: and in truth those white teeth make a faire shew in their blacke faces. They weare a fadome and some a fadome and a halfe of linnen cloth about their bodies, which hangeth from beneath their brests or their navels down to their knees, then they take a piece of red, blue, or yellow cloth, whereof they make a Girdle, and put it about them, and on it they hang their Knives, Purses with monie, and some Keies, and although they have but few Chests or Cubboords, yet they hang Keies at their Girdles, because it makes a faire shew. They also hang divers Wispes of straw about their Girdles, which they tie full of Beanes, and other Venice Beades, esteeming them to be their Fetissos, or Saints, some of them take a piece of cloth, others a Mat made of barkes of Trees, others a piece of a Carpet, and weare it about their bodies, and so every one weares something, and this they doe within the house, but when they goe to Market to buy something, then they put off those things, and goe and wash themselves in a Kettle of water from the head to the feet, and then they take another piece of Linnen to put about their bodies, and another Girdle, and another fathome or two of Linnen Cloth, and hang it about their bodie, from their brests downe to their feet like a Gowne, and upon it weares another thing of Sey or of striped linnen, and that she carries upon her shoulders, and under her arme like a Cloake, and carries a woodden Platter in her hand which she beares up a high, and so goes to Market, and when she comes home againe from the Market or other places where she hath beene, she puts off those cloathes, and put on worse, for they are more sparing then the men, and therefore they carrie the Purse, and when their Husbands will have any monie, they must come to them for it.

[II. vii. 935.]  
*Apparell and ornaments.*

S 4

S 50

The women have the government of their Houses, and the men take care as much as lyes in them, to earne something, but the women provide the meate to serve for their daily food, although they eate a part, they buy no more meate every day, then serveth them for that day, or they can eate at a meale. In the evening they goe to their

*Their house-wiferie.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Making of  
bread.*

houses that stand without the Towne, and are full of Millia (which is their kind of Corne) where they take a certaine quantitie, as much as they need for their House, and with a staffe stampe it, as wee use to stampe Spice in a Grocers shop, and that is their manner of threshing, then they fanne it in a wooden dish, till it be cleane, but such as have slaves make them doe it. This Millia is a faire white Seed, when it is broken, as hereafter I will shew, over night they steepe this Millia with a little Mais in faire water, and in the morning after they have washt, and made themselves readie, they take the Millia and lay it upon a stone, as Painters doe when they grind their colours, then they take another stone about a foot long, and with their hands grind the Millia as small as they can, till in a manner it be dough, and then it sheweth like baked Buckway Cakes, they temper their dough with fresh water and Salt, and then make Rowles thereof as bigge as two fists, and that they lay upon a warme harth, whereon it baketh a little, and this is the bread which they use. The Negroes of the Castle Damina, bake faire bread of Mais, which is almost like our wheaten bread, and that they cut in Rowles: they can also bake it so hard, that it will keepe two or three monethes sweet and hard, for they furnish their ships and Jacts with such bread, when they send them to the Ilands of Saint Thomas, or to Angola, others that have not the meanes to have such bread, they goe to Market to buy it, and call it Kangues, when the Fisher-men come out of the Sea with their fish, then the women carrie it to the Market, where everie one comes to buy that and flesh, fruite, and other things. They use altogether raw and strange kind of meates, as handfulls of Graine or Manigette, (and will drinke up whole Romers full of Aquavite at a draught) Dogs, Cats, and filthy stinking Elephants, and Buffolds flesh, wherein there is a thousand Maggets, and many times stinkes like carrion, in such sort that you cannot indure the smel thereof; there are likewise little Birds as bigge as a Bul-finch, of a grey colour, with red bills, which very cunningly make

*Raw food.*

*Filthy food.*

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their Nests upon the smallest ends of the branches of trees, thereby to preserve themselves from Snakes or other venomous beasts. Those they eate alive, feathers and all.

I have beene told by some of the Moores, that the Countrie people dwelling within the Land, eate dried Snakes, and the Boores or Slaves, as also the common people which dwell upon the Sea-side, although they have better provision of meate then those that dwell further into the Land, yet they are of so hot a nature, that they eat raw Dogs guts, and never see the nor roast them, which we our selves saw : And there was one of their Boyes left aboard a Netherlanders ship for a pawne for debt, which Boy was so greedie to eate raw meate, that although he had sufficient meate with them in the ship, yet hee would eate the Hens meate out of their Troughes. This Boy

*A greedie Boy.*

made a sticke, and at the end thereof hee drave a naile with the point upwards, and went and lay by the Hens Cage, and when any of them put out their heads to eate meate, he strooke them in the heads, and killed them, and then hee went and shewed the Sailers, that some of the Hens were dead, which he did to the end he might eate their raw guts, and would not stay so long untill the guts were made cleane, but tooke them and eate them raw as they came out of the Hens bellies. They eate also great store of old stinking fish, which is dried in the Sunne, but to say, that they eate such kind of raw meates for necessity and no other, were untruth ; for they also are very daintie, and can eate good meate when they have it.

There are women that dwell in the Castle among the Portugals that can dresse meate well, they eate also many Hens, Goats, Oxen, and Hartes, but such meate is not eaten by the common people, but those that eate them are Gentlemen, or such as are rich, and are able to buy them ; they also eate Jugnamis, Bannanas, and Patates. They have three kind of trees, as the Palme-trees, whereof some are Females which yeeld no wine, but beare Grapes as bigge as Plummes, of an Orange colour, at the one end being

[II. vii. 936.]

*Their Trees.*

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*Palme-oile.*

17

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some-what blackish : those Grapes they peelee to the stones, and thereof they make Oile, which they call Palme Oile, which is verie delicate and good, which they use to dresse their meate withall, and make good sawce thereof for their fish, the thickest of this Oile they use to anoint their bodies withall, to make them cleane, and the women use it to frizell their haire, the veines are as great as Acornes, and as hard as a stone, at the end thereof having three round holes, they beate them in pieces, and within them find certaine Nuts, like little earthen pellets, much like hazell-nuts, but when you eate them, they taste of the wood, and are verie drie.

17

*Drinking.*

6

[They likewise have many Beanes and Pease,] whereof some are like Turkie Beanes of a purple colour, those Beanes are good and fat, which they dresse with Oile of Palme, and it is a very excellent meate and nourisheth well, but the other kind of Beanes and Pease, they use not to eate, for they have no great quantitie of them, growing thereabouts. The Jugnamis also they use in many places in stead of bread. Their drinke commonly is nothing but water, but yet in some places they brew a little Mais in water, which beeing sodden together, is almost like a kind of beere, which they also use much to drinke and call it Poitou, others buy a pot of Palme-wine, and because that will not continue long, therefore foure or five of them goe together, and buy a pot or two : a pot of theirs is ten pots of ours, and that they pay for together, which they powre into a great Cabas, which growes upon Trees, whereof some are halfe as big as a Kilderkin, and will hold at least twelve Kans, and then sit downe round about it to drinke, whereof everie man sendeth his lovingest and truest wife a little pot full home to drinke, and the first draught that they drinke, they take it out of the Cabas with a smaller Cabas, and when the first man drinkes, the rest stand up, and taking his Cap or Hat off, lay their hands upon his head, and with a loud voice cries, Tavytosi, Tavytosi ; at the first draught, they drinke not the Cabas full out, but leave a little in it, which they throw upon the ground,

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saying I. OU, as giving their Fetissos that to drinke, and if they have other Fetissos on their armes or feete, they spit drinke out of their mouthes upon them, as if they gave them drinke also; for they are of opinion, that if they doe it not, or forget to doe it, they should not drinke their wine quietly together, but that their Fetissos would let them. Naturally they are great Drinkers, and use no lesse unseemelnesse in their feeding, but eate as unman-  
nerly and greedily, as if they were a companie of Hogs: for sitting down upon the ground to eate, they stay not till they have eaten one morsell up, but still cramme in, and they put not their meate into their mouthes, but pull their meate in pieces, and take it up with their three middlemost fingers, and gaping, cast it so right into their mouthes, that they never faile nor cast it beside their mouthes, whereat we wondred much. [They are alwayes hungrie, and would willingly eate all day long, which shewes that they have very hot mawes,] and although the Countrey is very hot, whereby the heate of the Aire commonly should fill mens stomakes, yet they are hungrie, and wee Netherlanders are not weake stomaked there, but alwaies have good appetites, whereby I am of opinion, that heate in those Countries makes men hungrie; but because I am no Doctor of Physicke, I will not intreate thereof. [And, because they make great account of that drinking together, they are verie earnest and industrious to get something, and to make provision of Gold, which having gotten, they cannot be frugall or sparing, but presently goe and drinke it with their companions,] now one, and then another, everie one his turne, and if one gets more then his fellowes, then hee must be liberaller then his fellowes, that is, when they begin to deale with the Merchants, and to goe aboard the ships, and he that is poore or hath not much, can hardly beare companie to drinke, because they are not sparing, when they have gotten any thing.

*Uncivill feeding.*

*Strange hunger in so hot a Climate.*

*Good fellowship, or prodigalitie.*

*Their trading.*

[As I have understood by the Inhabitants of those Countries, before the Portugals came thither to deale with

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*c* them, they had very little or no kind of Merchandize to traffique withall, or to live by, but live upon that which they got from others by force, which was not much, specially to get any thing to apparell themselves; for before that time they went all naked, as I said before, much lesse had they any cattle or victuals for their maintenance, but only such as the Portugals brought thither, and by that meanes the Countrie was filled and replenished with divers kinds of beasts and Cornes, whereby at this day, there is almost all kind of things that are necessarie and needfull for mans sustenance, and otherwise to bee had in those Countries. And within a while after, the Portugals began to traffique and deale with the Savage Inhabitants, they likewise began to know their Merchandize.

*First simplicity.*

*First trading.*

*c* [At the first, in former time they came and brought their Gold unto the Portugals, and bought of them such things as they wanted, as Linnen Cloth, &c. but the people dwelling further within Land, durst not venture to come to the Portugals to deale with them, as wondring at them, it being a fearefull thing unto them to see white men apparelled, and they themselves blacke and unapparelled, (as the like happened unto our men; for at the first they were afraid to see Blacke Moores) and therefore they brought their monie to those that dwelt on the Sea side, where the Portugals traffique, and told them what wares they would have, and they went to the Castle, and bought such things as they desired, as Iron, Tinne, Copper Basons, Knives, Cloth, Linnen, Kettles, Corals, and such like wares, and the Merchants that sent them to the Portugals, paid them for their paines, upon every Peso of Gold by them disbursed, so that if they bestowed many Pesoes, they received a good deale of monie for their Factoridge, and by that meanes they got their livings.]

*First Dutch Trade.*

[But after that, when we began to traffique thither, (the first that went from hence thither out of Holland, to deale with the Negroes, beeing called Barent Erickson of Medenblicke) and found what profit the Portugals did



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there, we increased our Trade thither, and sent more ships with the said Baront, as a fit man for it, because he knew the Coast, as having beene there with the Portugals. But having no place upon the Land (as the Portugals had) to carrie our wares ashoare, and to lay it in Ware-houses to traffique with them as time served, and durst not, or else might not goe on Land, we were constrained to stay with our shippes at anchor before their Townes, attending for the Merchants, that came aboard our ships with their Canoes, at which time the Negroes seeing that wee had Merchandize aboard, imboldened themselves to traffique with us, and brought their Gold aboard our ships, and for that at this present they deale but little with the Portugals, but only with our Countrimen, therefore I will shew in what manner they deale with us.

In the morning betimes, they come aboard our ships with their Canoes, or Scutes to traffique with us: and the cause why their Merchants came so early aboard, is, for that in the morning the wind, which they call Bofone, blowes off from the Land, and then it is calme smooth water, for about noone the wind which they call Agom-Brettou, begins to blow out of the Sea, and then they row to Land againe: for the people that dwell within the Land, can hardly brooke the Seas, for when they are aboard the ship, they can scarce goe or stand, but lie downe and spue like Dogges, and are verie Sea-sicke; but their Rowers and Pilots that bring them aboard, are hardie enough, and never are sicke, by reason of their daily using to the Seas. But some of their Merchants when they come aboard our ships, are so sicke, that they cast out all they have within their bodies; and by reason of their beeing so sicke in faire weather, they are so afraid of the wind (when the waves goe any thing high) that they make as much haste home as they can, and some of them dare not venture upon the Seas to goe aboard the ships, but deliver their monie to the Pilots or Factors, telling them what Merchandize they desire to buy, and those Tolken come with the Gold aboard the ships, having a Purse which

*Wind in the  
morning from  
land & calme.*

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1600.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

hangeth about their middles, wherein they put their Gold, and every severall mans Gold is in a piece of Cloth or Paper by it selfe, and they can tell which is everie mans, and what wares hee desireth to have for it, and sometimes they have twelve or ten mens Gold to bestow, which is called an English of Gold, and of some two, three, or foure, and when any of their monies is not waight, then they put it into their Purse, and carrie it to the man againe, for if they should put any thing to it, to make it full waight, the Merchant would not give it them againe, for they weigh their Gold first upon the Land, and know how much it is before they send it aboard the ship, for they credit not one the other, and when they have bestowed their monie, then we must give them some-what to boot, which they call Dache.

*Dache.*

*Undermining  
and defraud-  
ing Merchants.*

[When we began to traffique here] in the Countrey with two or three ships, as one of Middleburgh, one of Amsterdam, and one of Schiedam, and that all our ships met and lay at anchor together to sell our wares, the one ship seeing that the other traffiqued more, and vented more wares then his fellowes, to find the meanes to get the Merchants aboard their ships, they willed the Pilots (with whom they must hold friendship, for they carrie the Merchants aboard) to bring them aboard their ships, and they would give them something for their labours, and the Pilots accordingly to get something, brought them aboard that ship, which had made them that offer, for they are verie covetous, which the other ships perceiving, willed the Pilots to bring the Merchants aboard their shippes, and they would likewise give them something: and they made them answere, that if they would give them as much as the other did, they would come aboard their ships, which they promised to doe, and gave them more Dache then the other, and by that meanes drive the Merchants, Pilots, and Tolken aboard their ships, which the other ships seeing, and thinking that their Merchants wares cost them no more then the others, gave them more Dache then the others, and by that meanes striving one with the other,

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they deminished one and the others gaine, and in fine, their gifts grew to such a rate, that at this day, their Dache amounteth unto sixe or seven per cento.]

And now it is come to passe, that whereas the Countrie people and Merchants were wont to pay the litridge and brokeridge to the Pilots and Tolken, to carrie them aboard the ships, they sought to the Merchants and Countrie Moores to get them into their Canoes, for greedinesse of Dache, which they got of the Factors for their labours, to bring the Merchants aboard, and thereby in stead of paying them for going aboard, they give the Merchants much Dache, in regard of the great profit they get thereby. [II.vii. 938.]

[Many Merchants comming to the Sea side to buy wares, some of them a hundred or two hundred miles from within the land, bring great store of gold, & have divers slaves with them, which they lade with the wares which they buy in the ships, wherof some have twenty, others thirtie, and some more] as they have meanes, and according to the trade that they use: which Merchants or Moorish countrey people, know the houses or lodgings, where they use to lie, and waigh their money to their Tolke or Hoste, and tell them what goods or wares they will have [who, comming aboard, commonly bring one of the Merchants with them, for they trust not one the other,] and leave the rest with their slaves upon the land, which tell them what wares they desire to have; and [if it be a Merchant that can speake no Portugall speech, they will presently tell you, and will the Factor not to speake Morish speech unto them, because their Merchant is one that dwels farre within the land; thereby giving you to understand, that they meane to deceive him,] and to beguile him of much money. The poore Merchant being sicke, and lying in the ship spuing like a dogge, in the meane time the Brokers make the match for them, telling the Factors how much ware they desire to have for so much gold, for that the wares are commonly sold all at one price: [The Tolken makes not many words with the Factors, but

*Aske my fellow if I be a Thiefe.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

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*Coozening  
Knaves.*

*White Devils  
can hardly  
make blacke  
Saints.*

[set certaine wares before the Merchant, as little as they can to content him for his money,] and the price being made with him, he weiges their gold, and takes the wares, and goes on land againe; and the Merchant being gone home, then the Pilots and Tolken come aboard the ships againe, to fetch that which they have coozoned the Merchant off; so that oftentimes the Merchants are deceived of a third part of their goods by such practises: [Others, while he lookes about, or turnes to spue, steale a peece of the Merchants gold,] and put it into their Mouthes, Eares, or Nostrels, making the Merchant beleieve that his money is too light: [the Merchant for his part,] seeing that by meanes of their theevery his money will not reach out; because it is too light, that it may weigh more then it is, blowes in the Ballance,] which the Factors oftentimes perceiving not, and thinking that they have their full waight, are by that meanes deceived, and come short of their reckoning; so that they have a thousand devices to steale, and to beguile the Merchants. [At first they were woont to be very simple in their dealing, and trusted the Netherlanders very much, whereat we wondred: for they were of opinion, that white men were Gods, and would not deceive them:] and then tooke the wares upon their words, without reckoning it after them, whereby they were deceived: for, that if they bought ten fathome of Linnen cloth, they found but eight, and by that meanes, lost two fathome, and other things after the rate, which the Factors did so grossely, that the Merchants in the end perceived it, and began to looke better to themselves, and grew so subtile in their reckoning, that if they bought one hundred fathome of Linnen, they could reckon it to a fathome, and tell whether they had their measure or not; so that now if you doe them any wrong, by measuring or reckoning, they will not come aboard your ship any more; and which is more, for any bad looke, or hastie word that you shall give them, they will never be friends with you againe.

Troubles and warres in the Netherlands, constrained us

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1600.

*Wares for  
these parts of  
Guinea, and  
for what use.*

to seek Traffique here also, and to undertake this voyage, by that meanes to put the Portugalls from it, which in the end we did, for that since the Netherlanders came hither to Traffick with the Negroes, Moores, the Portugalls have best trading, and are wholly decayed. First, we bring them great store of slight Linnen cloth, whereof there is very much spent in those Countries, for they apparell themselves therewith, and it is the chiefest thing they use for that purpose: besides this, we carry them great store of Basons, as little Basons, Barbers Basons, Basons to drinke in, Platters of Copper, flat Basons, great broad Copper pans, at the least two fathome about, and small Posnets without edges: The small Basons they use to put Oile in, wherwith they anoint themselves, and the greater sort of them they set in the graves of the dead, & use them to carry divers things in. The Barbers Basons they use to wash themselves in, & when they cut their haire, platters they use to lay over others to cover them withall, to keepe dust and filth from falling into their things. The great broad Pans, are by them used to kill a Goat or a Hogge in, and to make it cleane therein, in stead of a Tub. The Possenets they use to dresse their meat in, which serveth them to very good purpose, they will not have them with steales, as we use them here with us, and many other such like Basons of Copper, which our ships bring thither in great quantities, and therewith fill the Countrie so full; and by meanes thereof, they are sold as good cheape there unto the Negros, as they are bought in Amsterdam; and although there are so many of those Basons brought thither, and no ware that weareth so much, as Linnen, yet you see but few old Copper things there, and therefore you must thinke, that there is great store of people inhabiting further within the land, which use so great quantitie of such things.

We carrie thither great store of Kettles, which they use to fetch water in, out of their pits and Valleyes, and some red Copper pots Tinned within, wherein they use to put water, in stead of a barrell of beare to drinke; earthen

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

[II. vii. 939.]

pots they use also to drinke out of. Iron is used by them to make their weapons, as Assagaie, cutting Knives, Poniards, &c. The Assagaies & Poniards they use for the warres. The cutting Knives, to Till and cut up the ground, in stead of Spades, and some to cut wood withall, and to use about their Building, for they have no other Tooles: They also buy great store of Red, Blew, Yellow, and Greene Rupinsh cloth, which they use for Girdles about their middles, to hang their Knives, Purses, Poniards, and such like things at. They use white Spanish Serges to weare upon their bodies, in stead of Clokes, Rings of Copper and Brasse, which they weare about their armes and feet for a great pride. They also use Tin things, as Rings for their armes, but not many. They use many Knives which wee make with us in Holland, and call them Docke Messen. They also use great store of Venice Beads, of all kinds of colours, but they desire some colours more then others, which they breake in foure or five peeces, and then grind them upon a stone, as our children grind Cherrie stones; and then put them upon strings, made of Barke of trees, ten or twelve together, and therewith Traffique much: Those ground Corals they weare about their neckes, hands and feet. They also use round Beads, and specially great round Counters, which they hang and plait among their haire, and let them hang over their eares. Pins they use to make Fish-hookes, Horse tailes they use when they daunce, & also when they sit still, to keep the flies from their bodies; Looking-glasses, and small Copper milke Kans, with many such like things. But the chieftest wares that are uttered there, and most used among them, is, Linnen, Cloth, Brasse, and Copper things, Basons, Kettles, Knives, and Corals.

*Their know-  
ledge in our  
wares, and  
triall thereof.*

At first we used many times to deceive them, not onely in measuring of Linnen, but in delivering them broken and patcht Basons, and peeced Kettles for their money; rotten Cloth, through the which they might have sifted Beanes; Knives that were so rustie, that they could hardly without breaking pull them out of their sheathes, with

## A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

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1600.

such like wares. [But now by use and experience, they have attained to such skill in our wares, that they are almost able to surpasse us therein.] For, first, when they buy any Linnen cloth, they looke if it be not to slight and thin, and whether it be white and broad; for they are very curious to buy white and broad Linnen, and respect not the strength so much as the breadth of the Linnen: for they use to hang it about their bodies, specially the women, which desire to have it hang downe from underneath their breasts to their knees. Secondly, they take Woollen cloth, and hold it up against the light, to see if it be thin. They draw the Knives out of the sheathes, to see if they be not rustie. They looke upon the Basons one by one, to see if they have no holes in them: or whether they be broken, and the least hole that they spie in them, they lay them away, and desire to have others for them; and also if they be but a little foule or greasie, they will none of them: And for quantitie and qualitie make triall of all other wares, as curiously as in Europe is done.

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### §. IIII.

What Custome the Merchants pay to their Kings. Their Measures, Weights, Scales, Markets: Also their Sabbath, Fetissos and superstitions.

[**T**He Kings have their Customes dwelling upon the Sea Coast, where the ships lie to Traffique with the Countrey people, and they are placed there, to see that the Kings lose not their Rents and Imposts, and that it may be the better paid them, and no deceit used, they appoint one of their Sons or some one of their nearest friends to be present with them. Those Customers receive the Custome of the fish, which is taken in his precinct, or before his Haven, and to that end he hath a measure to measure it withall, and if the measure be not full (of any fish whatsoever) then it payeth no Custome, but if their fish bee more then filleth that measure, then he taketh the

Customes. e17

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1600.

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fifth fish thereof, or as much as he thinketh good to take for his Custome, and that is presently sent to the King of that quarter by his slaves, which every morning come thither to fetch the fish

[Such Merchants as come thither a great way out of the Countrey, pay to the King of the Haven where they goe to Traffique, the weight of sixe pence in gold, for their passage through his Countrey,] and whether they intend to buy much or little, the passage money is all one, [and when they have Traffique with the Factors in the ships, and come to land, the Customer taketh a part of their goods from them, which is commonly a fourth part of that which they have bought,] and carrieth it away with him, then the Merchant takes the rest and carrieth it to his lodging, which done, he goeth backe againe to the Customer (whom they call la guarda, which in Portugall is the watch) and agree with him, and pay him as little as they can, and so have their goods againe, and if they have bestowed lesse then two ounces of gold upon wares, then there is no set Custome to bee paid for it, but they give as much as they can agree upon for it, with the Customer, and that is the Customers owne profit, in stead of his wages, but whatsoever they buy above the value of two ounces of Gold, then they must pay an English of Gold for custome thereof, those two ounces of Gold they call Benda.

[II. vii. 940.]

*Fines.*

Also if they have stolne any thing from any of their Countrie people, they also pay monie for it, as the case requireth. And also when they have laien with another man's Wife, then the King hath a forfeit paid unto him for it. And when the Countrie people come to Market with their weapons, they must leave their Weapons in some place, or else they must pay a forfeit, which is sixe penie weight in Gold, if they come with any Armes or Weapons to their Sea-townes. And they also that counterfeit false Gold, with divers other forfeitures, which are all paid to the King, whereof the Customer everie three moneths maketh his account, and payeth it unto the King.



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They make Weights of Copper of divers sorts, and have little Copper Scales which are round, and hollow like an Orange peelee. Benda is their greatest weight, which with us is two ounces; Benda-affa, is halfe a Benda, which is an ounce. Assuwa, is two Pesos and an halfe. Eggeba, is two Pesos, or halfe an ounce. Seron, is a Peso and an halfe. Ensanno is a Peso or a Loot. Quienta, is three quarters of a Peso, each Peso is a Loot. Media taba, is a quarter of a Peso, or a small parcell. Agiraque, is halfe a Peso, or halfe a Loot, each Peso is a Loot; so that their weights are all one with ours for the names, but differ in the pound a Peso and an halfe, which is a Loot and an halfe, so that their weights are so much lighter then ours.

*Weights and  
Scales. C 21*

They measure their Cloth by two fadome together, which they cut one from the other, and call it Jectam, and sell their Linnen in that sort among themselves, and those two fadome after our measure is a storke and three quarters, and they are verie subtill in measuring of their Linnen, and can reckon that so many of our storkes make so many of their fadomes. They cut their Woollen-cloth in pieces not above a handfull broad, which they use in stead of Girdles about their middles, and sell the Cloth in this sort among themselves in this manner, and use no other kind of measure thereunto. They are not verie subtill nor expert in telling, specially to reckon, for when they have past the number of ten, they rehearse so many words one after the other for one number, that they are so cumbred, that they cannot tell how to get out of it, and so sit buzzing so long, till at last they have forgotten their number, and are forced to begin to tell againe, but since they began to deale with the Netherlanders, and were to reckon above the number of ten, for they use no more among them, they tell till they come to ten, and then take one of their fingers into their hands, and then tell to ten againe, and then take another finger into their hand, and so proceed till they have both their hands full, which in all maketh an hundred, then they marke that up,

*Measures.  
C 21*

*Telling or  
numbring.*

A.D.  
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and then begin againe to tell to ten, and use the same order as before.

e II  
*Markets how  
they are kept.  
No Market on  
their Sabbath.*

[Everie Towne hath Market daies specially appointed, upon the which you find more to bee bought then upon other daies, and everie Towne hath his Market upon such a day, as the others have it not, and so everie one differeth upon their daies, and when their Market daies come, they have two daies Market one after the other, wherein the principall Boores or Countrie people come from divers places to traffique with the ships.] They have their Sunday also, but on that day they doe nothing.

In the morning betimes, [assoone as it is day, the Countrie people come with their Sugar Canes to the Market,] carrying two or three bundles together upon their heads, which are bound up like faggots, and being in the Market they unbind them, and so lay them downe upon the ground, which done, the Inhabitants of that place come to buy them, some two, others three, and some more as they have need of them, whereby they have some sold their Sugar Canes, [for they use many of them to eate, and assoone as they have sold their Sugar Canes, then the women come to the Market with their wares, who bring Oranges, Limons, Bannanas, Backovens, Potatoes, Indianias, Millia, Mais, Rice, Manigette, Hens, Egges, Bread, and such like necessities, which those that dwell on the Sea-side have need of, and are sold both unto the Inhabitants, and to the Netherlanders in the ships, which come thither to buy it. The Inhabitants of the Sea-side, come also to the Market with their wares, which they buy of the Netherlanders, as Linnen Cloth, Knives, ground Corals, Looking-glasses, Pinnes, arme Rings, and Fish, which their Husbands have gotten in the Sea, whereof the women buy much, and carrie them to other Townes within the Land, to get some profit by them, so that the fish which is taken in the Sea, is carried at least an hundred or two hundred miles up into the Land, for a great Present, although many times it stinkes like carrion, and hath a thousand Maggots creeping in it. Those women are

*Wares.*

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verie nimble about their businesse, and so earnest therein, that they goe at least five or sixe miles every day to the places where they have to doe, and are laden like Asses, for at their backes they carrie their children, and on their heads they have a heavie burthen of fruit, or Millia, and so goe laden to the Market, and there she buyeth fish, to carrie home with her, so that oftentimes they come as heavily laden from the Market, as they went thither. c<sup>1</sup>

[These pay no custome to the King] but if they find any Fetissos in the way as they goe (which are their Idolatrous gods) they give them some of their fruit or Millia to eate, which is as much as if they gave them the tenth part thereof. Superstition.  
Tithes.

Those women goe seven or eight together, and as they passe along the way they are verie merrie and pleasant, for commonly they sing and make a noise; about noone [the Countrie people] begin to come to the Market with their Palme-wine, which they carrie in pots, some bringing one some two pots, as they are able; they come armed to the Market, having a hewing Knife at their Girdles, and two or three Assagayes in their hands, but when they enter into the Market, then they set their armes in a certain place appointed thereunto, and when they have sold and goe home againe, every man takes his weapons and goes his way, not once changing one with the other, but everie man takes his owne, and when the Netherlanders and the Negroes have done traffiquing, when the Countrie people come to the Market with their wine, looke what the Pilots or Rowers (that carried the Merchants aboard the ships) have gotten, or that was given them for Dache, by the Factors, therewith they buy Palme-wine, and drinke it up together, they pay for their Wine either with Gold, or Linnen; but for the most part, they pay for it with Gold, which they weigh verie narrowly, one unto the other, and when there are many Merchants, and that the Wine is much desired, then it is oftentimes deerer then Spanish Wine is with us. [II.vii. 941.]  
✓  
c<sup>12</sup>  
✓

Besides this, the Market folke know everie one their

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place, and where to sit to sell their wares, as those with fruit stand in one place, they with Sugar Canes in another place, they with Wood, Water, and Bread by themselves; and those that sell Wine in a place by themselves, but the Palme-wine which is brought thither by Sea, from other places, that is never brought to the Market, for many times when it comes in the Canoes in the evening, when the people have need thereof, as soone as it is brought on Land, the Negroes stand readie upon the shoare watching for it, and going to the Merchants, everie one takes a Pot, and carries it away, so that they have presently sold it, & the Merchant needs not feare that his Wine will sowre for want of utterance, for they are so greedie of it, specially for to drinke, that oftentimes they fight and fall together by the eares for it.

ea [They use no monie nor any kind of Mint, wherewith they pay each other, but when they buy any thing they pay for it with Gold, and that by weight] and it is a verie small parcell that hath not some kind of weight to weigh it withall, and [they pay each other with foure square pieces of Gold, weighing a graine or halfe a graine. The cause why they pay in this sort, and have this custome, is by meanes of the Portugals, of the Castle of Myna, which shewed them this way,] for before the Portugals came thither, the Negroes knew no such thing, but when they bought any thing, they exchanged ware for ware,] but the Portugals coming thither had no monie to pay them, when they bought fruits or other victuals to eate, and therefore they desired to pay with Kacrawen, in stead of monie, & so it is the custome about the Castle of Myna, that they have great store of Kacrawen,] which they use for payment more then in other places. [In places where the Portugals are not known, the Negros use not that kind of Mint, but sel their Gold as it commeth out of the Earth, for they know not how to melt or use their Gold as the Negros do, that deale with the Portugals,] and in stead of monie paid one the other in small stones: [they use also small pieces of Iron of a finger length, with a halfe

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Moone thereon] which they use in stead of monie, and have no other kind of monie in the Golden Coast of Guinea, then such as I said before, wherewith they pay each other.

[Although they are altogether wild, rough, and uncivill, <sup>c</sup> having neither Scripture nor Bookes, nor any notable <sup>s</sup> Lawes that might be set downe, or declared to shew the manner of their policie and living, yet when they have past the six daies of the weeke in labour and paines taking, to get their livings, the seventh day they leave working, and reckon that to bee their day of ease, and abstinence from worke, or their Sunday, which they call Dio Fetissos] <sup>Fetissos day.</sup> which in our speech should signifie Sunday, but they <sup>An Ethnicke</sup> observe it not upon our Sunday, nor upon the Jewes Sabbath Day, but hold it upon Tuesday] <sup>Sabbath.</sup> the second <sup>c r</sup> working day in the weeke; what law or opinion they have to moove them thereunto, I know not, but they hold Tuesday for their Sunday, and that day the Fishermen goe not to the Sea for fish: The women and Countrie people that day bring no Wine to the Market, but all the Wine which that day they draw out of the trees, they deliver it unto the King, which in the evening hee giveth unto his Gentlemen, and they drinke it among them. That day they doe no kind of worke, nor traffique with other but such as dwell on the Sea-side, refraine not for all that to goe aboard the shippes, and to buy wares of the Netherlanders. In their Markets they have a square place foure foot every way, supported with foure Pillars, and about two cubits high from the ground, flat on the top and covered close with Reedes, and hanged round about Wispes or Fetissos of Straw, whereon they lay Millia with Palme-oile or water, and give their god that to eate and drinke] <sup>Fetissos meate.</sup> to sustaine him withall, that he should not die for hunger or thirst, thinking that he eateth and drinketh it and lives by it. But the Birds of the Aire eate the graine, and drinks the water] and when it is eaten they anoint the Altar with Oile, and set more meate and drinke upon it, thinking thereby to doe their god great sacrifice and service.

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*The Fetissero, or Priest.* ¶ They have also a Priest, who in their speech they call a Fètissero, hee upon their Sabbath day sits upon a stoole, in the middle of the Market before the Altar or place [II. vii. 942.] whereupon they sacrifice unto their Fetisso, then all the men, women and children come and sit round about him, *His preaching.* and there he speaketh unto them, & they sit stil to heare him: but what it is, or what it meaneth that cannot I learne, nor perceive, neither can you get it from them, for I have oftentimes asked them about it, but they will not tell, but are ashamed to declare it. But I have seene this Fetissero, have a pot with a certaine drink, (wherein there was a Snake) standing by him, and a Wispe, and some women with their little children went to him, which *His blessing.* children hee stroaked with colour, or with some of that drinke, and so they went away, which I ghesse to be a kind of Salve against their Fetisso, for they esteeme their Fetissos to be both good and evill. And when their Fetissero hath made an Oration unto them, then he stands up and smeareth the Altar with his Wispe, and drinke out of his pot, and then the people using certaine words and making a great noise among them, clapping their hands together, cry I. ou, I. ou, and therewith their preaching is done, and so everie one goes home to his house.]

*Their Mattins.* ¶ They hang many straw Wispes upon their heads, and thinke thereby to bee free and safe as long as they weare them, and that their Fetissos can doe them no harme. In the morning betimes when they have washt their bodies cleane, they stroake their faces with white stripes, made of earth like chalke, which they do in honour of their Fetisso, and use it in stead of praiers in a morning: when they eat any thing they present their Fetisso (the straw Wispes which they weare about their legges) the first bit, and also the first draught that they drinke, giving him to drinke, which if they doe not, they thinke they shall have no good lucke that day, for they perswade themselves that their Fetisso would not otherwise suffer them to be quiet.

*Appeasing their Fetisso.* When the Fishermen take but small store of fish, then they thinke that their Fetisso is angrie, and therefore will give

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them no fish, then they make a great crie among them, and goe to their Fetissero, and give him Gold to conjure their Fetisso, to send them store of fish. This Conjuror presently goes, and makes all his Wives (two, three or foure, or as many as he hath) put on their best apparell and ornaments, and with them goes howling and crying round about the Towne, striking themselves upon their breasts, and clapping their hands flat together, and so making a great stirre and noise, goe to the Sea-side, and taking boughes from the trees, hang them about their neckes: those trees they esteeme to be their Fetissos Dusianam, who they thinke send them fish. Then, the Conjuror or he that should bewitch the Fetissos comes with a Drumme, and plaies or sounds before the trees, which they esteeme to be good for that purpose, which done hee goes to his Wives upon the strand, and when they have spoken one unto the other a good while, he casteth Millia into the Sea for his meate, with other Colours, thinking that thereby their god is appeased, and will let them take fish enough.

When the King receiveth not custome enough, to maintaine himselfe withall, then he goeth to a tree which he esteemeth to be his Fetisso, and sacrificeth unto it, carrying it meat and drink; then the Conjurers come and conjures the tree, to tell them whether there will any Merchants come or not, which to doe they make a heape of ashes, in forme like a Sugar-loafe, and cutting a bough from the tree sticke that in it, then they take a Bason of water and drinke out of it, and therewith sprinkle the bough of the tree, which done they speake each to other, and then againe they sprinkle more upon it, after that they take some of the ashes, and be-dawbe their faces therewith, and in that manner use many foolish and vaine Ceremonies, and not long after they shall heare a voice which is the Devill, that saith something unto them, and therewith they goe home againe, and bring word what their Fetisso hath said. They hang many of those things about their children for diseases, as is said before, as also of their drinke of jealousie.

Consultation  
with their  
Oracles.

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*Funerall Rites.*

When any man dieth, they also make a Fetisso, and desire it to bring the bodie into the other world, and not to trouble it in the way as it goeth then the next our nearest kinsman killeth a Hen, and dresseth it ready to be sodden, which done, they goe and sit in a corner of their house: and with him take all his Fetissos, and place them in order, as their greatest god in the middle, and the rest of meaner sort by it, then he takes certaine beades, some made of shels, some of Beanes and great Pease, and others of feathers, mixed with Buttons made of barkes of trees, and hangs them upon the Fetissos. After that they take the bloud of the dead Hen, and therewith sprinkle their Fetisso (for a dead man must offer bloud unto his god) then hee fetcheth certaine Herbs out of the fields, and hangs them about his necke like a chaine. In the meane time, while the man is in this sort made readie, the Hen is sodden, and being sodden then he brings it, and putting it in a Platter, sets it in the middle of the Fetissos, which done, hee beginneth to conjure, using many words, and casteth water or wine of Palme upon his Fetisso, then he takes two or three of the greene leaves, which he hath about his necke, and rolleth them betweene his hands, making a little bowle or bale thereof, which he takes in the two fore-fingers of both his hands, and thrusts it betweene his legges, twice or thrice one after the other, saying, to his Fetisso, Aucie, which is as much as if he should say, All haile. After this he wringeth the sap out of that ball, and lets it drop upon his Fetisso; which done he laies the ball upon the ground, and takes two or three leaves more of the Herbs he hath about his necke, and rolles them in his hands, and having made them in a Ball, thrusts them betweene his legges, speaking certaine words as aforesaid, and then lets the sap drop upon his Fetisso, and this he doth untill such time as he hath rolled and wrung all the greene Herbs in that sort, which he had about his neck; then he takes all the balls or leaves together in his hand, and thereof maketh a ball as bigge as a mans fist, wherewith he wipeth his face, and that also is a Fetisso,



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which being done the dead bodie shall rest in peace, and therewith he packeth up all his trinkets, and laieth them aside untill another time, that some other bodie setteth him a worke. [This kind of Superstition they esteeme for a great holinesse for their bodies, for when they goe to warre they hang such beades about their neckes, armes and legges, thinking that their Fetisso will defend them thereby, and preserve them from killing, and thinke that they need not feare any thing.] They esteeme the Pittoir also for a god, for when they goe from one Towne to another, and heare it call, they are exceeding joyfull and glad, for they say that it is a Fetisso, which speaketh unto them, saying, that all those that then travell in the way, shall have no hurt, nor need feare any danger, for he will defend them from all men that seeke to molest them, and wheresoever they heare it crie, there they set Millia for him to eate, and pots full of water to drinke, and dare not passe that place without giving it something, whereby in some corners of streets, and in the Woods you shall see a number of pots, and other meates as Millia, Mais, &c. which they set there to honour the Fetisso the Petoir, whereby it appeareth that they make great account of Birds, and also of some fishes, as of the Tonny, which they by no meanes will take, but esteeme it to be their Fetisso or Sea-god. They take many Sword-fishes, and cutting of the Swords they drie them, which they also esteeme for a great Fetisso. Others put their trust in some trees, and when they desire to know any thing they goe to those trees, where the Devill oftentimes appears in forme of a blacke Dogge, or of such like things, and many times invisibly, and maketh answere unto such things as they aske him. So that if you aske them any thing touching their beliefe, and they give you no answere, which maketh any shew of truth, then they say that their Fetisso said so, and willed them to doe it, for they esteeme him for their god, and use many foolish toys and vaine shewes when they pray to him, and serve him, thinking that it doth them good, and that they merit much thereby, yet it helpeth them not. But

*Amulets.* 13

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*Pittoir a  
Fetisso.*

*Bird and fish-  
gods.*

*Tree gods,  
they killed a  
Dutchman for  
cutting these  
trees against  
their will.*

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they rather find themselves deceived, and as they deale with the Devill, and put their trust in him, so he rewardeth them, and yet they desire not to heare of him, but feare him much.

*Hil-gods.*

There are some hils in those Countries, whereon oftentimes it thundereth and lighteneth, and thereby manie times some Fishermen, or other Moores, are cast away or receive some great hurt, which causeth them to thinke that their god is angry, and would have some meate and drinke, or wanteth some other thing, and by that meanes they hold manie hils to be their gods, and set meate and drinke upon them to pacifie them withall, and they dare not passe along by them, without going up and giving them something, fearing that if they did it not, they would doe them some hurt, and make each other beleieve such things, and whatsoever they beleieve, and once conceive in their heads, it will never be extirped, but have as firme an opinion of their Fetissos as possible may be. But when the Netherlanders saw them use such vaine toys, which were so foolish, and laught and jested at them, they were ashamed, and durst make no more Fetissos in our presence, but were ashamed of their owne apishnesse.]

*Opinions of  
the soules  
departed.*

We asked them of their Beliefe, and what opinion they had of divers things; as first, when they died what became of their bodies and soules. They made us answere, that the bodie is dead, but they knew not what any resurrection at the latter day meant, as wee doe: but when they die they know that they goe into another World, but they know not whither, and that therein they differ from brute beasts, but they cannot tell you to what place they goe, whither under the Earth or up into Heaven, but when they die, they use to give the dead bodie something to carrie with him, whereby it is to be marked that they beleieve that there is another life after this, and that there they have need of such things as they have here on Earth, for when they lose any thing, or when any of their friends die, then they thinke that those that are dead came and fetcht it away,

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and that they had need of it, but they know not what the Soule nor the Resurrection is.

✓ r u  
Of Gold

[Secondly, asking them of their god, they made answer, that hee is blacke like themselves, and that he was not good, but did them much hurt. Whereunto we said, that our God is white as we are, that he is good, that he doth us much good, that he descended downe upon Earth to save us, and how he was put to death by the Jewes for our sakes, that when wee die wee goe to dwell with him in Heaven, and that there we neither need meat nor drink, whereat they wondred, and willingly heard us speake of those things, and said that we were Gods children, and that he told us all things, but yet they murmured, saying, why doth not your God tell and give us all things (as well as he doth to you) and why doth he not also give us Linnen, Cloth, Iron, Basons, and other kinds of wares; whereunto we made answer, that our God sent us all those things, and yet that he forgot not them, (although they knew him not) and sent them Gold, Palme-wine, Millia, Mais, Hennes, Oxen, Goats, Bannanas, Juiamas, and other fruits, to sustaine them withall, but that they denied, or else they could not conceive that such things came from God, but to the contrarie said that God gave them no Gold, but that the Earth gave it them, wherein they digge to find it: that hee gave them no Millia nor Corne, but that they sowed it, and reapt it themselves, and that the Earth gave it them; that the trees which they had planted gave them their fruits, and were first brought thither by the Portugals; that yong beasts came of the old, that the Sea gave them fish, which they tooke themselves, with many other such like things, which they would not acknowledge came from God, but from the Earth and the Sea, each according to their natures, but they acknowledge that Raine came from our Saviour Christ, and that by meanes of our God they had much Gold, for that by meanes of the Raine they found their Gold, and their Fruits and Plants grew, and waxed ripe by meanes of the moysture, and for that we brought them everie thing

[II. vii. 944.]

*Miserable and  
ridiculous  
blindnesse.*

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readie made to their hands, therefore they thinke that wee find all such things, and need but goe into the fields to fetch them, as they doe their Fruits.

*Feare of  
Thunder.*

And when it happened that some of our Hollanders being in their Houses, when it beganne to Raine, Blow, Thunder and Lighten (whereof they are in great feare) went forth through the streets, not once shunning the Thunder and Lightning, neither did it once hurt them, they wondred thereat, for they were afraid that if they should come out of their Houses at that time, that it would not be good for them, for that many times, (when it Thundreth and Lightneth there) it hapneth that some of them that are travelling abroad, are carried away by the Devill, and throwne dead upon the ground, whereby they are as much afraid thereof, as any man possible can be. And for that they know that our God dwels above in Heaven, when it Thunders and Lightens they point upwards, and call him Juan Goemain. And once wee had a Negro aboard our ship, whom we kept prisoner because he brought false Gold, and gave it out for good, which Negro everie morning tooke a Tub with water in it, and washt his face therein, which done, he tooke his hands full of water, and cast it over his head, speaking divers words unto himselfe, and after that spit in the water, and used many other Apish toyes, which wee seeing, asked him why hee did it, and hee made answere, that hee prayed his Fetisso that it might raine, that so his friends might find much Gold to release him, that hee might goe home againe.

*Circumcision.*

They circumcise their young children, therein following the Mahometicall Law, with divers other opinions which they hold thereof, as thinking it evill to spit upon the Earth, besides many other Superstitions which they use, but affirme, that they altogether use those toyes, and only trust in their Fetissos, were an untruth, for many of them that can speake Portugall (as having dealt with them and also daily traffique with us) beginne to leave those foolish toyes, and to have some understanding of Gods Word,

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which they doe by reason that wee mocke and jest at their foolish Ceremonies, and for that they say that wee are Gods Children, therefore they beleeeve much of that which we say unto them, and begin to know God, but it is without any ground, for they grounded in their owne Superstitions, because they are not otherwise instructed.

But the Negros which dwell among the Portugals, know much of God, and can speake of his Commandements, as I have found some among them, that could tell of the birth of Christ, of the Lords Supper, of his bitter Passion, and death of his Resurrection, and divers other such like points, concerning our Christian faith; specially, one whom I knew well, and that was my good friend: for he could write and read Portugall, and was indifferent well learned in the Scriptures. And which is more, when he spake unto him, and argued upon some points against the Romish faith, or against the Religion which the Portugals had taught him (for he had dwelt with a Monk in the Castle of Mina) he would dispute the contrary with us, and shew that it was otherwise set downe in such a Gospel, and in such an Epistle of the Apostles, & that it must so be understood: whereby we may perceive, that those among them that have any understanding of the Christian faith, are sharpe witted, and will soone comprehend any thing: but it seemeth, that it hath not pleased God to call them to the understanding of the Christian faith, and therefore we are much bound to prayse and thanke God, that it hath pleased him to vouchsafe us the knowledge of his holy Word, and to understand and know what belongeth unto our salvation.

*Some have  
some smacke of  
Christianitie.*

[§. V.]

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

### §. V.

Of their Houses, Townes, Countrey wayes, Warres, Armes, State of their Kings, Judgements, Lawes, Justice, Thefts, Promises, Oathes, and other Rites.

*Their houses* {

**T**Heir Houses are not very curiously made, but altogether slight, much like to a number of Hogsties, and I am of opinion, that in many Countreys, there are better Hogsties then their Houses are; I cannot liken them better to any other thing, then to Souldiers Cabins in Sconces and Bulwarkes: for a man might say, that they have taken a paterne by them. To build them first, they take foure Posts or Trees, which they thrust deepe into the ground, which stand foure square; that done, they lay other Beames or Trees upon them, and bind them fast together; then they take a number of thin small stickes, and inclose their Houses round about, and those they bind very close together, so that you can hardly thrust your hand in betweene them: then they make Morter of a certaine kind of yellow earth, which they find in the fields, and that they beat very small and thin, so long till it be like unto Pot-earth; which they take in their hands, and dawbe it upon the smal stickes round about their Houses, from the foot to the top, where they desire to have it close, and with their hands thrust it in betweene the chinckes of the stickes, that it may hold fast, as if it were betweene Lathes, and when they have made their Houses close in this manner, which is almost halfe a foot thick in the walles; then they let it stand and drie, so hard that it is like unto stone, and being well dried, then they make an other kind of Morter of Red earth, which is as thin as water, and take a wispe of straw in their hands, and therewith wash all their house round about within; which serveth them in stead of Painting, whereof they make great account, and take a great pride to paint their houses in such sort, some with white, some

[II. vii. 945.]

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with red, and others with blacke, as best liketh them; for the first thing they shew you when you come into the Countrey is their houses. To cover them, they take two foure square Coverings of Palme tree leaves, they tie fast together, and so close, that they are able to hold out the Raine, which they lay upon their houses for the Roofe thereof, and bind them fast together, and when it is faire cleare Sunne-shine weather, then they open the Roofe of their house, like two wings, under-propping it with stickes, and so let the Sunne-shine into their houses, and when it raineth, they let them fall downe againe close together. Before their house they make a fouresquare hole, like a doore, and make a doore of Reeds, which they open and shut, and bind it too with Withes. The floores are flat and very even, covered with Red earth, as if they were paved, and in the middle thereof commonly they make a round hole to set their pot with Palme wine in, when they drinke together: In this sort they make two or three houses close together, which are placed foure square; and in the middle of them, there is a place wherein the women dresse their meat, in which houses they dwell together, as the women in the one, the man in the other, for they are asunder one from the other, and make as many as they have need of, and those houses they inclose round about with a pale of Reeds, or straw of Mais, a mans height, or as high as the walles of their houses, which are also but a mans height: so that if it were not for the covering of the house, which standeth paint-house wise, a man could not goe upright in their houses. Their houses stand altogether in a heape; but because they separate them one from the other by those pales of Straw, by that meanes they shew like streets, and are somewhat separated one from the other. [Their streets are so little and narrow, that but one man alone can goe in them] and when it raineth it is very slipperie to goe in their Townes, because the earth is so fattie, but when the Sunne shines, it drieth up againe, and becomes as hard as a stone.

When you will goe into one of their houses, you must

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goe so long through the streets, till you find a doore open, wherein being entred, you must passe through all the Roomes, till you find the place where you would be.

e 14 Their houses are not very full of House-hold stuffe, but commonly they have wooden Chests, which they buy of the Netherlanders, wherein they locke up their things, so that you see but little of their House-hold stuffe abroad.

Kings Houses

P 3

The Kings or Governors houses are commonly in the Market places, which are paled alone by themselves, and separated from all the rest, having no other neighbours dwelling by him, but onely his wives and children (for he is commonly better furnished thereof, then the meaner sort of men.) His house is greater and higher then the rest, and hath many roomes which passe one into the other, covered over with Reeds, each chamber by it selfe, wherein his men dwell, and his watch stayeth all the day long. In the middle of his house he hath a foure square place all open, but covered over for the Sunne, where in the day time he sitteth, with his Gentlemen that come to speake with him, and to passe the time away. at the Kings doore there are alwaies two pots set deepe into the ground, which are full of fresh water, and every day are fild with new water, which I thinke are set there for their Fetissos to drinke.

Townes.

5 12 Their Townes that stand upon the Sea-side are not very faire, but rather filthie places, and stinke like carrions, by reason of the filth which they carry and lay without, not farre from them; and many times, when the wind blowes from the Land, you may smell the stinke of them, above a mile and an halfe into the Sea. The Townes that lie inward to the Land, are richer of Goods and Gold, then the Sea-townes, and fuller of Houses and Men; besides that, they have more Merchants dwelling in them: for, those on the Sea-side are not so rich, nor of so great power, as being for the most part Interpreters, Rowers, Pilots, Servants, Fisher-men, and Slaves to the Inhabitants of the Townes. The King keeps his Court in the nearest Towne, that standeth within the Land whereof he is King,



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and placeth a Captaine in the Sea-townes which are under his command. The Land-townes are very great, but they have no Gates, Walls, nor Forts, nor any strength to resist the force of Enemies. I have heard some of the Negroes that dwell within the Land say, that there are many great Townes within the Land, much and farre exceeding the Haven or Sea-townes.

They use to reckon the Gold Coast to begin from Cape De tres punctas, to Rio de Volta. This Cape De tres punctas lieth under foure degrees and an halfe; and because it hath three Points or Heads, which reach into the Sea, therefore it is called the Cape De tres punctas; but, for that the Portugals have a Castle there, called Aziem, the Negroes are not suffered to deale with the Hollanders. [II.vii. 946.]

Eastward five miles lower there lieth a place, called Anta, and there the ships commonly cast foorth their Anchors; for there the Negroes buy much Iron, and are very expert to make Iron-worke. Those People traffique much with Palme-wine, whereof they have great store, as of Hens, Goats; and divers Fruits, Jugnamas, and Annanasos; and when the time commeth that they draw their Wine out of the Trees, then the Canoes come thither with their Negroes and Merchants, at the least, ten or twentie miles from within the Land to buy Wine, so that it is carried almost all the Coast along, and great traffique made therewith. This Wine they esteeme very good for their men to drinke, because it is not so sweet as the Wine which is farther within the Countrie, which is not mixed with Water, as this Wine is. The other Wine they esteeme to be good to be drunke by their women because it is not mixed, but is exceeding sweet, and soone makes the women merrie. A mile lower lieth Rio de St. Georgio, and a place, called Jabbe, and Cama, where the Portugals also have a House: and because this Quarter is very fruitfull, there dwells three or foure Portugals there, which receive the Custome of the Fish, which is taken by the Negroes in the River, and buy great store of other victuals, which they send continually to the Castles of Aziem and

*Aziem.*

*Anta.*

*Rio S. Georgio.  
Cama.*

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*Agitaky.*  
*Comando.*

Mina, to victuall them withall. Before this River there is a great Sand, which stretcheth farre into the Sea, whereby you cannot enter into it with any ships, but onely with great Canoes. And a mile lower there lieth a Village, by the Negroes, called Agitaky: by the Portugals, Aldea de Torto; and by the Netherlanders, Comando: but yet it is not Comando, although we call it so; for Comando lieth upon the Hill, where the Kings dwell. They of Edom, Wassa, Comando, and other Townes, come to this Haven to buy their Wares: there we sell many Venetian Madrigetten, and Corals (for the common people traffique much therewith by grinding and selling them one unto the other) small Copper Basons, and blue Cloth: broad Linnen is well sold there. In this place men sell not any Wares in great quantities, but all in small parcels; & for that there are so many small parcels sold there, therefore it is the worst place of all that Coast for giving of Dachios: and for that their Gold, for the most part, is molten, and cut in smal pieces, therefore there is much deceit therein, ✓ for they mixe much yellow Copper among it, and many times bring Copper in stead of Gold; and for those two Points it is the worst place to deale in throughout all the Coast. They have the greatest number of Canoes in all the Countrie besides; for many times they goe to Sea early in the morning, with seventie or eightie Canoes, and enter as farre into the Sea, as you can well discern them, and about noone-time they come home againe with their Fish, for there they are very expert in fishing. It is likewise no lesse provided of Fruits, for there is no place in all the Land, where a man may have greater store, nor better cheape Fruit, then there, especially a kind of Fruit, called, Bannana; and for that cause it is by us called, the Fruit Market. When you saile somewhat lower, and are North North-east from the high Hill of Comando, there is a place called, Terra pekina. Neere to that is the Castle of Mina, with a Portugall Garrison to prohibite Trade.

*Terra*  
*pequina.*  
*Mina.*

*Cape Crosso.*

Sailing a long mile lower, you come to a place called, Cape Crosso; this Cape or Point is a great place of

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traffique, where the French men in time past used much to lie with their ships, and to traffique in the Countrie, and in the yeare 1590. or 1591. there was a ship of Deepe set upon, by them of the Castle of Mina, whereof most of the men were slaine, and the rest made Slaves; and when we began first to traffique there, in the yeare 1592. there were some of our Hollanders slaine in a Boat at the same place; but now the ships begin to traffique there againe, because of the great quantitie of Gold which is brought thither from Foetu, Abrenbon, and Mandinga, and other Townes, which lie above two hundred miles within the Countrie. Sailing a mile lower, you come to the chiefe place of Traffique in all the Countrie, called Mourre. A mile lower there lieth a place called, *Infantin.* and two miles farther there lieth a towne called *Cormantin.* Cormantin, under the King of Foetui. There the Hollanders fetch their hoops, to bind their water vessels withall; for there are the best. Sayling foure miles lower, you come to the high hill of Mango, whereon the Negros offer sacrifice to the Devill, but there is no Traffique. A mile lower there is a Village called, *Biamba..* Biamba, where they keepe good store of Cowes, for it is good Pasture ground. The Inhabitants use great Traffique along the Coast, by selling their Cattle; and because that there, there are many proper women; divers of the Negros come from other places of the Countrey thither to buy women, and to fetch slaves to serve their turnes withall; The Countrey people thereabouts are good husbandmen, and sow much Millie, presse good store of Palme wine, and bring great number of yong Cattle up. Three miles lower, there lieth a place called Berqu, the Village lieth upon a hill, there the French men used much to Anchor with their ships. Those people speake another Language, and to that place all the people forwards speake one Language. The people are very Ingenious to make all kind of things, specially of gold, for they can make faire Chaines of gold, with other faire things, as Rings, &c. There they brew a kind of drinke called Pitouw, which is much like small Beere. They

1592. <sup>e3</sup>

*Infantin.*  
*Cormantin.*

*Biamba..*

*Berqu.*

[II. vii. 947.]

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have great store of Hens, and better cheape then in other places: there also they take the greene Birds, called Parrots. The Inhabitants in their time used to buy great store of Iron, for they have many Smithes, whereby they make faire Armes, but now there comes no more ships thither, they goe with their Canoes to Ackra, which lieth foure miles lower; which is a low land upon the Strand, having a halfe tree made in forme of a Gibet, which they esteeme to be their Fetisso. *21* [The Portugalls were wont to have a Castle there; but for some mischief that they had done to the Inhabitants, the Negroes tooke their Castle by force, slew all the Portugalls, and brake downe the Castle.] There againe they use another Language, they are a craftie and subtle people, and the subtillest of all that Coast, both for Traffique and otherwise. They have very few Canoes to fish or goe to Sea withall; but those they have are very great, for I have seene one that was cut out of a tree, which was five and thirty foot long, and five foot broad, and three foot high, which was as higge as a Shallop; so that it would have held thirty men at the least. They come not often to buy wares, but observe certaine dayes in the weeke to that purpose, and then they come with great store of money, bringing the gold as it is found in the hilles. Two miles below that, there lieth a place, called Neugo. A mile lower, lieth Temin; And a mile lower then that, another place, called Chinka, where the Hollanders begin to place boats to traffique with the Negroes, which from the yeere one thousand sixe hundred, was first begun to be known unto us. *22* [They make warre for a small matter, for the Kings are so envious and angry one against the other, and so proud, that they cannot endure their equalls; whereupon they challenge one the other to the Battell, and to fight together in the field. The King gives warning to the Townes under his command, to will the Captaines with their men to come to him, to fight against the enemies] their enemies likewise doe the like, and so make preparation to fight one against the other. The Kings of those Townes have

*Their warres  
and Martiall  
Customes.*

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certaine men, that are their Souldiers or slaves (which are as much as Souldiers) who every day watch in the Kings house, and are as it were his guard. They are very proud of their offices, and in the streets they goe stately, looking upon themselves, some times striking with their armes over their heads, and sometimes leaping backwards and forwards, and round about; looking fiercely, as if they would devoure all the world. They goe to the warres with the King, and if not then, they stay continually with him, to guard his person: and when the time commeth that they must fight, every one prepareth himselfe thereunto, in the best manner that hee can. First, they paint their faces with colours, some Red, others White, and others Yellow; and also their brests and the whole bodies with Crosses, Strikes, and Snakes, and many such like things; They also take their Beads with them, wherewith they make their Fetissos, and hang them about them, and thinke when they have them about them, that their Fetissos will defend them, and that they shall not be slaine. They make and wreath a Ring of boughes of trees, as thicke as a mans arme, which they put about their neckes, to beare off the blowes of their Knives, in stead of Gorgets; on their heads they weare Caps made of Libards or Crocodiles skins: on their bodies they weare a Cloth Girdle which they thrust betweene their legges with a peece of Cloth of a handfull broad, to cover their privities withall; for then they weare as few clothes on their backs as they can, that they may not be cumbred therewith when they fight, in their Girdles they sticke a hewing Knife or a Poniard; in their left hands bearing their shields, which are almost as long and as broad as themselves, in their right hands they hold their Assagaies, wherewith they sling each at other, some of them have two, some three, foure, or more as they are able, and such as are not able, to have shields and Assagaies, they carrie Bowes and sheaves of Arrowes, made of skins, full of smal Arrowes with Iron heads at the ends, wherewith they wil shoot most cruelly.

*Assagaya kind  
of Dart.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

97 The Boyes or Servants carrie the Drums into the warres, whereon they play, others have hornes of Elephants Teeth, wherewith they blow. ¶ When all is prepared, and everie Morinni or Gentleman with his men are readie, they all meet at the Kings Court, and so goe with their Wives, Children, and all their Houshold together to the Warres where the battaile should bee fought, and if it be a Warre which concerneth them much, and wherewith they are much moved, and provoked to overcome their Enemies, 127 then they burne their owne Houses, and all their Townes, that their Enemies may have no such advantage against them, as also because their minds should not be moved to looke and harken home-ward, but rather to give them the better courages to set upon their Enemies. ¶ But if it be 127 a Warre of no great importance, and that will be soone ended, then they burne not their Houses nor take not 127 their wives and children with them, but they leave their Townes, and send their wives and children to the next place, with whom they have no enmitie, which take all their household-stuffe with them, leaving their Houses empty without any kind of thing in them, as if they had wholly abandoned their Townes, and when their Warre is ended, then their wives and children returne againe to their owne Townes withall their stuffe.

[II. vii. 948.]  
*Exact skill  
with Darts.*

*Man-eaters.*

The Souldiers on both sides meeting together in the fields, doe the best they can to destroy their enemies, both by casting at each other with their Assagaies, and by blowes. ¶ They can cast so exceeding straite, right and sure with their Assagaies that they will not faile to hit a Stiver or piece of monie as bigge as a Groat. ¶ The rest shoot with poisoned Arrowes. The Drummes and Hornes are heard to make a great noise when they fight together, and in this Warre whosoever is taken Prisoner they make him a slave all his life long, and such as are slaine, their bodies are drest and eaten as good meate. ¶ Their Warres are not so cruell as they seeme, nor according to the noise and preparation by them made, and their Warre continueth not long, but is soone over-past and ended. They also

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burne each others Houses and Townes, and drive the Inhabitants out of them.]

[It hapneth oftentimes,] that although they have no great controversie with each other, [they make peace together] promising not to warre one against the other, and to assure and confirme their promises, they beleeve no words, but [they send each other a man for a suretie] whom they keepe by them, and [this man] whom they deliver in this sort for a suretie, is one of the chiefe of their Towne, who being brought to the place where he must remaine by the Kings slaves, he himselfe being bravely drest, and sitteth upon a slaves sholder, and in that sort is carried to the King, and to him they shew much honour, and yet they watch him narrowly.]

Securitie.  
↓

[They also buy many Peeces, and begin to learne to shoot in them] and have the understanding to know that a long Peece carrieth further then a short, which both the Portugals and wee also teach them. They are very expert in making of Armes, for they make Poniards of an ell long without hilts and foure fingers broad, with two edges, the handle being of wood, with a pummell at the end, they cover the handle over with a plate of Gold, or with the skinne of a certaine kind of fish which they take, which with them is esteemed as much as Gold is with us, they make sheathes of Dogs or Goates skinner, and above at the end of the sheathe, in stead of a chape they put a great red shell, as broad as a mans hand, which is in great estimation with them, others that have not the abilitie to buy such shels, make or buy hewing Knives in fashion like a Gammon of Bacon, broad at the end and narrow before, which cut but on the one side, and in stead of a red shell, they trimme them with an Apes or a Tygres head, and those they sticke in their Girdles, on the one side, and weare them as they goe along in the streets, and carrie their Assagaies in their hands, and if they have a servant or a slave, they make him beare their Assagay and Shield before them, and they follow them with a staffe in their hands. The Merchants travell in the Countrie with

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*Their Armes.* their Armes, and their servants or slaves likewise carrie Armes with them, who commonly have Bowes and Arrowes, because they are Weapons which are least cumbersome to bee carried, for they can carrie them about their neckes.

Their Assagaies are made of divers fashions and of many sorts, but for the most part of Iron, at least two foot at both ends, and that part which they hold in their hands is of wood, both the ends are as heaue of Iron one as the other, because they should weigh an even weight, and for that one should not be heavier then the other, for if it should they could not strike nor cast right with them. They are very curious of their Armes, for they will alwaies have sixe or seven of those Assagaies in their Houses, which stand in the ground one by the other, with their Shields hanging by them; those Shields they make of wooden hoopes, which they fold one within the other, and so make them foure square, but some-what bowing like a Buckler, and they are commonly six foot long, and foure foot broad, in the middle they make a crosse of wood, and bind it upon the rest of the hoopes, to hold them the faster together, thereof also they make their handles whereon they beare their Shields: some of them of the better sort cover their Shields over with an Oxehide, and put a plate of Iron upon it two foot long, and a foot broad. They make great account of their Shields, thinking that under them they have a great safeguard for their bodies. They make their Bowes of very hard wood, the stringes are made of the barks of trees, their Arrowes are of thinne and tuffe wood, the Feathers are made of the haire of a Dogges skinne, wherewith they cover almost halfe their Arrowes, and on the ends they put small Iron heads, which heads when they goe to warre one against the other, they anoint with poison, which is the juyce of certaine greene Herbs, but they must not carrie such poisoned Arrowes but in time of warre, and that upon paine of a great forfeit, or some other punishment to be inflicted upon them that beare such Arrowes about them, their



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sheafes they make of Goats skinnes, which they hang about their neckes, and put their Arrowes into it. Their Drums are made of hollow trees, which are covered over with Buckes skinnes, with wooden pinnes, and strike upon them with wooden stickes made like Spooones or Ladels. Those Drums commonly lie before the Kings Captaines and Guards Houses, and are sometimes twentie foot long, whereon they play when the King makes a Feast. They also make smaller Drums of hollow trees, which they hang about their neckes, and goe about the Towne, playing on them, those Drums are round above, and under very narrow like a funnell, no man may use them; but Gentlemen. They make Hornes of Elephants Teeth, and race them finely with manie stickes in them, and in the middle of the Horne they make a small hole which is foure square, and blow at that, but no man may use them but only the King or the Captaine.

[They choose their Kings by the most voices and consents of the common people, for their Kingdomes are not successive to any of their children or Kinsmen] but when their King is dead, they choose another to governe them, and to possesse the Kingdome, and hee dwelleth in the deceased Kings Court, and possesseth all that he findeth therein, at his first entrie into the Kingdome, he must buy good store of Cowes, and Palme-wine, and bestow a Blanket upon his subjects, for they make great account of a King that is liberall, and feasteth them, but if their King be covetous, and seeketh to heape up good store of Gold, they hate him, seeking all the meanes they can to find some cause to drive him out of his Kingdome, and to choose a better according to their minds.] As it hapned in my time to the King of Sabæ (who had beene King of Infantin) and was made King of Sabæ, whom they drave out of his Kingdome, and taking all his goods from him, made him goe to Infantin againe, from whence he came, and chose another in his place that pleased them better. And for that cause, the King that will bee well beloved of his subjects, everie three monethes when his Guard or

*Choice of the King.*  
[II.vii.949.]  
*insert pla*  
*here*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Customers come to pay him that which they have received at the Sea-side, and of the Countrie people for custome, he must make a Banquet, and spend more then he receiveth at that time, and then he biddeth his Morrinnis (which is as much as to say a Gentleman or one of his Counsell) and buyeth many Cowes or Oxen, and also all the Palme-wine in the Countrie, that he can get which is given by him to the common people, who at that time are very merrie and joyfull, singing and playing upon their Drums. The heads of the Cowes are made cleane and fairely painted and hanged full of Fetissoes, which done they are hang'd very orderly in the Kings chamber one under the other, in stead of Pictures, and for a great honour unto the King, whereby such strangers as come to the Kings Court, may perceive that he is a good King, and for that cause is much esteemed and beloved of his people. Besides this they hold another Feast day everie yeare, as being the day of their Coronation or their Fetisses day, then the King inviteth his Neighbour Kings and Capitaines, with all his Gentlemen to a Banquet, and makes a great Feast, and that day he prayeth to his Fetisso, and he himselfe sacrificeth unto him, which he doth but once a yeare. This Fetisso is the highest tree in the Towne, which is the Kings Fetisso, upon this Festivall day they use manie Apish Toyes, as Fencing, Drumming, singing and leaping, the women also are verie merrie and dance, and everie King holdeth his Feast day apart, and they doe it one soone after the other, which they doe in their Summer time.

*The Kings  
Feast.*

On their Sunday at night the King makes a Feast, and buyes up all the Palme-wine which is drawne out of the Trees that day, and biddeth his wives and children to Supper, and his chieftest Gentlemen, at which time they are verie merrie, for hee eates but one day in a weeke with his wives and children, and that is upon their Sunday. These women are verie serviceable to the King their Husband, and everie one of them feasteth him to winne his love, so that he wanteth no service at their hands:

*His wives.*

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everie one of his wives hath his goods and riches apart by her selfe, and keepeth and feedeth her owne children, and shee that is in favour with the King, wanteth nothing.

When the Kings wives go abroad, they leane upon the shoulders of other women that serve them, and are their slaves, and their children are also carried upon the shoulders of other of the Kings slaves, hee himselfe commeth little abroad, but stayeth alwayes in his House, sometime he sitteth at his doore but not often, his House is watcht both day and night by his slaves, which watch armed in his Court, and in his Chamber, and when he goeth out they attend on him and goe round about him.

*His Guard.*

In the morning betimes and late in the evening, his slaves blow those Hornes of Elephants Teeth, which make a prettie sound, for they have the slight to draw their breath in and out as they list, and can answere one the other when they blow, when the King comes out of his Chamber, his wives stand readie to attend on him, to wash his bodie all over, and then to anoint it with Palme-oile, after that hee eateth some-what, and so sets himselfe downe upon a stoole, and in his hand hee holdeth a Horse or an Elephants tayle to keepe the Flies from his naked bodie, he is bravely drest after this manner; his Beard is knotted with golden Corals and other costly things, on his armes and legges hee hath Rings of Gold and other faire Beades of Corall, and the like also about his necke, and so hee sitteth all the day talking with one or other, for he wanteth no company to passe the time away.

They have one attending on them, whom they call Viador (which word they have learned of the Portugals) hee is the Kings Treasurer, and keepeth his Gold and other Riches, receiveth and payeth all, and doth all other businesses for the King. This man is next unto the King, and he commonly hath more golden Rings about his necke, armes and feet, then the King himselfe. When the Kings children are of some yeares, if they will have any thing they must looke to get it, for the King may give them nothing to live idly upon, for the common people would murmure at it, if the King should give

*His Viador, or  
Treasurer.*

*His children.*

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21 somewhat unto them, he might doe wrong to his Gentle-  
men, [but hee giveth them their Patrimoniall goods when  
they marrie as their custome is; and besides that he giveth  
them every one a slave] to serve their turnes with all, and  
they have nothing else of their Fathers, whereby it falleth  
out, that when they waxe old, and seeke not to doe any  
P 1 thing, they are no more respected then another man is.  
The King keepes them with him to serve him, and when  
[II. vii. 950.] he maketh peace with any other Towne or King, then he  
imploreth his children, and sends his sonnes for hostages,  
that they may begin to be honored, and thereby attaine to  
great estate: the revenues of the Fruits, Fish, Wine, and  
Palme-oile, which the King hath, are sufficient to main-  
taine the King, and his Wives, and Children. His Millie,  
whereof he maketh Bread, is sowed and reaped for him,  
at other mens charges; whereby he hath a good life (but  
yet miserable in respect of ours.) When the King dies  
he is honourably buried after their manner, and then  
presently they choose another, one that is not of the last  
Kings kindred; but they choose a strange man, whom  
they thinke good; and by no meanes they will choose  
P 12 any that in any point held with, or favoured the last King.  
Having made him King, they bring him to the Palace,  
and he taketh the government upon him, and hath all the  
treasure and goods of the dead King, which he got during  
the time of his Raigne; and that he holdeth, so that the  
✓ dead Kings Children enjoy not a penie: but that which  
he had when he was chosen King, that they take and part  
among them, as their custome is.)  
Lawyers. 5 15 They use no Counsellors nor Attorneyes, but every  
man must tell his owne tale to the Judge, who sends for  
the accused partie; after whose answer, the Plaintiffe  
speaketh againe: and in this sort they are each of them  
heard to speake foure or five times] and when the one  
speaketh the other must hold his peace till he hath done,  
for they must not interrupt one the other when they  
speake, upon paine of corporall punishment, so that  
5 15 [although they bee wild men, and without any civilitie or

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good behaviour; yet therein they use a very good and laudible custome. When the Judge hath heard them say what they can, according to his owne mind, hee giveth Judgement, which they must stand unto without appeal. If it bee any thing concerning the King, whereby he is to have any forfeiture or otherwise, the Judge receiveth it, and demandeth it of him that is to pay it, in the Kings name, which he must pay presently without delay, and if he be not able to doe it, he must presently depart from thence to another Towne, or some other Kings Jurisdiction, and there stay till he hath contented his King, & payed his Fine. If it be a controversie which is to be determined among them, and they cannot agree thereon, then they will seeke to kill each other, or challenge their adverse parties to fight with them, appointing a day and place when they will meet with their Armes to end or determine their controversie. In the meane time they make their cause knowne to some of their friends, and desire their helpe, (for each of them may have three or foure men to helpe them) and commonly they are of their neerest friends and kindred; and when their appointed day is come, each of them goeth with his companions to the same place, and when they meet together with their Shields and Assagaies to defend themselves withall, they place themselves orderly in the field one right over against the other, the Plaintiffe and the Defendant standing in the middle, and so begin to cast and shoot at each other with their Assagaies, and shoot in that sort so long untill that some of them on both sides are hurt, and fall to the ground. Then they cease their Fight, and so their quarrell endeth. But this side on whom the dead man is found to be slaine, or that hath lost the victorie, come to the other partie and desire to have the man out of their companie, that was the cause of that Combat, in stead of the dead man that is slaine. And if he runneth away, and getteth to another Towne, they will follow him, and will never leave before they have gotten him into their hands, and none of their Kings may give such a man freedome, nor

✓ 12  
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✓ 12  
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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

keepe him secretly in his Towne, but if he can find him in his Towne, he must deliver him to those that seeke after him, and if he doth it not, then they make complaint to their King, and so, many times one King makes warre upon another for that cause; when they have found him, he is delivered to the wife of the dead man, and shee keepeth him for her Slave, or else shee sells him to another: but if hee hath any meanes to pacifie the woman, or the friends of that man, and to redeeme himselfe out of bondage, he may doe it, and goe freely abroad. They are very great controversies that are ended in this manner, for they are no common men that end their quarrells in such sort.

*Their Lawes  
and execution  
of Justice.*

The Plaintiffe certifies the Captaine, who causeth a Drum to be sounded by one of his Slaves, and he goeth round about the Towne with the Drum about his necke, and with him there goeth two boyes more, each with a Cow-bell in their hands, without Clappers, and they strike upon them with stickes made of wood, and when they have gone in this sort round about the Towne (which is a signe unto the people that Justice is to be executed) then the Captaine with his Gentlemen comes and sit round together in the Market-place, each man with his Armes, wherewith all the people assemble together, knowing not what the matter is, and goe to the Market-place, where their common assemblies are made, the women standing in one place, the men in another, to heare what the Captaine will say; and he that is accused is presently taken, and kept prisoner in the Captaines house, and if it be a weightie matter, he is bound; if otherwise, he is onely kept by the Executioner, and he must not depart from thence before his cause be tried, in the meane time, the Captaine with his Gentlemen sit still in the Market-place, to heare the complaints made against the Prisoner, and send him word by his Slaves what accusations are laid against him, whereunto he must presently, without delay, make answer; otherwise, if he cannot excuse himselfe, he must pay the penaltie which he hath incurred; and if he cannot pay it, he must in the Kings behalfe be sold as a

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Slave, towards the payment of his Fine, and ever after, while he liveth, he must be a Slave: but if he hath done any offence that deserveth death, he may redeeme his life with money, if hee can agree with the King, and content him; which money is divided among the Morinni, which have the one halfe, and the King the other halfe, without giving any to the friends of the dead man.] And if it be one that hath incurred the danger of paying a Fine for lying with another mans wife, being accused to have won her thereunto by false promises or by force, and hath not kept his promise with her; then the King first taketh all his goods from him, as forfeit unto him; and the woman must pay two or three ounces of gold for a Fine unto her husband, or as he favoureth her, and she can agree with him; otherwise he may put her away, and take another wife, and the womans friends goe and burne, or pull downe the mans house that hath done the fact, and doe him all the mischief they can, to make him to leave the Towne, that they may heare no more of him. In my time, while I lay there, it hapned that a man came from one Towne to another, to gather up his debts, which man a yeere before had layne with another mans wife, and the same woman was then by chance come to the same Market, and seeing him, went straight and complained to the Æne, (which is the Captaine) who presently caused him to be taken; and their Counsell being assembled, there before them the woman complained that he had forced her, and had not paid her according to his promise: he made answere, that he did it with her good-will, and although neither of them both were of that Towne, yet their cause was heard, and as good Justice used towards them, as if they had beene Inhabitants of that place, and after long disputation by them made, the Fetissero (which is the Priest that conjureth their Fetissos or gods) came thither with a certaine Drinke in a pot, and set it downe before the Captaine, the woman tooke the pot and drunke thereof, to justifie that he had not contented her for the losse of her honour; and if hee would have drunke thereof

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*Enchionkenon.*  
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steale any thing from the Netherlanders, they pay no Fine, but onely when they steale one from another. If any man hath falsified Gold, and carried it to the Netherlanders, and that they complaine thereof unto the King; he must pay a Fine for it as the case requireth. If much Gold bee falsified, many times they are sold for Slaves. And all these Fines are the Kings, to maintaine his expences. If it be a case wherein any man hath deserved death, and that he cannot pay the King but with his life, then he is judged to die, and without any more delay, the Executioner, or hee that is appointed to doe it, taketh him, and bindeth his hands behind him, and then covering his eies, leadeth him into a Field, or a Wood, or where he thinketh best, (having no place purposely appointed to doe it in) and being there, maketh him kneele downe, and stoope with his head, and taking an Assagaie, steppeth backe, and strikes him into the bodie, wherewith he falleth downe, then he takes his cutting Knife, and cuts off his head, and then hee is dead; for they beleeeve not that a man is dead before his head is cut off, and therefore when they put any man to death, they cut off his head; which done, hee cuts his bodie in foure quarters, and casts them into the field, to bee devoured by Beasts and Birds. But their friends come and fetch the head, and keepe it for a great Present, seething it in a Kettle, and then eate the broth thereof; which done, they take the bare Scull, and hang it by their Fetisso. The women at that time make a great noise with crying and howling, and take the quarters, and carrie them into the fields: when the execution is done, there are no Officers by, but onely the Executioner and the Partie that is to be executed; but when it is done, then they come about him, and lament the dead man, as aforesaid.

For stealing, I am of opinion, that of all the Nations in the World, they have not their Masters. They esteeme it a shame to steale one from another, but when they have stolne any thing from the Netherlanders, they esteeme it to be a credit unto them and bragge thereof, for they esteeme us to be craftie and subtile men, and when they have stolne

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[II. vii. 952.]  
*Lacedemonian*  
*Thebes.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

any thing from us, they thinke themselves to be the subtilter and craftier, and seeke to bee honoured for doing so brave an action.]

*Lacedemonians.*

Lead, that is nayled without upon the ships, to keepe them from being eaten by Wormes, rustie Nayles, Grease, Weights (which they hide in their Haire, Mouthes, or Eares) any other small matters are exercise of their Theft; yea, although they be never so great Merchants, and bestow two or three pound of Gold with you for Merchandize, and have no need to steale, but if any thing bee taken from them, they make so many words and such a noyse, as if it were a matter worthy of death.

They say that they may steale, and we not: I askt them the cause why; they made answer, that we are rich and had great store of wares, and brought ships full unto them, and tooke great paines and labour to sell it, and were so long before we sold it, that they thought it fit to helpe us therein, that we might the sooner be rid thereof, that we might fetch others, and that wee were clothed, and they went naked, and had nothing upon their bodies, and that therefore it was freer for them then for us to steale. When they have taken any thing and that you misse it, you must presently search them all, for they steale very cunningly, and give it one unto the other, and when they come together they part it among them; when you have found it, and know who stole it, then you must beat him well, be he never so great a Merchant, and the rest of the Negroes will laugh at him and mocke him, because hee did his businesse no better: but when they perceive that their Theft is discovered, then they leape over-boord and get away, fearing to be beaten, and if you let them goe and beate them not at that time when you take them, then they feare a greater matter and expect more blowes, and that you will intrap them, and therefore they will commonly ever after shunne that ship and goe aboard another: but if you beate them for their labours when they doe it, they will not hate you for it, nor shunne the Ship, but will come the next day againe to deale and traffique with you.

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(In their Promises or Oathes which they make unto us, they are unconstant and full of untruth, but such promises as they make among themselves, they keepe and observe them well) and will not breake them: when they make any Oathes or Promises, specially, when they will shew it to our Netherlanders. First, they wipe their faces upon the sole of your foot, and then doe the like upon their shoulders and breasts, and upon all their bodies, speaking thrice each to other, saying, Iau, Iau, Iau, everie time clapping hands together, and stamping with their feet upon the ground, which done, they kisse their Fetisso, which they have upon their legges and armes: some for the more assurance of their Promises and Oathes, will drinke certaine drinke, as I have said before: but he that should repose much trust therein, should soonest find himselfe deceived, because they are not to be credited further then you see them.

Promises. 72

Oathes.

### §. VI.

Of their Summer and Winter; And of their manner of Tilling and Sowing the Land; Their Corne, Rents, Raines; Beasts and Hunting: Fowles, Trees, and Fruits.

**A**lthough it is alwayes warme in those Countries, yet they have a difference in the time of the yeare, and so they account some monethes for their Summer, and some for their Winter. The difference which they have therein is the weather; for both in Summer and Winter the trees are greene, and some of them have leaves twice a yeare. In Summer their fields are bare, and in Winter they are full of Corne, and are very greene, so that they have their Harvest in Winter. The Dayes and Nights are of one length, or else there is little difference: for the Sunne riseth and goeth downe there, commonly at sixe of the clocke, but it is risen at least halfe an houre above the Horizon, before it sheweth it selfe, so that you shall seldome see it cleerely rise and

Barren Summer and fertile Winter.

e. 14

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

e 14

*Mystr.*

[II. vii. 953.]

*Their Husbandrie.*

e 14

goe downe. [The Fruits are there as plentiful and abundant in Winter, as in Summer] when the weather is warmest, and that the Sunne is above their heads. They esteeme that time to be their Winter, which beginnes in the monethes of April, May, and June; because as then it raineth and is very foule weather there with Thunder and Lightning, (which the Portugals call, Travados, and they Agombretou) which foule weather and raine followeth the Sunne, and riseth up with his highth, at that time they are most cumbred with raine: but in their Summer they are not so much troubled with it, but then the Earth dryeth and is hard and unfruitfull, and therefore they shunne that time to sow their Millie and Mais in, but when that time is gone, to beginne their Husbandrie, they goe into the Woods or Fields, and there seeke out a good place, which they thinke fit for their purpose to sow their Corne in] to serve to maintaine their Wives and Children.

[No man hath any Land to himselfe which he can or may keepe to his owne use, for the King hath all the Woods, Fields, and Land in his hands; so that they may neither sow nor plant therein but by his consent and licence] which, when they have obtained, and have a place permitted them to sow their Corne in, then they goe with their slaves and burne the Woods, trees, roots and shrubs with all the rubbish downe to the ground: then they goe with their long chopping-knives which they call, Coddon, and scrape and raze up the ground with Colen (and all that serveth them to fatten their ground) about a foot deepe, and let it lye eight or ten dayes, and when all of them have tilled their ground, every man makes readie his seed to sow it withall, upon their Sunday, and then they go to their Kings or Governors House, of that quarter: for, first they helpe to till his ground, and to sow his Corne, and go all together to his field, and take all the rubbish out of the Earth and cast it into the middle of the field, and then once againe rake the Earth and sow their Corne in the field. [They begin upon a Sunday, and first serve their Governour or King, and when they have done his worke, the Captaine

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sendeth into the field a great number of Pots with Palme-wine, and a sod Goat, with good store of other meat, according to the number of Workmen, and there they sit downe together and make good cheare, and at that time they burne the roots, and sit and sing and make a great noise about them, all in the honour of their Fetisso, to the end that he should let their Corne grow well and prosperously up. When their Captaines or Kings Land is tilled and sowed, the next day they goe to another mans ground, and doe with it as they did with the Kings ground, and there also make good cheere as they did before, and are merrie together, and so forth-with the rest whome they helpe. The Corne soone groweth up, and lyeth not long in the ground: when it is as high as a mans head, and beginnes to sprout, then they make a wooden House in the middle of the field, covered over with Reeds, and therein put their Children to watch the Corne, and to drive away the Birds, wherewith they are much cumbred. They weed not their Corne, but let it grow up weeds and all. P<sup>2</sup>

¶ The Millie hath long eares, and is a seed of colour like Hempe-seed, and long like Canarie-seed, it hath no shels, but groweth in a little huske, and is very white within. This kind of graine they alwayes had, and serve their turnes therewith before the Portugals came thither. It groweth and is ripe in three months, and when it is cut down, it lyeth a month after in the fields to dry, and then the eares are cut off and bound in sheafes, and so carryed home to their Houses. They use the straw to cover their Houses withall. This Millie is a verie excellent graine, hath a good taste and is wholesome to eate, it is sweet in your mouth, but gnasheth in your teeth, which commeth of the stone wherewith they grind it. When they have used the Land, and their Harvest done, then they sell part of their Corne to other men, which are not able to sow it, and by that meanes get a good quantitie of Gold; they give some to their King for the rent of his Land, and carrie it home to his House, every one as much as he Miller. 94

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thinketh good. For there is no certaine summe appointed for them to pay, but every one giveth according to his abilitie, and the quantitie of ground that he hath used, and bringeth it unto the King, so that hee hath at least five or sixe Bendas of Gold of them at one time, which they carrie altogether to their King, who welcommeth them, and thanketh them for their Dache or Gift, and for their labours giveth them their bellies full of meate and drinke, and that they pay to the King for the farme of his Land, and no more.

*Their Mais.* [The Corne by the Indians called Mais, by the Portugals or Spaniards, Indian-wheat, and by the Italians, Turkish-corne, is a Graine almost knowne throughout all the World, and [was brought out of West India into Saint Thomas Iland, and they of Saint Thomas (after they had built their Castle) brought it thither for to serve their necessitie withall,] and sowed it there, for before the Portugals came into those Countries, the Indians knew it not, but they sowed it first in that Countrey, and dispersed it abroad among the wild Indians, so that now the Countrey is full thereof, and at this present there is great abundance in Guinea.] They use to mixe it with their Millie, and sometimes take halfe Millie and halfe Mais. The Negroes that dwell among the Portugals, grind it alone without any Millie, and make excellent bread thereof, wherewith they sustaine themselves, and sell it to the Portugals: they know how to bake it in such sort that it will endure good three or foure monethes. The children also eate it in stead of bread, which they set awhile upon the fire, and then crush the Corne out of the huskes, such as eate much thereof and are not used unto it, use to bee Scurvie and Itchie, or else to bee troubled with great bloud Veines, for it increaseth bloud: it is no lesse nourishing then Corne in the Netherlands, and in a manner tasteth like our Corne.

The people of the West Indies can make Wine of Mais, which they call, Chicka, wherewith they will make themselves drunke, as if it were of Wine made of Grapes, and for that they know, that Corne sodden or steeped in water

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maketh a kind of drinke, wherewith a man may make himselfe drunke; therefore they lay this kind of Graine to soake in the water till it is soft, and then they brew thereof, as some of the Negroes in Guinea, which deale with the Portugals, also doe, and call it Poitou.

This Mais will grow in a moyst fatty and hot ground, [II.vii.954.] and beares twice a yeere: it is not sowed like other Corne, but it is thrust into the ground, as we use to doe Beanes in our Countrey: it lieth not long in the ground, but soone springeth up, and groweth higher then a mans length above the ground, like to great Reeds that grow in the water, or in drowned land, wherewith husbandmen use to cover their shades: every Reed hath his eares whereon the Corne groweth, and notwithstanding, that they are heavy eares, as big as yong Cucumbers, and sharpe above like the top of a Steeple, yet every Reed hath seven or eight eares upon it. I have told five hundred and fiftie Graines upon one Reed, which came of one Graine alone. They are of divers colours, as White, Blacke, Yellow, Purple, &c. and sometimes you shall have three or foure colours thereof in one eare. There are two sorts thereof, great and small, the great Graine is stronger then the small. They use the Reed to cover their houses.

They shun the Raine, and esteeme it to be very ill and unwholesome to fall upon their naked bodies, which they doe not without great reason, for wee find our selves to bee much troubled therewith, when we travell, specially when it raineth much, and maketh great Travados, as it doth once a yeere in those Countries, which is in Aprill, May, and June; at which time there are such Tempests of Thunder, Lightning, wind, and Raine, that it is incredible, specially the Raine under the Equinoctiall Line, is so unwholesome and rotten, that if a man hath beene in the Raine, and is thorow wet, and so lieth downe to sleepe in his Cabin, in his wet clothes, without putting them off, he is in danger to get some sicknesse; for it breedeth Fevers: and againe, if you drie not your wet clothes presently in the Sun, but forgetting them, chance to let them lie, they

*Raine hurt-  
full.*

*Tempests.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

will rot with the force of the water, in such sort, that you may plucke them in peeeces with your fingers. And they find no lesse unwholesomenesse therein; for when it begins to Raine, they get them out of the way, and if any drops of water fall upon their naked bodies, they shiver and shake, as if they had a Fever, and cast their armes over their shoulders to keepe the Raine from them: which they doe, not because the water is cold, for often times it is as warme as if it were sodden: but because of the unwholesomenesse for their bodies, which they find thereby. And when they have troden in the day time in the water with their feet, at night they make a fire, and lie with their soles of their feet against it, which they doe, to draw the moysture of the water, which is gotten into their bodies, out againe at their feet: then they anoint their bodies with Palme Oyle, which they use also for a beautifying to make their bodies shine, and that they doe to shunne the Raine water within those Countreys (as many men write) is very unwholesome, and thereof many and dangerous diseases are ingendred.

*Palme Oyle.*

*I have  
omitted the fish  
and fishing:  
their beasts,  
&c.*

*Great Snakes.*

They have Elephants, Leopards, Tigers, Cats of the Mountaine, Monkeys, Foxes, Harts and Hinds; it is said, that in this Countrie there are white Elephants: but I could never understand it from the Negros themselves.

There are the greatest and most venomous Snakes that ever was seene, there was one in my time taken there (as the Negroes told me) which was thirty foot long, and as much as sixe men could carrie; There is also a beast like a Crocodile, but it never goeth into the water, as the Crocodile doth; which is called Languad.

*Spiders.*

There are Spiders as big as the palme of a mans hand, and great store of them. Camelions and Agtissen a great number, but they esteeme not them to be venomous, for they drie many of them & eat them. There are many

*Dogges.*

Dogs & Cats, such as we have, but their Dogs have sharper snowts then ours, and their chaps full of wooll, they cannot barke nor make a noise, they are very faire beasts for colour, as blacke, red, white, and yellow Spaniels,



## A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

A.D.  
1600.

&c. They are also a little smaller footed then ours, so that they are not much unlike the Dogs in our Countrey, but they are unlike to ours in one thing, for when you strike them, they run away, and make no noise, nor once offer to bite you; but when you run away from them, and are afraid of them, they will leape at you, and bite you by the legges: those Dogs they use for their necessitie, and eate them, and in many places of the Countrey they are brought and driven to the Market like sheepe or hogges, being tied one to the other with strings, they are called Ekia, or Cabra de matto, which is a wild sheepe, it is the first gift which a man of that Countrie giveth when he buyeth his Gentilitie, they make much of our Dogs in these Countries, for when they barke, they thinke they speake; and for that cause esteeme greatly of them.

[Cats also are there much esteemed, because they take Mice, wherewith the Inhabitants of the Towne are much troubled,] they are called Ambaio, they have very faire skins, and are very good Mousers, [they use also to eate them, they were first carried hither out of Europe.] *Catts.*  
C 20

[If they know where any Elephants are, they use all the meanes they can to take them, for they eate them also] although they should stinke like a Carrion, and that a thousand Maggots crept out of them. [Where they know that they use often times to come, they make great pits, which they cover over with straw and foule leaves of trees, which the Elephant knowing nothing of, goeth that way as he was wont to doe, and falles into the pit,] and cannot get out againe. *Elephants.*  
C 21

[The Negroes hearing that hee is fallen into the pit, run thither with their weapons and smite him into the body with Assagaies, and so kill him; which done, they leape into the pit, and cut him in quarters, and every one may go and fetch his part thereof when he will, of the hide they make stooles to sit on: the taile is given to the King to beat the Flies from his naked body, and are much esteemed off there; with no lesse subtiltie they take the Leopards, for they doe them more hurt then other beasts: and] [II. vii. 955.]  
*Leopards.*

A.D.  
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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

because it is a cruell beast to spoyle and destroy men, keeping in the way where men should passe along. In every foure cornered way, or at the end of the street, they make houses with woodden pales, which are like to Rat traps, wherein they put Hens, Sheepe, and other things which he desireth to eate, where the Leopard comming to eate his prey, is taken with the fall of the trap, and kild with an Assagaie; they esteeme much of the skin, whereof they use to cut Girdles, and to make Caps. There are no Horses in that Countrey, and when there were some brought unto them for a great Present, they kild them, and eate them: because their flesh seemed sweet unto them.

*Oxen.* { The Oxen and Cowes that are found in that Countrey are not very great; but of bignesse like great Calves: their hornes stand backward on their heads, they are not milkt, for they give none; they can hardly bring up their yong Calves, by reason of the small moysture that the Cowes give their Calves, by meanes of the drie Countrey wherein they are, and by reason of the heat of the land.

*Hennes.* The Hens and Goats, (which with them are sheepe) that they have there, were brought them thither by the Portugalls of S. Thomas, the Hens prosper and encrease well there, and are so fat with the Millie that groweth there, as if they were Capons; but they are commonly smaller then ours, the Egges which they lay are no greater then Pidgeons Egges. *Doves.* The Doves which they have there, were also brought them thither by the Portugals, and are called Abrauama, which is as much to say, as Birds brought thither unto them by white men. They are very like to our Pidgeons, but their heads are lesse, like Sea-mewes, there is no great store of them in the Countrey.

*Hogges.* The Hogs also were brought them by the Portugals, and are called Ebbio: they are very little, but very sweet and pleasant to eate, but not so good as the Hogs in Mosambique, where the Hogs flesh is as daintie as Hens flesh: and because it is a very unwholesome place, they give their sicke men Hogs flesh to eate, in stead of Hens flesh: they have also not long gotten some Geese

## A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

A.D.  
1600.

out of a ship of Holland, which they call Apatta] which are there much esteemed off, because they are but few.

The Countrey is full of Monkeys, of divers formes, for *Monkeys.* some of them have white beards, and blacke Mustachoes, with speckled skins, their bellies white, and upon their backes they have a broad Tawnie stroke, with blacke Pawes and a black Tayle, and by us are called Beard-men. There are some called white Noses, because no part of them is white but onely their Nose, there is a third sort, called Boertkens, those shun men very much, and stinke filthily, by nature they are very crafty: the fourth, are very like to the Jacken, which are found in the Graine Coast; there are also many Monkeys of divers other fashions, they take *How taken.* the Apes and Monkeys with springes which hang upon the trees, where into the Apes and Monkeys leape, and are taken by the Negroes. [Muske Cats are there in great abundance,] *c 19* the Portugals call them Cato degalia, which is Agalia Cats; the Negroes call them Kankan, those kind of Cats are also found in East India, and in Java, but they are not so good as those in Guinea; or of the golden Coast, they are there called Castory, those Cats are much esteemed of by the Portugals, whereby they reape great profit, specially by their Agaly or Muske, which they take *Musk-cats.* from them, and make them cleane, and then it is put into glasses, and carried into Lisbon, it is a kind of beast much given to bite, and to eate flesh; because they give them flesh (as Hens, Pidgeons, Goats, and other costly meats) to eate. They ease themselves in a place apart, and leave it, and never lie in it; it is almost like a Foxe, but their tayles are like other Cats, their skins are speckled like a Leopards skin: [the Negroes take many of them in the woods when they are yong, and so bring them up: but because they have no skill there how to use them, they sell them to strangers.] *c 4* The Male Cats are the best, and yeeld the most Agalia, by reason that the Females pisse in the cod wherein the Muske groweth, and pisse it out with their water; when you perceive that they teare their bagge, you must take their Agalia from them, for they doe it to be

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rid of it: the wilder and worse they are to rule, so much the costlier and better their Agalia is.

*Hares.*

There are Hares also in this Countrey, specially in a place called Akra, in forme like ours, and because that Countrey is low Sandy Ground, therefore they are found more there then in any other part of that Coast: when the Negroes will take them, they goe a great number of them together, to the place where the Hares are, every one taking with him two or three cudgels of wood, as long as a mans arme, and there they compasse the field round about, and standing about their holes, make such a noyse and crying, and clapping their stickes one upon the other, that the Hares are so feared therewith, that they leape out of their holes, and are by them kild with those Cudgels, which they cast at them, and by that meanes get many of them.

*Harts.*

[II.vii. 956.]

Harts and Hinds are sometimes found there also, but in some places more then others, they are of the same fashion that ours are in the Low-countreyes, but they have another kind of hornes then ours, they have no expresse kind of Instruments to take them withall: but when they see them goe to the water to drinke, they strike them into the bodie with an Assagaie and kill them. Hunting to take wild beasts is lawfull for any man to use in those Countreys, if they can take them, without punishment for doing it: There are many other kinds of beasts of such several sorts, that a man cannot tell what to make them; but for that the Netherlanders that use to Guinea dare not goe farre into the Countrey to take wild beasts, least they should be taken and intrapped by the Portugals or their adherents, and made slaves all their lives long: therefore there are many wild beasts that are not knowne by us, and which the Inhabitants themselves know not, nor can not tell by what names to call them.

*Parrots.*

The Birds that are found there, are of divers sorts, and are little birds like unto ours; first, there are blew Parrots, whereof there are great store, which being yong, are taken out of their nests, and made tame, having not flowne abroad, they are better to teach, and to learne to speake;

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but they will not prate so much as the greene Brasilian Parrots doe. They have also an other kind of greene Birds, as big as Sparrowes, like the Catalinkins of West India, but they cannot speake. Those Birds are called Asuront, and by our Netherlanders, called Parokites. *Parokites.* They are taken with Nets, as you use to take Sparrowes. They keepe much in low Land, where much Corne or Millie groweth; for they eate much thereof. Those Birds are very kind one to the other; for when you put a male and a female in a Cage, they will alwaies sit together without making any noyse. The female is of such a nature, that when she is coupled with the male, she respecteth him much, and letteth him sit on the right hand, setting her selfe on the left hand; and when he goes to eate, shee followeth him; and so they live together quietly, being almost of the nature of the Turtle-doves. They are of a very faire greene colour, with a spot of orange-tawnie upon their Noses.

There are another kind of Parokiten, which are much like them, being of the same nature and condition, but are of colour as red as bloud, with a spot of blacke upon their Noses, and a black Taile, being somewhat greater then the Parokites. There are other Birds not much unlike to Gold-finches, all their bodies being yellow, those Birds make not their Nests in the field, for feare of Snakes, and other venimous beasts; but make their nests very craftily upon the branches of high trees, and there lay their egges to keepe themselves from venimous beasts. They have other small Birds, not much unlike to hedge Sparrowes; but they keepe in the Fields among Corne, those Birds they thrust into their mouthes alive, and eate them Feathers Bones and all: they have store of Muschen, with many other kind of small Birds.

They have a kind of Birds like Eagles, which have heads *Fierce Birds.* like Turkle-cocks, those Birds are hurtfull, and very fierce, and doe much harme to the Negroes, whereby they are much troubled, and therefore they carry them meat up to the hilles, and call them Pastro de Diago: which is the

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*Pheasants.*

*Pea-cockes.*

*Pittoirs.*

*Speckled  
Crowes.*

*Burning Flies.*

Birds of their god, and therefore they doe them no hurt, knowing well that they would revenge themselves well enough: they lie alwayes in myre and durt, and stinke as ill as a privie, and you may smell them afarre off. They have some water Snites, but not many. And Turtle-Doves, which have a blacke stroke about their neckes like a crowne. There are many Phesants, not much unlike ours for fashion, but have not such feathers, for they are speckled blacke and white, and without long tayles as ours have; they are not of so good a taste as other common Hens are. Peake-cockes also I have seene there, not much unlike our Peake-cockes; but there is some difference in the Feathers, for some of them are of other colours. Pittoirs I have seene there, as I said before, which they esteeme for a great Fetisso, and a South-sayer. Cranes also there are many, and Kites also of the same fashion that our Holland Kites are. There is a kind of Birds also there, which are like Storkes, but they have not so long red Bills, and make not such a noise. Speckled Crowes, and gray Sea-mewes are there in great abundance, with divers other kinds of Birds, not much unlike ours, but if you marke them well, there is difference betweene them, as some in their feathers, others in their Bills, the third in their feet, and the fourth in their heads, so that there is some difference, although they resemble much; and because Birds are litle taken and shot in those Countreyes, for that they have no kind of Instruments to doe it withall, there are great store in the Countrey, and by that meanes, both the beasts and the Birds waxe very bold. There are many Owles and Bats which flie by night, and store of great greene Frogs, and gray Grashoppers, and many great land Crabs, which keepe in the earth, and are of a purple colour, which they esteeme for a great present. When I went by night to walke in the fields, I saw things in the grasse that shine like fire Coales, which I tooke up and tied them in my handkercher, which made it show with the light of the beast as if it had burnt: and when I went into the Towne to the Negroes, and shewed it them, they

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wondered thereat, and the next day when I lookt on them, they were small blacke Flies, like Spanish Flies, but were as blacke as Pitch: Flies, Mothes, and Bees are there also to be seene. The Bees make their Hives upon trees. There are great store of blacke Ants, which make holes in the earth, like field Mice, those Ants doe much hurt to the Bees, and eate up their Hony and Waxe.

[Bannana, in Brasilia, Pacona; and the tree Paguouer, in Malabar, Patan, &c. is the fruite whereof John Huyghen writeth, and calleth it Indian Figs, this tree hath no branches, the fruit groweth out of the tree, and hath leaves at least a fathome long, and three spannes broad.] Those leaves among the Turkes are used for Paper, and in other places the Houses are covered therewith, there is no wood upon the tree, the out-side (wherewith the tree is covered when it beginneth to waxe old) is like the middle part of a Sive, but opening it within, there is nothing but the leaves, which are rolled up round and close together, it is as high as a man, on the top the leaves begin to spring out, and rise up an end, and as the young leaves come forth the old wither away, and begin to drie untill the tree comes to his growth, and the fruit to perfection: the leaves in the middle have a very thicke veine, which divideth it in two, and in the middle of the leaves, out of the heart of the tree, there groweth a flowre as bigge as an Estridge Egge, of a russet colour, which in time waxeth long like the stalke of a Colewoort, whereon the Figges grow close one by the other, when they are still in their huskes, they are not much unlike great Beanes, & so grow more and more untill they be a span long, and foure thumbes broad like a Cucumber, they are cut off before they are ripe, and are in that sort hanged up in bunches, which oftentimes are as much as a man can carrie. It also yeeldeth good Trennuelis like Milke (when the tree is cut downe) which commeth out of the bodie thereof, having hanged three or foure dayes, they are through ripe, the tree beares but one bunch at a time, whereon there is at least one hundred Figges and more, and when they cut off the bunch of

[II. vii. 957.]  
*Bannanas,*  
*or Indian* 15  
*Figges.*

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Figges, the tree also is cut downe to the ground, the root staying still in the Earth, which presently springeth up againe, and within a moneth hath his full growth, and all the yeare long no time excepted. The tree beareth fruit, the fruit is very delicate to eate, you must pull off the huske wherein the fruit lyeth, very delightfull to behold, the colour thereof is whitish and some-what yellow, when you bite it, it is soft, as if it were Meale and Butter mixed together, it is mellow in byting, it cooleth the maw, much thereof eaten maketh a man very loose and raw in the throate, it maketh women lecherous if they eate much thereof. Some are of opinion, because it is so delicate a fruit, that it was the same tree that stood in Paradise, whereof God forbad Adam and Eve to eate. It smels like Roses, and hath a very good smell, but the taste is better. The Portugals will not cut it through with a Knife, but breake it, by reason of a speciall observation which they have in the cutting thereof, which is, that then it sheweth like a crosse in the middle of the fruit, and therefore they thinke it not good to cut it.

*Bachouens, or  
Bannanas de  
Congo.*

The Bachouens (by us so called) are very like the Bannanas, for the condition and forme is all one, only that the fruit is smaller, shorter, white of colour within and sweeter of taste, and is esteemed to be wholsomer to be eaten then the Bannanas, but there is no such great quantitie of them, and for that they were first brought out of the Kingdome of Congo, into other Countries, they have gotten the name thereof.

*Annanas.*

The Annanas is also a delicate and pleasant fruit for smell, and of the best taste that any fruit can be, it hath also divers severall names, there are two sorts, the Male and the Female, the Canarians call it, Ananasa; the Brasilians, Nana; those of Hispaniola, Jaiama, and the Spaniards in Brasilia, Pinas, because one of them found that and the Pinas first in Brasilia, it is as great as a Mellon, faire of colour, some-what yellow, greene and carnation, when it begins to bee ripe, the greenenesse thereof turneth into an Orange colour, it is of a pleasant taste, and hath a



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fine smell like an Apricocke, so that it is to be smelt farre off, when you see the fruit afarre off, being greene, it shewes like Artichokes, and is eaten with Wine, it is light of digesture, but eating much thereof it inflameth a mans bodie. [In Brasilia there is three sorts thereof, each having a severall name: first, Jaiama; the second, Boniama; the third, Jaiagma: but in Guinea there is but one sort. The time when they are in their flowre is in Lent, for then they are best, it growes halfe a fathome above the ground, the leaves thereof are not much unlike Semper Vivum, when they are eaten, they are cut in round slices, and sopt in Spanish wine; you cannot eate enough thereof, it is verie hot of nature, and will grow in moist ground, the sops that you take out of the Wine tastes like sweet Muske, and if you doe not presently wipe the Knife wherewith you cut the fruit, but forgetting it let it lye halfe an houre, it will bee eaten in, as if there had beene strong water laid upon it, being eaten in abundance and without knowledge, it causeth great sicknesse.

There are great store of Iniamus growing in Guinea, in great fields, which are sowed and planted like Turnips, the root is the Iniamus, and groweth in the Earth like Earth-nuts, those Iniamus are as great as a yellow root, but thicker and fuller of knots, they are of a Mouse-colour, and within as white as a Turnip, but not so sweet, being put in a Kettle and sodden with flesh, and then peeled and eaten with Oyle and Pepper, they are a very delicate meate, in many places it is used for bread, and is the greatest meate that the Negroes eate. *Iniamus.*

The Battatas are somewhat redder of colour, and in forme almost like Iniamus, and taste like Earth-nuts, those two kinds of fruit are very abundant in Guinea, they are commonly roasted, or else eaten with a hodge-pot in stead of Parsenips or Turnips. *Battatas.*

The Palme-wine tree is almost like the Cocos tree, or a Lantor, with divers others, and are of three or foure sorts, most of them have all one kind of leafe, but in manner of wood they are unlike, for this tree is shorter of wood then *Palm-wine tree.*  
[II. vii. 958.]

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the rest, the Wine is drawne out of those trees by boring them, from whence there issueth a sap like Milke, which is very coole and fresh to drinke, at the first when it is drawne, it is pleasant and sweet, having stood a while, it is as sowre as Vineger, so that you may use it in a Sallet, but being drunke sweet and fresh, it causeth a man to void urine well, whereby in those Countries, there are very few found, that have the disease of the Stone; drinking much thereof a mans head will soone be light, the lightnesse which a man hath in his head thereby, causeth it not to ake. When it commeth first out of the tree it is sweeter of taste, then when it hath stood awhile, but yet it is esteemed to bee better when it hath stood awhile, and is some-what settled, then presently to bee drunke, for it standeth seething and bubbling, as if it hung over the fire and sod, so that if it were put into a Glasse and stopt up, without letting any ayre come into it, the force thereof would breake the Glasse in pieces, but being a meale tyde olde, it is nothing worth, because it is so sowre, and then it is of another colour verie waterish, therefore it is much mixed with water, and seldome comes pure to the Market, as it is taken out of the tree, which is done partly to increase their Wine, as also that then it is the sweeter to drinke, and hath the taste of Syder, and the colour of Must, when the tree is old, and will yeeld no more Wine at the top, it is cut downe at the foot, and a fire made at the root thereof, where they set a pot, whereinto the Wine (by meanes of the heate) runneth, the tree being changed, and yeelding no more profit, there groweth another tree out of the roote thereof, but it is halfe a yeare old before it giveth any Wine. In the morning betimes an houre before day, the Wine is drawne out and brought to the Market at noone-time.

*Palmitas tree.*

The Palmitas tree is not much to be seene in Guinea, but for that a Negro in that Countrey shewed me some of the fruit thereof, I thought good to say something of it in this place, it is a tree without branches, on the top of the tree the fruit groweth, and it is almost like the Annanas

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when it is ripe. It is outwardly of a faire gold colour, and within it hath graines like Pomegranates, they are of a very sweet taste, the other is hard and unfit to eate.

### §. VII.

Of their Gentlemen, and how they are made ;  
Their Dancings, Sports, Diseases, Cures, Visitationes, Mourninges, Funerals : and of their Gold.

**T**Here are many Gentlemen in that Countrey, but of small meanes, for assoone as they have bought their Gentilitie, they are then poorer, and in miserable estate then they were before, and for that they thinke to be men of great account when they are Gentlemen, they seeke much after it, and begin to gather some wealth from their youths upwards to obtayne the place of a Gentleman. First, they give three gifts to be made a Gentleman, the first gift is a Dogge, which they call Cabro de Matto, which is as much as to say a Field-sheepe. The second Gift, is a Sheepe or a Goat. The third Gift, is a Cow, with many other things, and then he is made a Gentleman. These Gifts are given among those that are Gentlemen, and are given the one now, the other at another time, as the man that is made a Gentleman can best doe it, and hath the meanes to performe it, and then hee makes the Captaine acquainted with it, which done, he buyeth a Cow, which is carryed and tyed in the Market place, and then it is made knowne to the people, that such a man shall bee made a Gentleman at such a time, in the meane time all those that are Gentlemen make themselves as fine as they can to goe with him, and to fight and shew many Apish Toyes. The man that is to bee made a Gentleman, makes all things readie, as meate and drinke to entertayne his Guests, and to bid them welcome in good sort, he buyeth Hens and many pots of Palme-wine, and sendeth every Gentleman a Hen and a pot of Palme-wine home to his House, to make merrie withall.

(When the Feast day comes, the Inhabitants assemble

*Ambition of  
Gentrie.*

*Gifts for it.*

*Creation.*

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522 together upon the Market place, the men (as he masters) goe and sit on the one side, having many Instruments, as Drums, Hornes, Bels, and other things with them. [The Captaine armeth himselfe, and with him hath many young Batchelors with Shields and Assagaies] their faces being coloured and their bodies painted with red and yellow Earth, which makes them looke like a company of yong Devils. [The man that is made a Gentleman is accompanied with a number of other Gentlemen, having a Boy behind him which carryeth his stoole to sit upon when hee goes to speake with any man, and his fellow Gentlemen come to salute him, and wish him good fortune in his new estate] at which time they take a great deale of straw in the one hand, and lay it under his feet, which he treadeth upon (the like also they use when their owne friends come to visit them, and bring them any Presents, which they use for a great honour.) [The wives of the Gentlemen goe to her, to doe all the honour they can to the wife of the Gentleman that maketh the Feast, and dresse her finely, folding her haire with many golden Fetissos, and Crosses, putting about her necke a Ring of gold, and in the one hand shee carrieth a Horse-taile, and on her right arme shee hath a Ring of gold, at each end thereof having a round thing like the Lid of a Pot, all made of gold] and being readie, they are placed in order, as their manner is, one after the other; then the Cow is led forth, and then all the Gentlemen in the Towne come and follow them, as it were on Procession, dancing and leaping round about the Towne, and when they come againe into the Market-place, the Cow is bound to a stake, and there they make a great noise with Drummes and Pipes, and the young Batchelors with fencing and leaping, with their Shields and Assagaies, now in one place, then in another, making, as they thinke, great joy about the Gentleman; every man seeking to excell each other, and to get most praise and commendation.

523 The women also make no lesse adoe with singing and dancing, sometimes carrying both the Gentleman and his

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wife, upon a stoole, round about the Towne] casting white Meale in their faces, and in that sort make great pastime three dayes together, and every night they are led home to their houses, and watcht by the other Gentlemen. The next day he is fetcht by a great number of people, and great honour done unto him as before; at which time hee hangs a white Flag out of his house, which doth signifie joy, or open house. The third day, the Cow is killed by the Executioner, and quartered, and every man hath a piece of the flesh thereof, that they also may be participants of the Feast: but the man and the woman that maketh the Feast, may not eate of the Cow; for they make them beleeve, that if they eate any thereof, they shall die within a yeere after. [The Feast day being ended, the head of the Cow is carried home to his house, which he hangeth up, and painteth it with divers colours, hanging many straw Fetissoes upon it, which is a signe of his Gentilitie, and a warrant to prove him to be made a Gentleman.]

[Then he hath great priviledge, for he may buy Slaves, and doe other things which before he might not have done; When he is made a Gentleman he is very proud thereof; for, the first thing that they will tell unto a Stranger is, that they are Gentlemen, and that they have many Slaves, esteeming themselves to be great Masters; but it falleth out oftentimes, that after their feasting is done, and he made a Gentleman, that then hee is poorer then he was before, because he disbursed all his money to get it, and then he must goe out to fish againe and doe other things, if he will get his living.] This kind of Gentilitie costs him about eight Bendas, which is a pound of gold; but deducting that which is given for Presents of other men which bring them to him, each man according to his meanes and abilitie, it standeth him not in above halfe a pound of gold. Those Gentlemen have a Fellowship among them, and every yeere make a Feast, and then bid their Friends to be merrie with them, and make good cheere; at which time they hang their Cowes or Sheepes

S. S. S.

*Priviledges.*

*Annuall  
Feast.*

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heads, with Millie strawes, and paint them with white colour, signifying thereby the remembrance of their Feast. Besides this, the Gentlemen have an other Feast amongst them, upon the sixth day of July, at which time they paint their bodies with white and red stripes, and hang a Garland made of greene boughs and straw about their necks, which they weare all that day, that you may know the Gentlemen from the rest, and then also they hang their Cowes and Goats heads full of Fetissoes, as before; in the evening they meet together at a Banket, in the house of the Captaine, where they are very merrie together, eating and drinking their heads and bellies full, till they are drunke.

*Their  
dancings.*

[They make themselves very fine, especially the women, when they goe to dance,] wherein they take a great pride. They hang many Copper, Tin, and Ivorie Rings about their armes, and on their legs they put Rings with many Bells, that they may sound when they dance. Their heads are frizled, and dressed with a tuft of haire. They wash their bodies faire with water, and then anoint them with Palme-oile, to make them shine. Their teeth also they rub with a hard sticke: then they put a piece of white linnen about their bodies, which hangs from underneath their breasts, downe below their knees; and commonly about evening they assemble together, and goe to the Market-place to dance there. Others have instruments whereon they play, as some Copper Basons, whereon they strike with wooden Sticks. Others have wooden Drums, cut out of an hollow Tree, covered over with a Goats Skin, and play upon them. Others have round Blockes, cut very handsomly and evenly, whereon also they strike with wooden Sticks. Others have Cow-bells. Some have small Luits, made out of a piece of wood like a Harpe with sixe strings of Reeds, whereon they play with both their hands, every one having their severall Instruments, and each keeping good correspondence with their fellowes Instruments. Others sing, and begin to dance two and two together, leaping and stamping]

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with one of their feet upon the ground, knocking with their fingers, and bowing downe their heads, and speaking each to other; in their hands carrying Horse-tailes, which they cast sometimes on the one shoulder, then upon the other, using certaine order in their sports, one following the other, and each doing as the other doth. Other women take straw, which they let fall to the ground, and then dancing upon it, cast it up againe into the aire with their feet, and catch it as it falleth with their hands, so that *e 25* they play many apish and childrens sports, thinking that they doe excellent well; but they desire not to be seene by strangers, because they laugh and jest at them, and then they are ashamed.] [II. vii. 960.]

This continuing an houre or an houre and an halfe, *The yonkers.* every one goes home againe, as having ended their sports. There are houses also among them, wherein young men and maids use to dance and play. The young Bachelors use to drinke themselves drunke, and by night runne through the streets with their Armes and Assagaies, making a great noise with crying and showting, as if a companie of young Devils ran about the streets; and meeting with other companies, with whom having some words, they fight together; wherein they are so earnest one against the other, that they are almost readie to kill each other, and many times cannot leave off. They will not lightly beginne to quarrell, for they are not so hastie, but will indure much, specially of strangers, before they will quarrell; but if they once beginne, they are not easily pacified, but are very earnest and hastie to set upon their adverse Parties, and to be revenged, though it should cost them their lives, and they have very quicke hands to thrust and to strike. ✓

Their bodies are subject to many sicknesses and diseases, *Their wounds and maladies.* which they esteeme but little, and make no account of wounds or hurts. *c c* The sicknesses wherewith they are most troubled, are Poxe, Clap-dollars, Botches, Wormes, paine in the head, and burning Fevers. These diseases they get from foule and filthie women, whereunto they ✓

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e 1<sup>s</sup> are much addicted,] and although they have many diseases by such meanes, which are not without much danger, yet they esteeme not much of them, but passe them away as if they ayled nothing, and are not faint-hearted, but of a hard complexion, suffering their wounds to swell and putrifie, without any meanes of remedie applied thereunto ;  
e 2<sup>d</sup> for [they neither have nor use any Physicke among them, to ease them in their sicknesse, nor Surgeons or Physicians to heale their wounds, but suffer their wounds and diseases to have their course, unlesse any of our Surgeons give them any Physicke or Surgerie.] For the Pox and  
✓ Clap-dollers they use much Salsaparillia, which the Hollanders ships bring them ; which Salve they seethe with salt water, and drinke the water for drinke against the Pox, and such like diseases, and also against the  
*Wormes in the legs.* Wormes that are in their legs, (as I will declare more at large) wherewith also we are much troubled, whereunto they use no remedie at all, but suffer their legs to continue so, untill they heale and waxe better of themselves. For  
✓ the paine of the head they use certaine Pap, which they make of greene leaves, and therewith anoint the place where their paine is ; and if they have any swelling about their bodies, which breaketh not out, then they take a  
*Barbarous Inhumanitie.* knife and cut two or three long slashes therein, and so give the wound a meanes to worke, and to heale up, and grow together againe ; which is the cause that they have so much knobd flesh, and so many slashes in their bodies : but is well to be discerned, whether they be cut and made in their flesh to beautifie and set out themselves, or wounds and sores that are healed up againe. They also use  
✓ letting of bloud, but onely make a hole in their bodies with a knife to let their bloud come out : when they have any other naturall sicknesses, they will not helpe nor comfort one the other ; but if any of them be sicke, they  
✓ will shun him as it were the plague, and spurne the sicke man like a Dog, and not once helpe him with a drop of Oyle or Water, although they have never so much need ; no, not the Father to the Sonne, but



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let them lie like Beasts, and die with hunger and sicknesse; so that they are not skilfull to helpe sicke persons.

[They make difference betweene the word Morian and Negro, for they will not be called Morians, but Negroes or Prettoes, (which is as much to say) as Blacke men; for they say that Morian is as much to say, as Slave or Captive, and also a man that knowes nothing, or that is halfe a Foole] and therefore they will not be called Morians, but Negroes or Prettoes; for if you call them Morians, they will hardly speake unto you, nor make you any answer. They make one the other Slaves, but in other sort then in Congo or Angola, for there you can lade no ships full of Slaves; but to the contrarie, they desire much to have them, and buy them: yet there are both Slaves and Captives; and for that in those Countries they take no great paines, nor need any great number of Slaves, therefore there is no great quantitie of them to be had, to sell them as they doe in other Countries, but onely among them of the Land, that have need of them. Againe, no man may buy or sell them, but such as are of great account and Gentlemen. They are marked with an Iron in their bodies, that if they chance to runne away, they may be knowne againe by their markes.]

[Such as are blind, or have any other imperfections in their bodies, as being lame or Criples, and by reason thereof cannot get their livings, the King placeth them with Smiths, to blowe their Bellows; others with those that presse Palme-oyle, or grind Colours, whereunto such deformed persons are fit:] or to such Occupations and labours wherewith they can helpe themselves, and get their victuals; so that there you see none such as begge their victuals, but they are put in some place or other to earne their meate; so that the Inhabitants give no meate one to the other. The Kings of the Townes have many Slaves, which they buy and sell, and get much by them; and to be brieve, in those Countries there are no men to be hired to worke or goe of any errand for money, but such as

*Quarrels.*  
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are Slaves and Captives, which are to spend their dayes in slaverie.

Hatred and envy is much used in those Countries, and to whomsoever they once beare hatred and envie, they will hate them cruelly, and doe them all the hurt and villany that they can; on the other side, they beare a villany long in their minds, and will keepe malice in their hearts seven or eight yeeres, and when time serveth them, then show it openly; no lesse hatred and envy is borne by one Towne unto an other, speaking all the villany they can, and extolling themselves as much as they may, to have the honour of Traffique, and to the end that the ship should come and Anchor before their Townes, and by that meanes to bring the Countrie Merchants to Traffique there, wherein they are very diligent: and although one Towne lyeth but three or foure miles one from the other; yet they are as envious one against the other as possible. they can be, and report as hardly of their neighbours as they can imagine; that so they may get the Netherlanders to Traffique with them: and to that end, they strive to shew more friendship to the Netherlanders, one then the other, to draw us to affect them, and bring the trade of Merchandize unto them.

*Old age and  
the effects.*

The men commonly live there till they be old, as it seemeth by their faces and outward apparance, and as we conceave; but they cannot reckon their owne ages, nor tell how many yeeres they have lived. When they begin to be old, then they are not well proportioned nor seemely; but looke evill favouredly, with gray beards, yellow wrinckled skins, like Spanish Leather, which proceedeth of the anointing of their bodies with Palme-Oyle. They are likewise leane of Legs and Armes, and wholly mishapen, specially olde women, with their long breasts, which then shew and hang upon their bodies like old Hogs bladders, they would not willingly be old; because as then they are not esteemed of, but much despised, and not respected, and as from their youths upwards, to the best time of their lives, they still waxe of a fairer blacke colour,

## A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

A.D.  
1600.

so when they are past that time, they begin to decay, and to lose their perfect blacknesse.

In their winter time, they are very sickly, & then commonly there is a great mortalitie among them, by meanes of the unwholesomenesse of the aire, which they then endure: and when they die, their friends come to the dead mans house, and weepe and sorrow grievously for him, speaking unto him, & asking him why he died, with many such like foolish Ceremonies. They take the dead body and lay it on a mat upon the ground, & wind it in a woollen, purposely made in that Countrey, of colour red, blew, blacke and white. Under his head they lay a woodden stoole, and cover or dresse his head with a Goats skin, and strew all the body over with ashes, and dust of Barkes of trees; they close not his eyes together, they lay his armes downe by his sides, and so let him lie halfe a day in the aire. If it be a man, his best beloved wife goes and sits downe by the body, and if it be a woman, the man goes and sits downe by her, crying and weeping, having in their hands a wispe of straw, or of Barkes of trees, wherewith crying and howling over the dead body, he or she wipeth his face, sometimes saying unto it, Auzy, and making a great noyse; in the meane time, the friends or neighbours come to visite the dead, and to mone him for his misfortune, others (as the neerest friends) being women, goe round about the house, singing and beating upon Basons, sometimes comming to the dead body, and goe round about him singing and leaping, and kincking of hands, making a great noyse, and then againe goe round about the house singing and playing upon Basons, which they doe twice or thrice one after the other.

*Lamentable* 53  
*lamentings.* ↓

at

In the meane time, preparation is made for the buriall, and to make good cheere together, after it is ended; to the which end, they dresse certaine Hens, and a Sheepe, and other meats which they are accustomed to eate, and while the dead bodie is above the ground, the eldest Morinni of that quarter, goes about from house to house with a Bason, whereon every one must put the value of

*Funeral.*

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1600.

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513

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[II. vii. 962.]

twelve pence in gold, with the which money they buy a Cow, which Cow is given to a Fetissero that useth to conjure their gods, to will him to conjure the Fetisso, to suffer the dead body to remaine and rest in peace, and to bring him into the other world, and not to molest him in the way, with this Cowes blood hee conjureth his Fetisso; (for a dead man must smeare his Fetisso with blood) then they bind the dead body upon a planke, and carry him to the grave singing and leaping; the bodie is carried by men, and the women follow after one by one, about their heads having a Crowne or Garland of straw, and a staffe in their hands: the man, if it be a woman, goes next to the dead body crying to the grave, else there goes no man after it, unlesse the dead body chanceth to be borne to another place to be buried; as sometimes it hapneth that they carry the dead body twenty miles off, from the place where he died, to be buried there: and then many men go armed with the body, to convey it to the buriall: the body is carried to the earth, & the grave-maker maketh a grave about foure foot deepe, and therein he is laid; over the grave there are many stickes of wood laid, close one by the other: the women creepe to and fro over the grave, making a great noyse, with howling and crying, and over that, they lay the earth, and place it, and bind it about the same, as if it were a Chest. All his goods, as Apparell, Weapons, Pots, Basons, Tooles, Spades, and such Household-stuffe, wherewith he earned his living, are carried to the grave, and buried with him, which are set round about the grave, to serve his turne withall in the other world, as they did when he lived upon the earth; other of the dead mans friends, bring some thing also to set in the grave for a memory, which is put into the grave with the rest of his goods. If he were one that delighted much in drinking, & loved Palme well when he lived: they will set a pot of Palme-wine by him in his grave, because hee should not die for thirst, and what in his life he used, that is given him, and buried in his grave with him. If it be a woman that died in travell of her child, the child is laid in the

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1600.

mothers right arme, and buried with her; (above upon the grave, there is a straw house made like a Sepulchre, wherein all the houshold-stuffe and other things are set.] The grave-makers fee, is to have halfe the goods that are set into the grave, but the friends of the dead content him, and he is paid for it; because they should let the goods stand still untoucht: for it is a great credit to the friends of the dead to leave good store of goods upon the grave with the dead body; which they let stand there so long, till it be cleane consumed, and none of them will ever offer to take any of it away by any meanes whatsoever. [The body being buried, they goe altogether to the Sea-side, or to some other River, where the women goe in, & stand up to their middles in waters, and taking up water in their hands, cast it in their owne faces, and upon their bodies, and wash their breasts, and all their bodies.] Other women in the meane time play upon Basons, and such like instruments, [one of those women take the man or woman, whose husband or wife is dead, and leading them into the water, laid them therein flat upon their backes, and take them up againe; which they doe divers times, speaking one unto the other, and making great complaints. When he or she is well and cleane washt from the head to the foot, she leadeth them out of the water againe, and puts their clothes upon their bodies again, & then they go together to the dead mans house to make good cheere, and to drink themselves drunk.] If it be a man that died that had children, the women must not retaine or keepe any of his goods for the behoofe of the children: but must give all the mans goods (both that which he had to his marriage, and which he got by his labour while he lived) unto his Brethren, if he hath any living, and must not keepe any thing from them. [If he hath no brethren, then the father if he be living, taketh all his sonnes goods, and injoyeth it. If it be a woman that dieth, then the husband must deliver her marriage goods to her brethren, as aforesaid, without keeping any thing thereof for his children, so that no children in those

S 13

*Platicum.*

S 13

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S 13

A.D.  
1600.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Countreyes inherite their Fathers good, neither are they their Fathers heires: No more may the wife inherite any of her husbands goods, but it is all divided among his brethren; but while their wives live, they give her what they thinke good of that which they gaine, *so yong maids* and men must endeavour themselves to get some thing in their youths, that they may have some thing when they marry and keepe houses.]

*Kings* *Funerall.* *514* [For the Kings death, more sorrow is made by some of the Gentlemen, who in the Kings life served him: when he is dead, give him a slave to serve him, & other men one of their wives to wait on him, and to dresse his meat: others bring one of their sonnes to goe with the King into the other world; so that there are a number of people that are appointed to goe with the King to the other world: which are killed, and their heads cut off,] but they know nothing thereof, for such men and women as give them to the King when he is dead tell not them that they shall be put to death, to goe into the other world with the King; but when the time comes, that the buriall is to be solemnised, they send them on some message, or to fetch water, and so following them, strike them through the body with an Assagaie, and kill them in the way: which done, they carry the dead body to the Kings house, whereby they shew what faithfull servants they were unto their King while he lived: others also doe the like, and those dead bodies are smeared with blood, and buried with the King in his grave, that they may travell together. [If any of his wives loved him intirely, they suffer themselves to be kild with the rest, and are buried with him, that they may raigne together in the other world. The heads of the dead men and women, are set round about the Sepulchre and grave of the King, for a great braverie and honour unto him. Upon the grave they set all kinds of meat and drinke, that they may eate some thing, and verily beleeeve that they eate and drinke it, and that they live thereby, and for that cause the pots of Palme-wine, and of water, are continually fild up: all his stuffe, as

## A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

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Armes and Clothes are buried with him, and all his Gentlemen that served him, have every one of them their Pictures made of Clay, after the life, and fairely painted, which are set and placed orderly round about his grave, one by the other; so that their Kings Sepulchers are like houses, and as well stuff as if they still lived: which Sepulchres are so much esteemed off, that they are watcht both by night and by day, by armed men: to the end, that if he desireth to have any thing, they should straight bring it him.]

514  
✓

[Gold at this day is as much esteemed off by them, as it is with us, (of whom they say, Gold is our God) and more too, for they are greedier and earnestest to have it then we are, because they marke and see that the Hollanders take so much paines for it, and give more Merchandize for it in Exchange, then ever the Portugals did.]

F 22  
*Gold how  
esteemed and  
found.*

[For I am of an opinion, that there are few Negroes that dwell on the Sea side, that know where the Mines are,] or that ever saw them, also there was never any Portugall or Netherlander at them, or neere them, but the Mines are well kept, and lookt unto by the owners thereof; so I have heard by some Negroes, that each King hath his Mines, and causeth the gold to be digged by his men, and selleth it to other Merchants, and so it passeth from one to another.

C 22  
[II.vii.963.]  
C 22

[In what manner the gold is found in Guinea, I know not, but as some Negroes have told me, they finde gold in deepe pits, which they digge up, and that with the water it is driven downe like Sand, at which waters and running springs, many people sit with spoones in their hands, and take up the gold, sand and all, and put it into a Bason.]

C 22

Some peeces are covered over with Chalke, and Earth, wherein they are found, the small gold, which is found in the Sand, they purge and make cleane in cleare running water, but yet they let some Sand and Gravell remaine among it, it is found in no great quantities, (as they themselves say) but with great paine and labour, for it costs many men their lives, which are smothered in the Mines;

*leaf*

A.D.  
1600.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

and a man that can find two or three Englishen of gold in a day, hath done well, and hath earned a good dayes hire.  
e 22 The halfe which is found is the labourers, and the other halfe is for the King, or for him that owneth the Mine. This I have beene told by some of the Negroes. Gold by them is called Chika, and some great Merchants that dwell about the Maine, bring the gold aboard the ships to buy wares, as it comes out of the Mine, and that is esteemed to be the best gold, wherein there is lest deccit, but the receiver must looke well to it to blow the sand cleane out of it, and to beat the yeallow earth with the stones out of it, with a hammer, and so he cannot lose by it: neverthelesse, the gold that is brought rough out of the Mine, is esteemed to be better and richer, and more worth in every Marke then the other.

It falleth out oftentimes, that some gold is more worth then others, which hapneth by meanes of the receivers negligence, and many times as the Mines of gold fall out; for some of them are finer gold then others: and also the deeper that the Mines are digged, the gold falls out to be worse, and is more mixed with silver, even in the earth it selfe, then the gold that lieth higher in the earth.

False gold. c 1 Besides this, meane Merchants bring much molten gold as Crakawen, arme Rings, Jewels, and other things, wherein there is most falshood used: for such Negroes as have but small meanes to Traffique with us, are more used and addicted to the falsifying of gold, then others are, wherein they use great subtiltie, but we our selves are oftentimes the cause thereof; for we bring and sell them the matter, and the Instruments which they use therein; and so deceive our selves, and make a rod for our owne breeches: but they were wont to falsifie it more then now. For the Portugals hanged up some for it. They have good knowledge in Gold, and can soone perceive whether it be good or falsified; but of other Jewels, as Pearles, Diamonds, Rubies, Emralds, and such like precious stones, they have no knowledge, but they know fine red Corals wel, which are much esteemed off by them.



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1600.

Silver also is well, and too much knowne among them ; because they use it to falsifie Gold withall, and to make it of lesse value then it is. They learned of the Portugals to melt gold. They also have found the meanes to put an edge of gold round about silver, and Red Copper mixed together, letting the false mettles remaine in the middle of the peece, and so when hee that receiveth it, is in haste, and toucheth it but on the edge thereof, (where it is not falsified) with his Touch-stone, it passeth for good : but such must bee cut in sunder with a hammer, and then the falsifying is perceived, and when they could find no meanes to falsifie the small fine Chika Foetu Gold, so that the receivers had no suspition thereof, and tooke the lesse heed there unto, wee our selves brought them tooles to doe it withall : for wee brought them Files, and Sawes to sell, so that they filed the yellow Copper, and mingled it among the smal gold, that it could hardly be perceived : because it was so smal, which was the subtillest falsifying of gold by them used, but when we blew the sand & dust out of it, then the Copper shewed it selfe, whereby it appeareth that the Negroes have many wayes and devises to falsifie gold, but such as looke narrowly unto them, will not be deceived : But to trie their falsifyings, the best way is to touch their gold, and to be warie of deceit, and of receiving bad gold. An other way is to looke speedily unto the Negroes themselves ; To see if they have bad gold or not, for when they bring bad gold, they will be in great feare, with your handling thereof, and when you offer to trie their gold, they will refuse it, and alter their colours, and shake and quiver withall.

The wormes in the legges and bodies, trouble not every one that goeth to those Countreyes, but some are troubled with them, and some not, and they are found in some men sooner then in others, some have a worme before the Voyage is done, and while they are still upon the Coast, some get them while they are upon the way, others have them after their Voyage is full ended, some foure moneths

*Troublesome  
long-wormes.*

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1600.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

after, some nine moneths after, and some a yeere after they have made a Voyage thither: others have made two or three Voyages thither, and never were troubled with those wormes.

[II. vii. 964.]

The Negroes themselves are much troubled with them, specially those that dwel about the castle of Mina, and it is a thing to be wondered at, for the Negroes that dwel but 25. miles lower East-ward, are not troubled with wormes as their neighbors are. And another \* (whereof John Huyghen speaketh in his Itinerario) are troubled therewith, for the Ilands of East India, West India, China, Brasilia, and other strange Countries are not troubled therewith, nor know not thereof, and which is more; They of the Iland of Saint Thomas, which men esteeme to be the unwholesomest place in the world, and wherein so many men are sicke, and lose their lives, know not what those wormes meane, but wondred much thereat, when it was shewed them of such as had beene with the Hollanders in Guinea. The Negroes themselves knew not whereof they are ingendred, but the greatest presumption is, that they proceed and breed of the water which men buy of the Negroes, which they take out of Wels or Pits, and it is very likely (as we find by the experience) that they breed of the water; for in Ormus, or in those parts, the fresh water is fetcht up in pots by divers, eighteene fathome deepe under the salt water, which those people drinke, because they are there also troubled with wormes, and as some men write: the Indians themselves say, that they come of the water. Such as have them are in great paine, for some of them can neither goe nor stand; some neither sit nor lie, others lie wholly in dispaire, as if they were sencelesse, and somtimes are faine to be bound; some have them with a fever, or shaking, as if they had a fever; some get them on a sudden, others have them before they know it, and have little paine therewith; so that the wormes shew themselves divers wayes: they appeare with a little Blain, others with a spot like a Flea-biting, others with a litle swelling; so that you may often see the

\*Ormus.

*At Boghar in  
Bactria, there  
are the like,  
supposed to  
come by drink-  
ing bad water  
in that place,  
as M. Ant.  
Jenkinson  
observed.*

## A DESCRIPTION OF GUINEA

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1600.

worme betweene the skin and the flesh, others shew themselves with bloody vains, &c. It must shew it selfe before men use any remedie for it: neverthelesse, it sheweth it selfe many times too much, and too soon, for it were better that it came not so soon, nor appeared at all, but suffered men to be at ease, it will seeke to helpe it selfe, and thrust out his nose, which a man must then take hold on, least he creepe in againe: he sheweth himselfe in divers places, as in a mans legges, in the sole of the foot, in the armes, knees, buttocks, and commonly in places of a mans bodie, where there is much flesh; and some men have them in their privie members, and which is more, in their cods, with great grieve and paine: for those that have them there, indure extreme paine. But it is true, that one man hath lesse paine with them then another, and shal also be sooner healed of them then another: which commeth by the handling or dealing with them, for it is very good, when a man findeth himselfe to be troubled with them, to be quiet, specially being in his legs, and not go much, and to keepe the place warme where they begin to appeare; for thereby they shall indure lesse paine, for they come better out of a mans flesh with warmth, then with cold and disease. For some men have little respected themselves when they have had the wormes, so that they appeared with a great swelling, whereby they indured much paine, and were in hazard to loose their legges or their armes. When it comes forth so farre, that a man may lay hold on it, then they must draw him out till hee stayeth, and then hee must let it rest till hee beginneth to come forward againe; and as much thereof as is come out of the bodie, must be woond upon a sticke, or bound close to the hoole, with a thrid that hee creepeth not in againe. When hee commeth out every time, he bringeth good store of matter with him, and a man must every day looke unto it, and draw him so long, till he be out, but you must not draw him too hard, least he should breake, so that by reason of the poyson that is in him, the wound will fester: It hapneth oftentimes, that after

A.D.  
1600.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

there is one worme drawne out of a mans body, that there commeth another in the same place, & hath his issue out at the same hole. Some men are sooner rid of them then another, for some are eased in three weeks and lesse time, and some are three months in healing of them, some men have more wormes then others, for some have but one worme, and others ten or twelve, as I my self knew one that had ten wormes, hanging out at his body all at one time; and I have known men that had wormes that began to open themselves, and crept in againe, and consumed away, so that they had no more trouble therewith but the next Voyage after. They are of divers lengths, and greatnesse, some are of a fathome long, some shorter, as it fals out; in thicknesse they differ much, some are as thicke as great Lute-strings, and like common peare wormes, others like small Lute-strings, and some as small as silke or fine thred, some say that they are not living, and that they are but bad sinowes and no wormes. I have not long since seene a man that had certaine wormes which shewed themselves, and the Surgeon drew a worme out with one pull, and the worme being drawne out, and held up on high, wrung and writhed it selfe, as if it had beene an Eele, and was about five quarters long, and as thicke as a Lute-string, if it were but a sinow, it would have no life in it, and therefore they are naturall wormes. The Negroes use no kind of Surgerie for them, but suffer them to have their course, and wash the sore with Salt-water, which they say is very good for it.

✓  
Note that our returne backe from Moure, we use to put off from that place, from whence you must set sayle with a wind from the land, and hold your course as neere by as you can, losing no wind, and yet you shall hardly get above S. Thomas, or Rio de Gaborn, because of the streame which driveth you East & by North, & East North-east towards the land. To the Bouthes of Fernando Poo, which you must beware off, for he that falleth into that Bouthe, will hardly get out, because of the streame, and is in danger to be

[II.vii.965.]

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c. 1602.

cast away in that place, or else he must have some stormes or winds out of the North, and so come out Southward, otherwise it is hardly to be done; for there are some, who having had the wind a little contrary, were sixe or seven weekes before they could get to Cape Lope Gonselves. Heere you must note, that the neerer you come to the Equinoctiall line, the wind bloweth the more Southerly, so that as you passe under the line, the wind bloweth South, and South and by East, and somewhat higher, you must also note, when you see great flying Fishes, that you are not farre from Saint Thomas, or about Ile De Principe.

### §. VIII.

The passage from the golden Coast to the Kingdome of Benni, or Rio de Benni, and Rio Floreado: The Citie, Court, Gentry, Apparell: also other places adjoyning, described.

**F**Or that the gold Coast reacheth no further then from Cape De tres Punctas, to Rio de Volta, therefore those that will goe from the golden Coast, to the Kingdome of Benni, hold their course along by the land, and along by the Rivers of Rio de Volta, Rio de Ardra, and Rio de Lago. These Rivers were never entred into, because there is nothing to be had in them, but a little quantitie of Elephants Teeth; so that the labour to fetch it, is not worth the paines, by meanes of the dangers that a man incurreth by entring into the Rivers, by reason of Sands. Before at the mouth of the River of Focrado, there lieth an Iland, and the River is so indifferent great, that a man may well know it. The land reacheth most (being about forty miles) to Rio de Ardra. This River is much used to be entred into by the Portugals, and is well knowne, not because of any great commoditie that is therein to be had; but because of the great number of slaves which are bought there, to carry to other places, as to Saint Thomas, and to Brasilia, to labour there, and to

*This was taken  
out of D.R.*

A.D.  
c. 1602.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

refine Sugar : for they are very strong men, and can labour stoutly, and commonly are better slaves then those of Gabom, but those that are sold in Angola are much better. In this River there is no speciall thing found, which is of any value, but some Blew, Greene, and Blacke stones, wherewith they grind colours, and for their fairenesse are desired of other Negroes, specially in the golden Coast of Guinea, where they are much esteemed of by them. There both the men and women are starke naked, untill they be sold for slaves, so that they are not ashamed to shew themselves one to the other, as they themselves affirme, and by reason prove, saying, that a man more coveteth and desireth a thing that he seeth not, or may not have, then that he seeth or may borrow or have, and for that cause they hide not their privie members. There the Portugals Traffique much with Barkes to buy slaves, and the Inhabitants are better friends with them, then with any other Nation ; because they come much there, and for that no other Nations come to buy slaves there, but the Portugals onely. And there are some Portugals dwelling there, which buy much wares and Merchandizes, such as there to bee had. From Rio de Ardra, to Rio de Lago, is ten miles, and in that River there is nothing else to buy, and therefore it is not much used, so that Rio de Ardra, is more used then Rio de Volta, and Rio de Lago ; from Rio de Lago to Rio de Benni, is about twenty miles, so that Benni is esteemed to be part of the golden Coast, that is about one hundred miles from Mourre, so that in two dayes with helpe of the streame, a man may get thither, where as men are wont to be sixe weekes : before they could turne backe againe from whence they came.

*The Citie of  
Benni.*

The Towne seemeth to be very great, when you enter into it, you goe into a great broad street, not paved, which seemeth to be seven or eight times broader then the Warmoes street in Amsterdam ; which goeth right out, and never crooketh, and where I was lodged with Mattheus Cornelison, it was at least a quarter of an houres going from the gate, and yet I could not see to the end of the

## A DESCRIPTION OF BENIN

A.D.  
c. 1602.

street, but I saw a great high tree, as farre as I could discerne, and I was told the street was as much longer. There I spake with a Netherlander, who told me that he had beene as farre as that tree, but saw no end of the street; but perceived that the houses thereabouts bee much lesse, and some houses that were falling downe: so that it was to be thought, that the end thereof was there abouts, that tree was a good halfe mile from the house where I was lodged, so that it is thought that that street is a mile long besides the Suburbs. At the gate where I entred on horse-backe, I saw a very high Bulwarke, very thicke of earth, with a very deepe broad ditch, but it was drie, and full of high trees; I spake with one that had gone along by the ditch, a good way, but saw no other then that I saw, and knew not well whither it went round about the Towne or not, that Gate is a reasonable good Gate, made of wood after their manner, which is to be shut, and there alwayes there is watch holden. Without this Gate, there is a great Suburbe: when you are in the great Street aforesaid, you see many great Streets on the sides thereof, which also goe right forth, but you cannot see to the end of them, by reason of their great length, a man might write more of the situation of this Towne, if he might see it, as you may the Townes in Holland, which is not permitted there, by one that alwaies goes with you, some men say, that he goeth with you, because you should have no harme done unto you, but yet you must goe no farther then he will let you.

*These are  
Dutch miles.*

[II. vii. 966.]

The Houses in this Towne stand in good order, one close and even with the other, as the Houses in Holland stand, such Houses as Men of qualitie (which are Gentlemen) or others dwell in, have two or three steps to goe up, and before, there is, as it were, a Gallerie, where a man may sit drie; which Gallerie every morning is made cleane by their Slaves, and in it there is a Mat spred for men to sit on, their Roomes within are foure-square, over them having a Roofe that is not close in the middle, at the which place, the raine, wind, and light commeth in, and

*Their Houses.*

A.D.  
c. 1602.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

therein they lie and eate their meate; but they have other places besides, as Kitchins and other roomes. The common Houses are not such, for they have but one Wall before, wherein there is a wooden Doore, they know not how to make Windowes, but such light and aire as they have, comes in at the rooffe of the House.

*The Court.* The Kings Court is very great, within it having many great foure-square Plaines, which round about them have Galleries, wherein there is alwaies watch kept; I was so farre within that Court, that I passed over foure such great Plaines, and wheresoever I looked, still I saw Gates upon Gates, to goe into other places, and in that sort I went as farre as ever any Netherlander was, which was to the Stable where his best Horses stood, alwaies passing a great long way: it seemeth that the King hath many Souldiers, he also hath many Gentlemen, who when they come to the Court ride upon Horses, and sit upon their Horses as the women in our Countrie doe, on each side having one man, on whom they hold fast; and the greater their estate is, the more men they have going after them. Some of their men have great Shields, wherewith they keepe the Gentleman from the Sunne; they goe next to him, except those on whom hee leaneth, the rest come after him, playing some on Drums, others upon Hornes and Fluits, some have a hollow Iron whereon they strike. The Horse also is led by a man, and so they ride playing to the Court. Such as are very great Gentlemen have another kind of Musicke, when they ride to the Court, which is like the small Nets wherewith men in our Countries goe to the Fish-market, which Net is filled full of a certaine kind of thing, which they strike upon with their hands, and make it rattle, in like sort as if their Nets were filled full of great Nuts, and so a man should strike upon it: those great Gentlemen have many Servants, that goe after them striking upon such Nets. The King hath very many Slaves, both men and women, whereof there are many women Slaves seene, carrying of Water, Iniamus, and Palme-wine, which they say is for the Kings wives. There are also many men



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Slaves seene in the Towne, that carrie Water, Iniamus, and Palme-wine, which they say is for the King ; and many carrie Grasse, which is for their Horses ; and all this is carried to the Court. The King oftentimes sendeth out Presents of Spices, which are carried orderly through the streets, and as the other things aforesaid are carried, so they that carrie them goe one after the other, and by them, there goeth one or two with white Rods, so that every man must step aside and give them place, although hee were a Gentleman.

The King hath many Wives, and every yeere goes twice out of his Court, and visiteth the Towne, at which time he sheweth all his Power and Magnificence, and all the Braverie he can, then he is convoyed and accompanied by all his Wives, which are above sixe hundred in number, but they are not all his wedded Wives. The Gentleman also have many Wives, as some have eightie, some ninetie and more, and there is not the meanest Man among them but hath ten or twelve Wives at the least, whereby in that place you find more Women then Men.

*Sixe hundred  
Wives.  
Gentlemen  
their making.*

They also have severall places in the Towne, where they keepe their Markets ; in one place they have their great Market day, called Dia de Ferro ; and in another place, they hold their little Market, called Ferro : to those places they bring all things to sell, as quicke Dogs, whereof they eate many, roasted Apes, and Monkies, Rats, Parots, Hens, Iniamus, Manigette in bonches, dried Agedissen, Palme-oyle, great Beanes, divers sorts of Kankrens, with many other kinds of Fruits, and Beasts, all to eate. They also bring much Wood to burne, Cups to eate and drinke in, and other sorts of wooden Dishes and Cups for the same purpose, great store of Cotton, whereof they make Clothes to weare upon their bodies. Their Apparell is of the same fashion as theirs of the Golden Coast is, but it is fairer and finelier made ; but to shew you the manner thereof it would be over-long. They also bring great store of Ironworke to sell there, and Instruments to fish withall, others to plow and to till the land withall ; and many Weapons,

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as Assagaies, and Knives also for the Warre. This Market and Traffique is there very orderly holden, and every one that commeth with such Wares or Merchandises to the Market knowes his place where to stand, to sell his Wares in the same, they also sell their Wives as they doe in the Golden Coast.

[II. vii. 967.]  
*Their fashions.*

The Gentlemen goe with great Majestie to the Court, having divers kinds of Musicke with them, and are waited on by divers other Negroes, one having a Drum whereon he playes, others with other Instruments; upon the Horse there is a little wooden Stoole set, and on the Horse necke they hang a Cow-bell, which rings when the Horse goes; there goes two Negroes by him, on either side one, on whom he leaneth. Those Negroes that attend on him, come every morning to the Gentlemans doore, and stay there till he comes out, to wait on him. Their Horses are very little, not much greater then Calves in our Countrie, which is the cause that our Horses are so much esteemed of in that Coast. The King hath many Souldiers which are subject unto him, and they have a Generall to command over them, as if he were their Captaine: This Captaine hath some Souldiers under him, and goes alwaies in the middle of them, and they goe round about him, singing and leaping, and making great noise, and joy. Those Captaines are very proud of their Office, and are very stately, and goe exceeding proudly in the streets. Their Swords are broad, which hang about their necke in a leather Girdle which reacheth under their armes: they also use Shields and Assagaies, as they in the Golden Coast doe.

*Warres.*

*Apparell.*

They cut their Haire diversly, each after the best manner that they can. Their apparell also is the like, and use strange customes, not one like unto another, all finely made of Cotton, over the which they commonly weare Holland Cloth. The young Maides and Boyes goe starke naked, untill they marrie, or that the King giveth them licence to put on some Apparell; then they make great joy, because of the friendship the King therein sheweth

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unto them, and then they make their bodies very cleane, and strike it over with white Earth, and are very stately, sitting in great glorie and magnificence. Their friends come unto them, to congratulate them, as if shee were a Bride. They are circumcised, both Boyes and Girles. They cut three great streakes in their bodies on either side, each streak being three fingers broad, which they doe from their shoulders downe to their wastes, which they thinke to be a great good deed tending to their salvation. They are very conscionable, and will doe no wrong one to the other, neither will take any thing from strangers, for if they doe, they should afterward be put to death, for they lightly judge a man to die for doing any wrong to a stranger, wherein they use strange Justice: they bind the Offenders armes behind at his backe, and blind his eyes, then one of the Judges comes and lifts him up with his armes, in such manner, that his head lieth almost upon the ground, then comes the Executioner and cuts off his head; which done, his bodie is quartered, and the quarters cast into the fields to bee devoured by certaine Birds, which Birds they feare much, and no man dares doe them any hurt, nor chase them, for there are men purposely appointed to give them meat and drinke, which they carrie with great magnificence, but no man may see it carried, nor bee present, but those that are appointed to doe it; for every man runnes out of the way when they see those men come to carrie the Birds meate, and they have a place where the Birds come purposely for it. They respect strangers very much, for when any man meeteth them, they will shun the way for him and step aside, and dare not bee so bold to goe by, unlesse they be expressly bidden by the partie, and prayed to goe forward, and although they were never so sore laden, yet they durst not doe it; for if they did, they should be punished for it: They are also very covetous of honour, and willingly desire to be praised and rewarded for any friendship they doe.

*Wrong to a  
Stranger.*

*Birds super-  
stitiously  
respected.*

Upon the Iland of Corisco, or about Rio de Angra, in *Rio de Angra.*

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*Corisco.*

the mouth whereof the Iland of Corisco lieth. The Iland of Corisco is a bad place to dwell in, for no man dwelleth in it, for there is nothing to be had in it but fresh Water and Wood, so that the ships that come from the Golden Coast, and fall upon it, provided themselves there, of Water and Wood. Within the River there lieth three other small Ilands, which also are worth nothing, because they yeeld no profit, and there is nothing abounding in them but Wood. Those Ilands at this day are called (for before they had no names) the Ile De Moucheron, because one Balthasar de Moucheron had by his Factors found them, wherein he caused a Fort to be made, in the yeere 1600. thinking to dwell there, and to bring great Traffique from other places thither. But they of Rio de Gabom, understanding that there were Strangers inhabiting in them, sought all the meanes they could to murder them, and to take both the Fort and their Goods from them, which they did, before they had dwelt foure moneths there, (under a Captaine called Edward Hesius) and tooke the Sconce from them by force, murdering all the men that were in it, and called it the Iland of Corisco, which name it had of the Portugals, because upon that Iland there are many Tempests of thunder and lightning, and great store of Raine, and therefore it is not good to inhabite in, and there will nothing grow therein but Cucumbers. It is well provided of fresh Water, excellent faire red Beanes, and Brasill wood, so exceeding faire and glistering, when it is shaven, as any Glasse can be, which is so hard, that without great paine and labour it cannot be cut downe. The Iland is almost a great mile in compasse, but it is a bad anchoring place, when the Travadoes come.

*Moucheron.*

From Rio de Angra, to Rio de Gabom, is fiftene miles. The Inhabitants of Rio de Gabom, are not friends with them of Rio de Angra, for they oftentimes make warre  
[II.vii. 968.] one against the other, and then againe make peace, so that the friendship betweene them is very small, they have a King among them, but they are not so mightie as those of Rio de Gabom, but better people to deale withall then

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those of Gabom, for since the time that they of Gabom, tooke the Skonce and the goods of Moucheron, and kild the men, they of Rio de Angra would have nothing to doe with them, but were grieved that it was done, but because they feared them of Rio de Gabom, and of Pongo; they durst not withstand them: with those Negroes there is much Traffique to be had, and there are many Teeth to buy, but not so many as in Rio de Gabom, but when you Traffique there you must not stay long with your shallop or boate there, for if you deale not with them for their Teeth in two or three dayes, you shall not deale with them at all, for by reason that few Pinnasses or shallops come thither to Traffique, therefore the Negros bring all their Teeth thither at the first, to barter for other Wares. Their speech is not like theirs of Gabom, but for opinion and religion they are almost one, and agree therein.

The River of Gabom, lyeth about fifteene miles Southward from Rio de Angra, and eight miles Northward from Cape De Lopo Gonsalves, and is right under the Equinoctiall Line, about fifteene miles from Saint Thomas, and is a great Land well and easily to bee knowne. At the mouth of the River there lyeth a Sand three or foure fathome deepe, whereon it beateth mightily, with the streame which runneth out of the River into the Sea. This River in the mouth thereof is at least foure miles broad, but when you are about the Iland called Pongo, it is not above two miles broad, on both sides the River there standeth many trees. The Iland lyeth neere to the North, then the South, and a little further there is an Iland wherein there is good provision to be had, as of Bannanas, Iniamus, and Oranges; about two miles within the River you have eight fathome deepe, good anchor ground. This Coast reacheth North and South, the depth a good way from the Land about a mile or a mile and an halfe is twelve and thirteene fathome, and halfe a mile from the Land, it is foure, five, sixe, and seven fathome, you may goe neere about it, because all along that Coast it is good anchor ground, by night you have the wind off from the Land,

*R. Gabom.*

*Pongo.*

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*Three Kings.*

and by day from the Sea. This River hath three mightie Kings in it, which raigne therein, as one King on the North point, called Caiombo, and one upon the South point, called Gaborn, and one in the Iland, called Pongo, which hath a monstrous high hill; hee of Pongo is strongest of men, and oftentimes makes warre upon him of Gaborn, he of Caiombo, is a great friend to him of Pongo, and the Inhabitants of the South point of the River, are great friends with those of Cape De Lopo Gonsalves.

*Cape Gonsalves.*

The twelfth of December, we got to Cape Lopo Gonsalves, where we found three ships lying at anchor, two of Zeland, and one of Schiedam. Touching their Religion, they neither know God nor his Commandements, some of them pray to the Sunne, others to the Moone, others to certaine trees, or to the Earth, because they receive food from thence, so that they esteeme it a great fault to spit upon the Earth, they goe little abroad in the streets, but when they goe abroad, they carrie a great broad Knife in their hands: both the men and the women have their bodies pinkt in divers sorts, strange to behold, wherein they put certaine Grease, mixt with colour, they will not drinke before they first put some of it out of the Pot or Kan, and when they eate they use not to drinke, but when they have dined, then they drinke a great draught of water, or of Palme-wine, or else of Malaffo, which is mixed or made of Honey water. In the morning as soone as it is day, they goe to salute their Commander, or Chaueponso, and to bid him good morrow, and when they come to him they fall downe upon their knees, and clapping both their hands together, say, Fino, Fino, Fino, whereby they wish peace, quietnesse, and all good unto him.

They are much addicted to Theeverie, and to steale some-thing, specially from Strangers, whereof they make no conscience, but thinke they doe well, but they will not steale one from another. The women also are much addicted to Leacherie and Uncleannesse; specially, with

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strange Nations, whereby they thinke they get great credit, and which is more, the men offer their wives unto strangers that come thither, and the King himselfe presenteth and honoureth Strangers with some of his Wives, whereof he hath a great number. They have a filthy custome among them, which is, that the King when any of his Daughters waxe great, hee taketh and keepeth them for his Wives, and the use of their bodies. The like is done by the Queenes his Wives, when their Sonnes beginne to be great, for they lie with them, as well as the King doth with his Daughters. Their apparell is fairer then theirs on the Golden Coast, for they trimme their bodies more; about their middles to hide their Privities. They weare a Mat made of barks of trees, which is coloured red, with a kind of red wood wherewith they dye it, upon those Mats, they hang some Apes and Monkeyes skinnnes, or of other wild beasts, with a Bell in the middle, such as Cowes and Sheepe have about their neckes. They paint their bodies red, with a colour made of red wood, which is verie good, but much lighter then Brasil-wood, oftentimes they make one of their eyes white, the other red or yellow, with a streake or two in their faces, some weare round Beades about their neckes made of barks, some small, some great, not much unlike the Boxes, which men in Hamborough hang up to put money in for the poore, but they will not suffer you to looke what is in them. The men and women also for the most part goe bare-headed, with their haire shoared and pleated diversly, some of them weare Caps made of the barks of Cocos or Indian Nut-trees, others weare bunches of feathers made fast to their haire with little Irons, some of them have holes in their upper lips, and through their Noses, wherein they put pieces of Elxen bones, as thicke as a Doller with a stalke, which shutteth the hole, which being thrust in comes out at the Nose, and over their mouthes, which serveth their turnes well and to good purpose, when they are sicke and fall into a swoound, and that men cannot open their hands by force, then they take that bone and crush the sap of some greene herbe through

*Incestuous  
customs.*

*Apparell and  
ornaments.  
[II.vii.969.]*

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it, wherewith they come to themselves again, so that they serve them for two purposes. Some weare Rings in their lips and in the middle part of their Noses, some thrust small Hornes or Teeth through them, and weare them so, which they thinke to bee a great ornament unto them, others boare a hole in their neather lips, and play with their Tongues in the hole; many of their men and women weare Rings in their eares, whereof some weigh at least a pound weight, some have stickes thrust through them, of five or sixe fingers long, most of them, specially the men weare a Girdle about their middles made of Buffols skin, with the haire still on it, which meeteth not together before by almost a hand breadth, with a piece thereof sticking out at each end, which is tyed together with a small cord of Threed, upon their bellies they carrie a broad Iron Knife, the sheath thereof also being of Iron: some of those Girdles are a hand broad, and some two or three handfuls broad. Besides those, they use another sort of Knives, with two or three points, which are very fearefull to behold, wherewith they cast at a man, and wheresoever they hit they take hold.

*Armes.* They are better armed for weapons then they of Myna, or the Golden Coast, their Armes are Pikes, or Assagaies, Bowes, and Arrowes, long Targets made of barks of Trees. Their Drummes are narrow below and broad above, their Pikes are very cunningly made, for they are very curious Workmen in Iron; the women carrie their Husbands Armes for him, and when they will use them, their Wives give them: they are cruell and fierce against their Enemies, and fight one against the other by Land and by Water in Canoes, and when they take any of their Enemies (they were wont in times past to eate them, but now they doe it not) they put them to great torture.

The women also set themselves out verie faire (as they thinke) and weare many red Copper and Tinne Rings upon their armes and legges, some one, others two; which many times weigh three or foure pound weight, which are so fast and close about their armes, that men can hardly



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imagine how they get them on; those Rings also are worne by some men, but more by women. The women weare Aprons made of Rushes, which I have seene them make. Touching their clothes and setting forth of their bodies, it is beastly and unseemely. They have no lesse unseemelnesse in their eating and house-keeping, for they live like beasts, and sleepe upon Mats laid upon the ground, which they make very cunningly. The chiefe meate they eate is Iniamus, Batates, and Bannanas. The Bannanas they use in stead of bread, when it is well dried, they also eate fish and flesh, with Roots and Sugar-canes: they lay all their meate in one dish, and sit round about it, and eate like a company of beasts. Their King called, Mani, eateth his meate out of a Tinne Platter, but the rest in wooden Platters, sitting upon a Mat spread upon the ground. *Dyett.*

The greatest labour the women doe, is to fetch water, to gather fruit, and to dresse their meate: their Houses are finely made of Reeds, and covered over with Bannanas leaves, and better and cleaner then the Houses in the Golden Coast. The King hath a faire House greater then any in all the Towne, he is called Golipatta, hee is bravely set out with many Beads made of beanes and shels, which are dyed red, and hanged about his necke, and upon his armes and legs, they strike their faces with a kind of white colour, they are very much subject to their Kings, and doe him great honour when they are in his presence: before his House there lyeth an Iron Peece, with certaine Bases which he bought in former time of the Frenchmen. They are verie subtile to learne how to use all kind of Armes; specially, our small Gunnes. Their Winter is from April to August, at which time it is exceeding hot, and few cleere daies, and then it raineth mightily with great drops, which fall so hot upon the stones that they presently dry up, by which meanes also the waters are thicke and slimie, in the Rivers and also upon the shoare. There is good fishing, Oysters grow on the branches of the Trees, which hang downe into the *The King.*  
*Oysters on Trees.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

water. They draw their speech long, so that it is better to learne then theirs in the Golden Coast. The Cape is low Land, and is well to be knowne, for there is no Land thereabouts, that reacheth so farre Westerly into the Sea as that doth, it lyeth about a degree Southward from the Equinoctiall Line. When you are at the Cape, there is a River which lyeth South-east from it, about three miles, whereinto the shallops commonly saile, to barter for some Teeth, which are there to bee had in the Village, which lyeth about foure miles upwards within the River: In this River there are many Sea-horses, and Crocodiles, so that it is thought that the River of Nilus joyneth thereunto, and hath an issue there into the Sea: In this Countrey there are many cruell and strange beasts, as Elephants, Buffols, Dragons, Snakes, Apes, Monkeyes, which are very fearefull to behold, and very hurtfull.

[II. vii. 970.]  
*Cruelty of  
Gabom.*

Those people are better to be dealt withall, then they of Gabom, and we find not, that they beare any spight or malice to the Netherlanders, (as they of Gabom have done) in Anno 1601. to a ship called the Palme-tree, and to another, called the Moorein of Delft, as also to a Spanish Barke, who in short time, one after the other they fell upon, and taking them, kild all the men and eate them, with divers other such trickes more by them done: but for that it is good for the ships in that place to lie and refresh themselves, to fetch water, and to Calke them: therefore all the ships lie most at this place, to make themselves ready, and fit to returne backe againe. About this Cape there lie many Sands, whereon a ship might soone smite, but behind the bankes there is no feare, the Lead will give a man meanes to find his way well enough.

*Of divers  
parts of  
Guinea and  
especially of  
Cape Sierra  
Leona, &c. See  
Keelings and  
Finches Jour-  
nals before.*

## ANDREW BATTELL

A.D.  
1589-1607.

### Chap. III.

The strange adventures of Andrew Battell of Leigh in Essex, sent by the Portugals prisoner to Angola, who lived there, and in the adjoining Regions, neere eighteene yeeres.

#### §. I.

Andrew Battell, his Voyage to the River of Plate, who being taken on the Coast of Brasill, was sent to Angola.



IN the yeere 1589, Abraham Cocke of Lime-house, began his Voyage toward the River of Plate, with two Pinnasses of fiftie Tuns a peece: The one was called the May-morning; the other, the Dolphin. We sailed from the River of Thames, the twentieth of Aprill; and the

*Abraham  
Cocks  
Voyage.*

sixe and twentieth of the same moneth, we put into Plimmoth, where we tooke in some provision for the Voyage. The seventh of May we put to Sea, and with foule weather were beaten backe againe into Plimmoth, where we remained certaine dayes, and then proceeded on our Voyage: and running along the Coast of Spaine, and Barbarie, we put into the Roade of Sancta Cruz, and there set our Light-horse-man together, which we carried in two pieces; Abraham Cocke made great account hereof, thinking that this Boat should have made his Voyage. This done, we put to Sea, and running along the Coast of Guinea, wee were becalmed; because wee wer so neere the Coast.

*Santa Cruz.*

*Calmes on the  
Coast of  
Guinea.*

Heere our men fell sicke of the Scurvie, in such sort, that there were very few sound. And being within three or foure Degrees of the Equinoctiall line, we fell with the Cape De las Palmas, where we had some refreshing, where-with our men recovered. The people of the Cape de las

*The Scorbute.*

*Cape de las  
Palmas.*

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*Trecherous  
people.*

*San Tome.  
Ilhas das  
Rolas.*

*They burne  
Village.  
The Towne of  
San Tome.*

*Cape de lopo  
Gonsalves.*

*Some hurt.*

*They depart  
from San  
Tome.*

Palmas made much of us, saying, that they would trade with us: but it was but to betray us. For they are very treacherous, and were like to have taken our boat, and hurt some of our men. From this Cape we lay South-west off, but the Current and the Calmes deceived us; so that we were driven downe to the Ile of Saint Thome, thinking that we had beene farther off to the Sea then we were. And being in distresse for wood and water, we went in on the South end betweene San Tome, and the Ilands Das Rolas: where we rode very smooth, and with our Light-horse-man went on shoare, thinking to have watered: but wee found none in the Iland. Heere we had great store of Plantans and Oranges. We found a Village of Negroes, which are sent from San Tome, for the Portugals of San Tome do use, when their slaves be sicke or weake, to send them thither to get their strength againe. For the Ilands are very fruitful; and though there be no fresh water, yet they maintaine themselves with the wine of the Palme trees. Having refreshed our selves with the fruit of this Iland, we burned the Village. And running on the East side of San Tome, we came before the Towne; but we durst not come neere: for the Castle shot at us, which hath very good Ordnance in it.

Then we lay East and by South toward the Maine, and in foure and twentie houres, we had sight of the Cape De lopo Gonsalves: and being within three Leagues of the said Cape, we cast about and stood againe toward the Iland of San Tome, and turned up on the West side of the Iland: and comming to a little River, which runneth out of the Mountaines, we went on shore with our Light-horse-man, with sixe or seven Buts to fill with water. But the Governour had imbosked one hundred men of the Iland; and when we were on shore, they came upon us, and killed one of our men, and hurt another: wherefore we retired to our Boat, and gate aboard.

Then Abraham Cocke determined to fetch the Coast of Brasil, and lay West South-west into the Sea: and being some fiftie Leagues off, we fell into a Scull of

## ANDREW BATTELL

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Dolphins, which did greatly relieve us: for they did follow our ship all the way, till we fell with the land: which was some thirtie dayes. And running along the Coast of Brasil, till we came to Illha Grande, which standeth in five Degrees Southward of the line: we put in betwixt the Iland and the Maine, and haled our ships on shoare, and washed them, and refreshed our selves, and tooke in fresh water. In this Iland are no Inhabitants, but it is very fruitfull. And being heere some twelve dayes, there came in a little Pinnasse, which was bound to the River of Plate, which came in to water, and to get some refreshment: and presently we went aboard, and tooke the Portugall Merchant out of the Pinnasse, which told Abraham Cocke, that within two moneths there should two Pinnasses come from the River of Plate, from the Towne of Buenos Aieres.

[II. vii. 971.]  
*Illha Grande  
in five Degrees  
to the South  
of the line, on  
the Coast of  
Brasil.*

From this Towne there come every yeere foure or five Caravels to Bahia in Brasil, and to Angola in Africa: which bring great store of Treasure, which is transported over land out of Peru, into the River of Plate. Then Abraham Cocke desirous to make his Voyage, tooke some of the Dolphins men into his ship, and sent the Dolphin home againe, which had not as yet made any Voyage. This Portugall Merchant carried us to a place in this Iland, where there was a banished man, which had planted great store of Plantans; and told us, that we might with this fruit goe to the River of Plate: for our bread and victuals were almost all spent.

*Buenos Aieres.*

*Bahia.*

*The Dolphin  
sent home.*

*The benefit of  
a banished  
man.*

With this hard allowance we departed from this Iland, and were sixe and thirty dayes before we came to the Ile of Labos Marinos, which is in the mouth of the River of Plate. This Iland is halfe a mile long, and hath no fresh water; but doth abound with Seales and Sea-morsses: in such sort, that our Light-horse-man could not get on shoare for them, without we did beat them with our Oares: and the Iland is covered with them. Upon these Seales, we lived some thirty dayes, lying up and downe in the River, and were in great distresse of victuals. Then we

*Ile de Labos  
Marinos.*

*Morsses and  
Seales.*

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*The Towne of Buenos Aires.* determined to run up to Buenos Aires, and with our Light-horse-man to take one of the Pinnasses that rid at the Towne. And being so high up the River as the Towne, wee had a mightie storme at South-west, which drave us backe againe, and we were faine to ride under *Ile Verde.* Isla Verde, that is, the Greene Iland, which is in the mouth of the River on the North side.

*They returne North-ward.* Here we were all discomforted for lacke of victuals, and gave over the Voyage, & came to the Northward again, to the Ile of Sant Sebastian, lying just under the Tropicke of Capricorne. There we went on shoare to catch fish, & some went up into the woods to gather fruit: for we weare all in a manner famished. There was at that time

*The Towne of Spiritu Sancto.* a Canoe fraught with Indians, that came from the Towne of Spiritu Sancto. These Indians landed on the West side of the Iland, and came through the woods, and tooke five of us, and carried us to the River of Janeiro. After this mischance, our Captaine Abraham Cocke went to Sea, and was never heard of more.

*The River of Janeiro.* When wee that were taken had remained four moneths in the River of Janeiro, I and one Torner were sent to Angola in Africa to the Citie of Saint Paul, which standeth in nine Degrees to the Southward of the Equinoctiall line. Heere I was presently taken out of the ship, and put into prison, and sent up the River Quansa to a Towne of Garrison, which is one hundred and thirtie miles up the River. And being there two moneths, the Pilot of the Governors Pinnasse died: then I was commanded to carrie her downe to the Citie, where I presently fell sicke, and lay eight moneths in a poore estate: for they hated me because I was an English-man. But being recovered of my sicknesse, Don John Hurtado de Mendoza, who then was Governor, commanded me to goe to the River of Congo, called Zaire, in a Pinnasse, to trade for Elephants teeth, Wheate, and Oyle of the Palme-tree. The River Zaire is fiftie Leagues from the Citie to the Northward, and is the greatest River in all that Coast. In the mouth of this River is an Iland, called the Ile De Calabes, which

*A trade for Elephants teeth, and Oyle of the Palme tree.*  
*Ile de Calabes.*

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had at that time a Towne in it. Heere we laded our Pinnasse with Elephants teeth, Wheate, and Oyle of the Palme, and so returned to the Citie againe.

### §. II.

His trading on the Coast, offer to escape, imprisonment, exile ; escape, and new imprisonment : his sending to Elambo, and Bahia Das Vaccas ; Many strange occurrents.

**T**hen I was sent to Longo, which is fiteene Leagues to the North-ward of the River Zaire : and carried all Commodities fit for that Countrey ; as long Glasse-beads, and round Blew beads, and Seed beads, and Looking-glasses, Blew and Red course cloth, and Irish Rugs, which were very rich Commodities. Heere wee sold our cloth at a great rate, for we had for one yard of cloth, three Elephants teeth, that weighed one hundred and twenty pound : and we bought great store of Palme-cloth, and Elephants tayles. So in little time, we laded our Pinnasse. For this Voyage I was very welcome to the Governour ; who promised me my liberty, if I would serve him. So I went in his Pinnasse two yeeres and a halfe upon the Coast.

*Blew and Red  
course woollen  
cloth and Irish  
Rugs, rich  
Commodities.*

Then there came a ship of Holland to the Citie, the Merchant of which ship promised to carrie me away. And when they were readie to depart, I went secretly aboard ; but I was bewrayed by Portugals, which sailed in the ship, and was fetched on shoare by the Sergeants of the Citie, and put in prison, and lay with great bolts of Iron two moneths, thinking that the Governour would have put me to death : but at last, I was banished for ever, to the Fort of Massangano, to serve in the Conquest of those Parts. Here I lived a most miserable life for the space of sixe yeeres, without any hope to see the Sea againe.

*rescue?  
[II. vii. 972.]  
A ship of  
Holland, on  
that Coast.  
be bewrayed*

*Imprisonment.*

*Massangano  
Fort.*

*Sixe yeeres  
miserie.*

In this Fort there were Egyptians and Moriscoes, that were banished as my selfe. To one of these Egyptians I brake my mind, and told him, that it were better for us

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*He fleeth from  
Massangano.  
The River  
Coanza.  
Elamba.*

to venture our lives for our libertie, then to live in that miserable place. The Egyptian was as willing as my selfe, and told me, he would procure ten of his consorts to goe with us. So we got three Egyptians, and seven Portugals. That night, we got the best Canoe that we could find, and went downe the River Coanza: and being as farre downe as Mani Cabech, which is a little Lord in the Province of Elamba, we went on shoare with our twelve Muskets, Powder, and Shot. Heere we sunke our Canoe, because they should not know where we went on shoare. We made a little fire in the Wood, and scorched Ginie Wheat, which we brought from Massangano to relieve us, for we had none other food.

*A Province  
of Princes  
of the  
River*

*Mani Cabech.  
Lake of  
Casansa.*

*The Towne of  
Mani  
Casansa, is  
twelve leagues  
from the Citie  
of San Paulo.*

Assoone as it was night, wee tooke our journey all that night, and the next day without any water at all. The second night, we were not able to goe, and were faine to digge and scrape up rootes of Trees, and sucke them to maintaine life. The third day, wee met with an old Negro, which was travailing to Mani Cabech, we bound his hands behind him, and made him leade us the way to the Lake of Casansa. And travailing all the day in this extreme hot Countrie, we came to the Bansa, or Towne of Mani Casansa, which lieth within the Land twelve leagues from the Citie of San Paulo. Here we were forced to aske water: but they would give us none. Then we determined to make them flee their houses with our shot: but seeing that we were desperately bent, they called their Lord Mani Casansa, who gave us water and faire speeches, desiring us to stay all night, onely to betray us: but we departed presently, and rested that night in the Lake of Casansa.

*The River  
Bengo.*

*Abundance of  
dangerous  
Crocodiles.  
The River  
Dande.*

*Manibangono.*

The fourth day at night, we came to the River which is toward the North, and passed it with great danger. For there are such abundance of Crocodiles in this River, that no man dare come neere the River side, where it is deepe. The fift day at night, wee came to the River Dande, and travailed so farre to the Eastward, that we were right against the Serras, or Mountaines of Manibangono, which is a Lord that warreth against the King of Congo, whither



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wee intended to goe. Here we passed the River, and rested halfe the night. And being two leagues from the River, we met with Negroes, which asked us, whither we travailed. Wee told them, that we were going to Congo. These Negroes said, that we were in the wrong way, and that they were Masicongos, and would carrie us to Bambe, where the Duke of Bambe lay.

*guides -  
necessary  
for travell.  
intermediate  
place -*

So wee went some three miles East up into the Land, till wee perceived that we were the wrong way: for we travailed by the Sunne, and would goe no further that way: and turned backe againe to the Westward, they stood before us with their Bowes, Arrowes and Darts, readie to shoot at us. But we determining to goe through them, discharged sixe Muskets together, and killed foure; which did amaze them, and made them to retire. But they followed us foure or five miles, and hurt two of our companie with their Arrowes. The next day, we came into the borders of Bamba, and travailed <sup>very</sup> all that day. At night, we heard the surge of the Sea. The seventh day in the morning, we saw the Captain of the Citie come after us with Horsmen, and great store of Negroes. Hereupon our companie being dismayed, seven of our faint-hearted Portugals hid themselves in the Thicket. I and the foure Egyptians thought to have escaped: but they followed us so fast, that we were faine to goe into a little Wood. Assoone as the Captaine had overtaken us, he discharged a volley of shot into the Wood, which made us lose one another.

*Bamba.*

Thus being all alone, I bethought my selfe, that if the Negroes did take me in the Woods, they would kill me: wherefore, thinking to make a better end among the Portugals and Mullatos, I came presently out of the Wood with my Musket readie charged, making none account of my life. But the Captaine, thinking that we had beene all twelve together, called to me, and said, Fellow Souldier, I have the Governours pardon, if you will yeeld your selves, you shall have no hurt. I having my Musket readie, answered the Captaine, that I was an Englishman,

*A. B. left  
alone.*

*His resolution.*

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and had served sixe yeeres at Massangono, in great miserie; and came in companie with eleven Portugals and Egyptians, and here am left all alone; and rather then I will be hanged, I will die amongst you. Then the Captaine came neere unto me, and said; Deliver thy Musket to one of the Souldiers, and I protest, as I am a Gentleman, and a Souldier, to save thy life, for thy resolute mind. Whereupon I yeelded up my Musket and my selfe.

*He yeeldeth.*

*They were taken prisoners, and sent again to the Citie of San Paulo.*

Then the Captaine commanded all the Souldiers and Negroes to search the Woods, and to bring them out alive or dead; which was presently done. Then they carried us to the Citie of San Paulo: where I, and the three Egyptians lay in Prison three moneths, with Collars of Iron, and great Bolts upon our legs, and hardly escaped.

[II. vii. 973.]  
*Four hundred banished Portugals employed in the Warres. Sowonso.*

At that time the Governour sent foure hundred men, that were banished out of Portugall, up into the Countrey of Elambe. Then I was with Proclamation through the Citie banished for ever to the warres, and marched with them to Sowonso, which is a Lord, that obeyed the Duke of Bambe: from thence to Samanibansa, and then to Namba Calamba, which is a great Lord, who did resist us: but we burned his Towne, and then he obeyed us, and brought three thousand warlike Negroes to us. From thence to Sollancango a little Lord, that fought very desperately with us, but was forced to obey: and then to Combrecaianga, where we remayned two yeares. From this place wee gave many assaults, and brought many Lords to subjection. Wee were fifteene thousand strong, and marched to the Outeiro, or Mountaine of Ingombe. But first we burned all Ingasia, which was his Countrey, and then we came to the chiefe Towne of Ingombe, which is halfe a dayes journey to goe up.

*Namba Calamba. Sollancango.*

*Combrecaianga.*

*Ingasia. Ingombe.*

This Lord came upon us with more then twentie thousand Bowes, and spoyled many of our men. But with our shot we made a great spoyle among them, whereupon he rettyred up into the Mountaine, and sent one of his Captaines to our Generall; signifying, that the next day

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hee would obey him. The next day he entred our Campe in great pompe with Drums, Petes, and Pongoes, or Waytes, and was royally received: and he gave great Presents, and greatly inriched the Generall, and them which marched up. Upon the toppe of the Mountaine is a great Plaine, where he hath his chiefe Towne; verie fresh, full of Palme-trees, Sugar-canes, Potatos, and other roots, and great store of Oranges and Limons. Here is a Tree that is called Engeriyay, that beareth a fruit as big as a Pome-water, and hath a stone in it, present remedie for the Wind Cholicke, which was strange to the Portugals. Here is a River of fresh water, that springeth out of the Mountaine, and runneth all along the Towne. Wee were here five dayes, and then we marched up into the Countrey, and burned and spoyled for the space of sixe weekes; and then returned to Engombe againe with great store of slaves, sheepe and Goates, and great store of Margarite stones, which are currant money in that Land. Here we pitched our Campe a league from this pleasant Mountaine, which remayned twelve monethes: but I was shot in my right legge, and many Portugals and Mullatos, were carried to the Citie to be cured.

*A fruit good  
for the Collick.*

*more  
burned  
spoyled*

Then the Governour sent a Frigat to the South-ward with sixtie Souldiers, my selfe beeing one of the company, and all kind of Commodities. We turned up to the South-ward till wee came into twelve degrees. Here we found a faire sandie Bay. The people of this place brought us Cowes and Sheepe, Wheate and Beanes; but we stayed not there, but came to Bahia das Vaccas, that is, the Bay of Cowes, which the Portugals call, Bahia de Torre, because it hath a rocke like a Towre. Here wee roade on the North-side of the Rocke in a sandie Bay; and bought great store of Cowes, and Sheepe bigger then our English Sheepe, and very fine Copper. Also we bought a kind of sweet wood, called Cacongo, which the Portugals esteeme much, and great store of Wheate and Beanes. And having laded our Barke wee sent her home: but fiftie of us stayed on shoare, and made a little Fort

*Sending to  
Bahia das  
Vaccas, or  
Bahia de  
Torre.*

*Store of Cowes,  
great Sheepe,  
and fine  
Copper.  
Cacongo a  
sweet wood.*

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with rafters of wood, because the people of this place are treacherous, and not to bee trusted. So in seventeene dayes wee had five hundred head of Cattell: and within tenne dayes the Governour sent three shippes and so wee departed to the Citie.

*A good Bay  
and fit refresh-  
ing from the  
East Indies.*

*Endallanbon-  
dos.*

*lack of  
government*

*Cattel bought  
for blue glasse  
beads of an  
inch long.  
Dombe.*

*Mines of fine  
Copper.*

*trans-  
lated*

*Men effemi-  
nate.*

*The attyre of  
their women.*

In this Bay may any ship ride without danger, for it is a smooth Coast. Here may any shippe that commeth out of the East Indies refresh themselves. For the Portugals Carracks now of late come along that Coast, to the Citie to water and refresh themselves. These people are called, Endallanbondos, and have no government among themselves: and therefore they are verie trecherous, and those that trade with these people must stand upon their owne guard. They are very simple and of no courage, for thirtie or fortie men may goe boldly up into the Countrey, and fetch downe whole Heards of Cattell. We bought the Cattell for blue glasse-beads of an inch long, which are called, Mopindes; and payd fifteene beads for one Cow.

This Province is called, Dombe, and it hath a ridge of high Serras, or Mountaines, that stretch from the Serras, or Mountaines of Cambambe, wherein are Mines; and lye along that Coast South and by West. Here is great store of fine Copper, if they would worke in their Mines: but they take no more, then they weare for a braverie. The men of this place weare skinnes about their middles, and beads about their neckes. They carrie Darts of Iron, and Bow and Arrowes in their hands. They are beastly in their living, for they have men in womens apparell, whom they keepe among their wives.

Their women weare a Ring of Copper about their neckes, which weigheth fifteene pound at the least, about their armes little Rings of Copper, that reach to their elbowes, about their middles a cloth of the Insandie Tree, which is neither spunne nor woven, on their legs Rings of Copper, that reach to the calves of their legs.

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## §. III.

[II. vii. 974.]

Discoverie of the Gagas; Their Warres, Man-eating; Over-running Countries: His Trade with them, betraying, escape to them, and living with them, with many strange Adventures. And also the Rites and manner of life observed by the Jagges or Gagas, which no Christian could ever know well but this Authour.

**I**N our second Voyage turning up along the Coast, we came to the Morro, or Cliffe of Benguele, which standeth in twelve degrees of Southerly latitude. Here we saw a mighty Cape of men on the Southside of the river Cova. And being desirous to know what they were, we went on shore with our Boat; & presently there came a troop of five hundred men to the water side. We asked them, Who they were? then they told us, that they were the Gagas, or Gindes; that came from \*Serra de Lion, and passed through the Citie of Congo; and so travelled to the East-ward of the great Citie of Angola, which is called Dongo. The great Gaga, which was their Generall, came downe to the waters side to see us. For hee had never seene white men before. He asked, wherefore we came? we told him, that wee came to trade upon the Coast: then he bade us welcome, and called us on shoare with our Commodities: we laded our ship with slaves in seven dayes, and bought them so good cheape, that many did not cost one Riall a piece, which were worth in the Citie twelve Millie-reys.

Being readie to depart the great Giaga stayed us, and desired our Boat to passe his men over the River Cova: for he determined to over-runne the Realme of Benguele, which was on the North-side of the River Cova. So we went with him to his Campe, which was very orderly intrenched with piles of wood. We had Houses provided

*Benguele.*

*\*Lopes was deceived in their originall. The Gagas, a most warlike people.*

*He in discourse with me, called them Jagges, & their Chiefe the Great Jagge. I thinke he writ them Gagas for Giagas by false spelling.*

*The Jagges Campe.*

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for us that night, and many burthens of Palme-wine, Cowes, Goats, and Flowre.

*Their manner  
of remove.*

In the morning before day the Generall did strike his Gongo, which is an Instrument of War that soundeth like a Bell; and presently made an Oration with a loud voice, that all the Campe might heare, that he would destroy the Benguelas, with such couragious and vehement speeches, as were not to be looked for among the Heathen people: and presently they were all in armes, and marched to the Rivers side, where he had provided Gingados. And beeing readie with our Boat and Gingados, the Generall was faine to beate them backe, because of the credit who should be first. We carried over eightie men at once; and with our Muskets we beat the enemy off, and landed, but many of them were slaine. By twelve of the clocke all the Gagas were over.

*Their vaine-  
glorie.*

*The Benguelas  
slaughter.*

Then the Generall commanded all his Drums, Tavales, Petes, Pongos, and all his Instruments of warlike Musicke to strike up, and gave the on-set, which was a bloudie day to the Benguelas. These Benguelas presently broke and turned their backs, and a very great number of them were slaine, and were taken Captives, man, woman and child. The Prince Hombiangymbe was slaine, which was Ruler of this Countrey, and more then one hundred of his chiefe Lords, and their heads presented, and throwne at the feet of the great Gaga. The men, women, and children, that were brought in captive alive, and the dead Corpses that were brought to bee eaten, were strange to behold. For these Gagas are the greatest Canibals and Man-eaters that bee in the World, for they fed chiefly upon mans flesh, having all the Cattell of that Countrey.

*The Gagas are  
the greatest  
Man-eaters in  
the World.*

They settled themselves in this Countrey, and tooke the spoile of it. Wee had great Trade with these Gagas five monethes, and gained greatly by them. These Gagas were not contented to stay in this place of Benguela, although they lacked almost nothing. For they had great store of Cattell and Wheate, and many other

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Commodities, but they lacked Wine: for in these parts there are no Palme-trees.

After the five monethes were expired, they marched toward the Province of Bambala, to a great Lord, that is called Calicansamba, whose Countrey is five dayes journey into the Land. In these five monethes space we made three Voyages to the Citie of San Paul, and comming the fourth time we found them not.

*The Province  
of Bambala.*

Being loth to returne without Trade, wee determined to goe up into the Land after them; So we went fifty on shore, and left our ship riding in the Bay of Benguela to stay for us: and marching two dayes up into the Countrey, we came to a great Lord, which is called Mofarigosat: and comming to his first Towne, we found it burned to the ground, for the Gagas had passed and taken the spoyle. To this Lord we sent a Negro, which we had bought of the Gagas, and lived with us, and bid him say, that he was one of the great Gagas men, and that hee was left to carrie us to the Campe. This Lord bade us welcome for feare of the great Gaga: but hee delayed the time, and would not let us passe, till the Gaga was gone out of his Countrey. This Lord Mofarigosat, seeing that the Gagas were cleere of him, began to palter with us, and would not let us goe out of his Land, till we had gone to the warres with him; for hee thought himselfe a mightie man having us with him. For in this place they never saw white man before, nor Gunnes. So we were forced to goe with him, and destroyed all his Enemies, and returned to his Towne againe. Then we desired him, that he would let us depart: But he denied us, without we would promise him to come againe, and leave a white man with him in pawne.

*Mofarigosat, a  
great Negro  
Lord.*

[II. vii. 975.]

These Portugals and Mulatos being desirous to get away from this place, determined to draw lots who should stay: but many of them would not agree to it. At last they consented together that it were fitter to leave me, because I was an Englishman, then any of themselves. Here I was faine to stay perforce. So they left me a

*Andrew  
Battell left  
with the An-  
dalambandos.*

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Musket, Powder, and shot; promising this Lord Mofari-gosat, that within two monethes they would come againe, and bring an hundred men to helpe him in his Warres, and to trade with him: but all was to shift themselves away, for they feared that he would have taken us all Captives. Here I remayned with this Lord till the two monethes were expired, and was hardly used, because the Portugals came not according to promise.

*In danger of death.*

The chiefe men of this Towne would have put me to death, and stripped me naked, and were readie to cut off mine head. But the Lord of the Towne commanded them to stay longer, thinking that the Portugals would come. And after that I was let loose againe, I went from one Towne to another, shifting for my selfe, within the liberties of this Lord. And beeing in feare of my life among them, I ranne away, purposing to goe to the Campe of the Gagas.

*Cashil a great Towne.*

And having travelled all that night, the next day I came to a great Towne, which was called, Cashil, which stood in a mightie over-growne thicket. Here I was carried into the Towne to the Lord Cashil; and all the Towne great and small came to wonder at mee, for in this place there was never any white man seene. Here were some of the great Gagas men, which I was glad to see, and went with these Gagas to Calicansamba, where the Campe was.

*A Giantly Image called Quesango, and their Idolatrous Rites.*

This Towne of the Lord Cashil is very great, and is so over-growne with Olicondie Trees, Cedars, and Palmes, that the streets are darkened with them. In the middle of the Towne there is an Image, which is as bigge as a man, and standeth twelve foot high: and at the foot of the Image there is a Circle of Elephants Teeth, pitched into the ground. Upon these Teeth stand great store of dead mens skuls, which are killed in the warres, and offered to this Image. They use to powre Palme-wine at his feet, and kill Goats, and powre their bloud at his feet. This Image is called Quesango, and the people have a great beliefe in him, and sweare by him; and doe beleewe



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when they are sick, that Quesango is offended with them. In many places of this Towne were litle Images, and over them great store of Elephants Teeth piled.

The streets of this Towne were paved with Palme-canes very orderly. Their Houses were round like an Hive, and within hanged with fine Mats very curiously wrought. On the South-east end of the Towne was a Mokiso, which had more then three Tunnes of Elephants Teeth piled over him.

*Their streets  
and houses.*

*A Mokisso, or  
Idoll.*

From this Towne of Cashil, I travelled up into the Countrey with the Gagas two dayes, and came to Calicansamba, where the great Gaga had his Campe, and was welcome to him. Among the Caniball people, I determined to live, hoping in God, that they would travell so farre to the West-ward, till we should see the Sea againe; and so I might escape by some ship. These Gagas remayned foure monethes in this place, with great abundance and plentie of Cattle, Corne, Wine, and Oyle, and great triumphing, drinking, dancing, and banquetting with mans flesh, which was an heavie spectacle to behold.

*He commeth  
to the Campe  
of the great  
Gaga.  
Of these  
Giagas,  
reade also  
Pigafettas  
book of Congo,  
translated into  
English by M.  
Hartwell, and  
my Pilgrim-  
age, l. 7.*

At the end of foure monethes they marched toward the Serras, or Mountaines of Cashindcabar, which are mightie high, and have great Copper-mynes, and they tooke the spoyle all the way as they went. From thence they went to the River Longa, and passed it, and settled themselves in the Towne of Calango, and remayned there five or sixe monethes. Then wee arose, and entred into the Province of Tondo, and came to the River Gonsa, and marched on the South-side of the River to a Lord that was called Makellacolonge, neere to the great Citie of Dongo. Here we passed over mightie high Mountaines, and found it very cold.

*But none could  
so well know  
them as this  
Author, which  
lived so long  
with them.  
The River  
Longa.  
Calango.*

*Tondo.  
Gonsa River,  
or Gunza.  
Great cold in  
the high  
Mountaines.*

Having spent sixteene moneths among these Canibals, they marched to the Westward againe, and came along the River Gonsa, or Gunza, to a Lord that is called Shillambansa, Unkle to the King of Angola. We burned his chiefe Towne, which was after their fashion very sumptuously builded. This place is very pleasant and

*Shillambansa  
destroyed.*

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*Store of wild  
Peacocks.*

fruitfull. Heere we found great store of wild Peacockes, flying up and downe the Trees, in as great abundance as other Birds. The old Lord Shillambansa was buried in the middle of the Towne, and had an hundred tame Peacockes kept upon his Grave: which Peacockes he gave to his Mokeso, and they were called Angello Mokeso, that is, The Devils or Idols Birds, and were accounted as holy things. He had great store of Copper, Cloth, and many other things laid upon his Grave; which is the order of that Countrey.

*The River  
Coanza.  
The Moun-  
taines of silver.  
A fall of waters  
heard thirtie  
miles.  
Casama.  
[II.vii. 976.]  
Casoch a great  
Warrier.*

From this place we marched to the Westward, along the River Coanza, and came right against the Serras, or Mountaines of Cambanbe, or Serras de Prata. Here is the great fall of water, that falleth right downe, and maketh a mightie noyse, that is heard thirtie miles. Wee entred into the Province of Casama, and came to one of the greatest Lords, which was called Langere. He obeyed the Great Gaga, and carried us to a Lord, called Casoch, which was a great Warrier; for he had some seven yeeres before, overthrowne the Portugals Campe, and killed eight hundred Portugals, and fortie thousand Negroes, that were on the Portugals side. This Lord did stoutly withstand the Gagas, and had the first day a mightie battaile: but had not the victorie that day. So wee made a Sconse of Trees after their fashion, and remayned foure moneths in the Warres with them. I was so highly esteemed with the Great Gaga, because I killed many Negroes with my Musket, that I had any thing that I desired of him. He would also, when they went out to the Warres, give charge to his men over me. By this meanes I have beene often carried away in their armes, and saved my life. Here we were within three dayes Journey of Massangano, before mentioned, where the Portugals have a Fort: and I sought meanes, and got to the Portugals againe with Merchant Negroes, that came to the Campe to buy Slaves.

*Massangano  
Fort.  
He getteth  
againe to the  
Portugals.  
Discourse of  
Calandola,  
the great  
Jagge.*

There were in the Campe of the Gagas, twelve Captains. The first, called Imbe Calandola, their Generall a man of great courage. He warreth all by enchantment,

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and taketh the Devils counsell in all his exploits. He is alwaies making of sacrifices to the Devill, and doth know many times what shall happen unto him. Hee beleeveth that hee shall never die but in the Warres. There is no Image among them, but he useth certaine ceremonies. He hath straight Lawes to his Souldiers: for, those that are faint-hearted, and turne their backes to the Enemie, are presently condemned and killed for cowards, and their bodies eaten. He useth every night to make a warlike Oration upon an high Scaffold, which doth encourage his people.

*His dependance of the Devill.*

*His severitie.*

*Orations.*

It is the order of these people, wheresoever they pitch their Campe, although they stay but one night in a place, to build their Fort, with such wood or trees as the place yeeldeth: so that the one part of them cutteth downe trees and boughs, and the other part carrieth them, and buildeth a round Circle with twelve Gates. So that every Captaine keepeth his Gate. In the middle of the Fort is the Generals house, intrenched round about, and hee hath many Porters that keepe the Doore. They build their houses very close together, and have their Bowes, Arrowes, and Darts, standing without their Doores: And when they give alarme, they are sodainly all out of the Fort. Every companie at their Doores keepe very good watch in the night, playing upon their Drums and Tavales.

*Their fortifying.*

These Gagas told us of a River that is to the Southward of the Bay of Vaccas, that hath great store of Gold: and that they gathered up great store of graines of Gold upon the Sand, which the fresh water driveth downe in the time of raine. We found some of this Gold in the handles of their Hatchets, which they use to engrave with Copper, and they called it Copper also, and doe not esteeme it.

*A River having great store of Gold, to the South of Bahia das Vaccas. They found of this Gold.*

These Gagas delight in no Countrie, but where there is great store of Palmares, or Groves of Palmes. For they delight greatly in the Wine, and in the Fruit of the Palme, which serveth to eate and to make Oyle: and they draw their Wine contrarie to the Imbondos. These

*Palme-wine, how drawne.*

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Palme-trees are sixe or seven fathoms high, and have no leaves but in the top: and they have a device to goe up to the top of the Tree, and lay no hands on it, and they draw the Wine in the top of the tree in a Bottle.

*Such difference  
between  
Wasps and  
Bees.*

But these Gagas cut the Palme-trees downe by the roote, which lie ten dayes before they will give Wine. And then they make a square hole in the top and heart of the Tree, and take out of the hole every morning a quart, and at night a quart. So that every Tree giveth two quarts of Wine a day for the space of sixe and twentie dayes, and then it drieth up.

*What they doe  
being resisted.*

When they settle themselves in any Countrie, they cut downe as many Palmes as will serve them Wine for a moneth: and then as many more. So that in a little time they spoile the Countrie. They stay no longer in a place, then it will afford them maintenance. And then in Harvest time they arise, and settle themselves in the fruitfullest place that they can find; and doe reape their Enemies Corne, and take their Cattell. For they will not sowe, nor plant, nor bring up any Cattell, more then they take by Warres. When they come into any Countrie that is strong, which they cannot the first day conquer, then their Generall buildeth his Fort, and remayneth sometimes a moneth or two quiet. For he saith, it is as great warres to the Inhabitants to see him settled in their Countrey, as though he fought with them every day. So that many times the Inhabitants come and assault him at his Fort: and these Gagas defend themselves and flesh them on for the space of two or three dayes. And when their Generall mindeth to give the on-set, he will in the night put out some one thousand men: which do emboske themselves about a mile from their Fort. Then in the morning the great Gaga goeth with all his strength out of the Fort, as though he would take their Towne. The Inhabitants comming neere the Fort to defend their Countrey, being betweene them, the Gagas give the watch-word with their Drummes, and then the embosked

*Fruges con-  
sumere nati.*

*Stratagems.*

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men arise, so that very few escape. And that day their Generall over-runne the Countrey.

The great Gaga Calando hath his haire very long, embroydred with many knots full of Banba shels, which are very rich among them, and about his necke a Collar of Masoes, which are also shells, that are found upon that Coast, and are sold among them for the worth of twentie shillings a shell: and about his middle he weareth Landes, which are Beades made of the Ostridges Egges. He weareth a Palme cloth about his middle, as fine as Silke. His body is carved and cut with sundry workes, and every day anointed with the fat of men. Hee weareth a peece of Copper crosse his nose, two inches long, and in his eares also. His body is alwaies painted red and white. He hath twenty or thirty wives, which followed him when he goeth abroad; and one of them carrieth his Bow and Arrowes, and foure of them carry his Cuppes of drinke after him. And when hee drinketh, they all kneele downe, and clap their hands and sing.

Their women weare their haire with high trompes, full of Bamba shels, and are anointed with Civet. They pull out foure of their teeth; two above and two below for a bravery: And those that have not their teeth out, are loathsome to them, and shall neither eate nor drinke with them. They weare great store of Beades about their neckes, armes and legs; about their middles, Silke cloathes.

The women are very fruitfull, but they enjoy none of their children: For as soone as the woman is delivered of her Childe, it is presently buried quicke; So that there is not one Childe brought up in all this Generation. But when they take any Towne, they keepe the Boyes and Girles of thirteene or fourteene yeares of age, as their owne children. But the men and women they kill and eate. These little Boyes they traine up in the warres, and hang a collar about their neckes for a disgrace, which is never taken off till he proveth himselfe a man, and bring his enemies head to the Generall: And then it is

*His attire.  
Bamba shells.  
Maso shells, of  
great account  
among the  
Gagas.  
[II. vii. 977.]*

*Cruell  
bravery.*

*They use this  
ceremony in  
Florida.*

*Foolish  
Gallantry.*

*Generation of  
Vipers.  
A generation  
without gene-  
ration of Gaga.  
Panizaries.*

*Boyes trayned  
up in the wars.*

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*These Gagas  
came from  
Serra Leona.*

taken off, and he is a Free-man, and is called Gonso, or Souldier. This maketh them all desperate, and forward to be free, and counted men : and so they doe increase. In all this Campe there were but twelve naturall Gagas that were their Captaines, and foureteene or fifteene women. For it is more then fiftie yeares since they come from Serra de Lion, which was their native Countrey. But their Campe is sixteene thousand strong, and sometimes more.

*His solemne  
sacrifice to the  
Deuill.*

*Zebra.*

When the great Gaga Calandola, undertaketh any great enterprize against the Inhabitants of any Countrey, he maketh a sacrifice to the Divell, in the morning before the Sunne riseth. He sitteth upon a stoole, having on each side of him a man Witch : then he hath fortie or fiftie women which stand round about him, holding in each hand a Zeveas, or wilde horses tayle, where with they doe flourish and sing. Behind them are great store of Petes, Ponges, and Drummes, which alwaies play. In the midst of them is a great fire ; upon the fire an earthen pot with white powders, where-with the men Witches doe paint him on the forehead, temples, thwart the breast and belly, with long ceremonies and enchanting tearmes. Thus he continueth till sunne is downe. Then the Witches bring his Casengala, which is a weapon like an hatchet, and put it into his hand, and bid him bee strong against his enemies : for his Mokiso is with him. And presently there is a Man-childe brought, which forth-with he killeth. Then are foure men brought before him ; two whereof, as it happeneth, he presently striketh and killeth ; the other two he commandeth to be killed without the Fort.

*Butcherly  
rites.*

Here I was by the men Witches commanded to goe away, because I was a Christian. For then the Divell doth appeare to them, as they say. And presently he commandeth five Cowes to be killed in the Fort, and five without the Fort : And likewise as many Goates, and as many Dogges ; and the bloud of them is sprinkled in the fire, and their bodies are eaten with great feasting and

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triumph. And this is used many times by all the other Captaines of their Armie.

When they bury the dead, they make a vault in the ground, and a seate for him to sit. The dead hath his haire newly imbroydred, his body washed, and anointed with sweete powders. He hath all his best robes put on, and is brought betweene two men to his grave, and set in his seate, as though he were alive. He hath two of his wives set with him, with their armes broken, and then they cover the vault on the top. The Inhabitants when they dye, are buried after the same fashion, and have the most part of their goods buried with them. And every moneth there is a meeting of the kindred of the dead man, which mourne and sing dolefull songs at his grave, for the space of three daies; and kill many Goates, and powre their bloud upon his grave, and Palme-Wine also; and use this ceremony as long as any of their kindred be alive. But those that have no kindred think themselves unhappy men, because they have none to mourne for them when they dye. These people are very kind one to another in their health; but in their sicknesse they doe abhorre one another, and will shun their company.

*Buriall of  
their dead.  
Cruel  
funerals.*

*Unkind kind-  
nesse.*

### §. IIII.

[II. vii. 978.]

His returne to the Portugals: invasions of divers Countries, abuse, flight from them, and living in the Woods divers moneths: His strange Boate, and comming to Loango.

**B**Eing departed from the Gagas, I came to Masangano, where the Portugals have a Towne of Garrison. There was at that time a new Governor, which was called, Sienor Juan Continho: who brought authority to conquer the Mines or Mountaines of Cambamba: and to performe that service, the King of Spaine had given him seaven yeares custome, of all the Slaves and Goods that were carried thence to the West-Indies, Brasil, or whither soever: with condition, that he

*Masangano, a  
Towne of  
Portugal.*

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*Salt Mines.  
Silver Mines.*

*The River  
Coanza.*

*Stone-salt, a  
special com-  
moditie.  
The like is in  
Poland.*

*Andrew  
Battle made  
Sergeant of a  
Portugall  
Company.*

*Seignior Juan  
de Continho  
dieth.*

should build three Castles; one in Demba, which are the salt Mines; the other, in Cambamba, which are the Silver Mines; and the other in Bahia das Vaccas, or The Bay of Cowes. This Gentleman was so bountifull at his comming, that his fame was spread through all Congo, and many Mulatos and Negroes came voluntarily to serve him. And being some sixe moneths in the Citie, he marched to the Outaba of Tombe: and there shipped his Souldiers in Pinnasses, and went up the River Consa, or Coanza, and landed at the Outaba of Songo, sixtie miles from the Sea. This Lord Songo is next to Demba, where the Salt Mines be. In this place there is such store of Salt, that most part of the Countrey are perfect cleere Salt, without any earth or filth in it: and it is some three foot under the earth as it were Ice: and they cut it out in stones of a yard long, and it is carried up into the Countrey, and is the best commoditie that a man can carry to buy any thing whatsoever.

Here the Governour stayed ten daies, and sent a Pinnasse to Masangano, for all the best Souldiers that were there. So the Captain of the Castle sent me down among an hundred Souldiers, and I was very well used by the Governor; and he made me a Sergeant of a Portugall Company, and then he marched to Machimba; from thence to Cavo, and then to Malombe, a great Lord. Here we were foure daies, and many Lords came and obeyed us. From thence we marched to a mightie Lord, called Angoykayongo, who stood in the defence of his Countrey, with more then sixtie thousand men. So we met with him, and had the victory, and made a great slaughter among them. We tooke captives all his Women and Children, and settled our selves in his Towne, because it was a very pleasant place, and full of Cattle and victuals. And being eight daies in this Towne, the Governour sickned and dyed, and left a Captaine in his roome to performe the service.

After we had beene two moneths in the Countrey of Angoykayongo, we marched toward Cambambe, which



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was but three daies journey, and came right against the Serras da Prata, and passed the River Coanza, and presently over-ranne the Countrey, and built a Fort hard by the Rivers side. Here I served two yeares. They opened the Silver Mines: but the Portugals did not like of them as yet; because they yeelded small store of Silver. This new up-start Governour, was very cruell to his Souldiers, so that all his voluntary men left him; and by this meanes he could goe no farther. At this time, there came newes by the Jesuites, that the Queene of England was dead, and that King James had made peace with Spaine. Then I made a petition to the Governour, who granted me licence to goe into my Countrey: And so I departed with the Governor and his Traine to the Citie of Saint Paul.

*Serras de  
Prata.*

*Newes of the  
death of the  
Queene of  
England,  
1603.*

But he left five hundred Souldiers in the Fort of Cambambe, which they hold still. Then I went with a Portugall Marchant to the Province of Bamba: and from thence to the Onteiro, or Citie standing upon a Mountaine of Congo: from thence to Gongon and Batta: and there wee sold our commodities, and returned in sixe moneths to the Citie againe. Then I purposed to have shipped my selfe for Spaine, and thence homewards. But the Governour denyed his word, and commanded me to provide my selfe within two daies, to goe up to the Conquest againe. This Governour had served his three yeares, and the Citizens looked every day for another out of Portugall. So I determined to absent my selfe for ten or twentie daies, till the other Governour came, and then to come to the Citie againe. For every Governour that commeth, maketh Proclamation for all men that be absent, to come with free pardon.

*Bamba.  
The Onteiro of  
Congo.*

The same day at night, I departed from the Citie, with two Negro Boyes that I had, which carried my Musket, and sixe pounds of Powder, and an hundred Bullets, and that little provision of victuals which I could make. In the morning I was some twentie miles from the Citie, up along the River Bengo, and there I stayed certaine dayes;

*The River  
Bengo.*

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*The River  
Dande.*

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and then passed Bengo, and came to the River Dande, which is to the North-ward; purposing to know what newes was in the Citie, for I was neere the high-way of Congo: And one of my Negroes inquired of those that passed, and brought me word; That it was certaine, that the new Governour came not that yeare. Now I was put to my shifts, whether I would goe to the Citie againe and be hanged, or to stay and live in the Woods: for I had runne away twice before. So I was forced to live in the Wood a moneth, betwixt the Rivers of Dande and Bengo.

[II. vii. 979.]  
*The Lake of  
Casansa.*

Then I went to Bengo again, to Mani Kaswea, & passed over the River, and went to the lake of Casansa. Here is the greatest store of wild beasts, that is in any place of Angola. About this lake I staid six monethes, & lived only upon dried flesh, as Buffes, Deere, Mokokes, Impolancas, and Ro-bucks, and other sorts which I killed with my Musket, and dried the flesh, as the Savages doe, upon an Hurdle three foot from the ground, making underneath it a great fire, and laying upon the flesh greene boughes, which keepe the smoke and heate of the fire downe, and dry it. I made my fire with two little stickes, as the Savages use to doe. I had sometimes Guiney Wheate, which my Negro Boy would get of the Inhabitants for pieces of dryed flesh. This Lake of Casanze doth abound with fish of sundry sorts. I have taken up a fish, that hath skipped out of the water on shoare, foure foot long, which the Heathen call Sombo. Thus after I had lived sixe monethes with dried flesh and fish, and seeing no end of my miserie, I wrought meanes to get away.

*The manner of  
the Savages  
drying of their  
flesh.*

*He made a  
Boat with a  
Knife.*

In this Lake are many little Ilands, that are full of trees, called Memba; which are as light as Corke, and as soft. Of these trees I built a Jergado, with a Knife of the Savages that I had, in the fashion of a Boat, nayled with wooden pegs, and rayled round about, because the Sea should not wash me out, and with a Blanket that I had, I made a sayle, and prepared three Oares to row withall. This Lake of Casanza is eight miles over, and issueth into the River Bengo. So I

*The Lake of  
Casanza  
falleth into  
Bengo.*

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entred into my Gingado, and my two Negro Boyes, and rowed into the River Bengo, and so came downe with the current twelve leagues to the barre. Here I was in great danger, because the Sea was great; and being over the barre, I rowed into the Sea, and then sayled afore the wind along the Coast, which I knew very well, minding to goe to the Kingdome of Longo, which is toward the North: and being that night at Sea, the next day I saw a Pinnasse come before the wind, which came from the Citie, and was bound to San Thome, and shee came neere to mee. The Master was my great friend, for we had beene Mates together, and for pitie sake he tooke me in, and set me on shoare in the Port of Longo; where I remayned three yeares, and was well beloved of the King, because I killed him Deere and Fowles with my Musket.

*Hee was three  
yeares in  
Longo.*

### §. V.

Of the Province of Engoy, and other Regions of Loango, with the Customes there observed by the King and people.

**F**rom the Point of the Palmar, which is the North-side of the River Zaire, is the Port of Cabedna, where many ships use to water and refresh themselves; and it is five leagues Northwards. This place is called Engoy, and is the first Province of Longo, and is full of Woods and Thickets. And seven leagues North-wards of that place is the River Cacongo; a very pleasant place and fruitfull. Here is great store of Elephants Teeth: and a Boat of ten tunnes may goe up the River.

*Punta da  
Palmar.*

*Engoy is the  
first Province  
of Longo.  
The River  
Cacongo.*

The Mombales have great Trade with them, and passe the River Zaire in the night, because then it is calme; and carrie great store of Elephants Teeth to the Towne of Mani Sonna, and sell them in the Port of Pinda to the Portugals, or any other stranger, that first commeth.

*The Mom-  
bales.*

And foure leagues from Cacongo, is the River of Caye,

*The River of  
Caye.*

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*Golfam das  
Almadias.*

*The Port of  
Longo.*

or Longo Leuyes. This Towne of Caye is one of the foure Seates or Lordships of Longo: and then the Angra, or Gulfe das Almadias. In this Gulfe or Bay are great store of Canoes and Fishermen, because the Sea is smoother there, then upon the Coast. And two leagues Northward is the Port of Longo. And it is a sandie Bay, and a ship may ride within a Musket shot of the shoare in foure or five fathomes.

The Towne of Mani Longo is three miles from the waters side, and standeth on a great Plaine. This Towne is full of Palme and Plantan Trees, and very fresh: and their Houses are builded under the Trees. Their streets are wide and long, and alwayes cleane swept. The King hath his Houses on the West-side, and before his doore hee hath a Plaine, where hee sitteth, when hee hath any feasting or matters of warres to treat of. From this Plaine there goeth a great wide street some Musket shot from the place; and there is a great Market every day, and it doth begin at twelve of the clocke.

*Fine Logwood  
Molangos, or  
Copper.*

*Elephants  
Teeth.*

Here is great store of Palme-clothes of sundry sorts, which is their Merchandizes: and great store of Victuals, Flesh, Hens, Fish, Wine, Oyle and Corne. Here is also very fine Logwood, which they use to dye withall: it is the root of the Logwood, which is the best, and Molangos of Copper. Here is likewise great store of Elephants Teeth, but they sell none in the Market place. The King hath ten great Houses, and is never certaine to be found, but in the afternoone, when he commeth to sit. And then he keepeth alwayes one House. The House is very long, and at twelve of the clocke it is full of Noblemen. They sit upon Carpets upon the ground. The House is alwayes full of people till mid-night. The last King Gembe, never used to speake in the day, but alwayes in the night. But this King speaketh in the day: howbeit hee spendeth most of the day with his Wives. And when the King commeth in, he goeth to the upper end of the House, where hee hath his seate, as it were a Throne. And when the King is set, they clap their hands

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and salute him, saying in their Language; Byani Pemba, Ampola, Moneya, Quesinge.

On the South-side of the Kings Houses he hath a circuit or Village, where his Wives dwell: and in this circuit no man may come in paine of death. He hath in this place one hundred & fifty Wives and more. And if any man be taken within his Circuit, if he be with a woman, or doe but speake to her, they be both brought into the Market place, and their heads bee cut off, and their bodies quartered, and lye one day in the streets. The last King Gymbe, had foure hundred children by his women.

*The King  
Macomas, or  
wives.*

When the King drinketh he hath a cup of wine brought, and he that bringeth it hath a Bell in his hand, and assoone as he hath delivered the cup to the King, hee turneth his face from the King, and ringeth the Bell: and then all that be there fall downe upon their faces, and rise not till the King have drunke. And this is very dangerous for any stranger, that knoweth not the fashions: for if any seeth the King drink, he is presently killed, whatsoever he be. There was a Boy of twelve yeares, which was the Kings Sonne; This Boy chanced to come unadvisedly when his Father was in drinking: presently the King commanded he should be well apparelled, & victuals prepared. So the youth did eat & drink: afterward the King commanded that he should be cut in quarters, and carryed about the Citie; with Proclamation that he saw the King drinke. Likewise for his Dyet, when it is dinner time, there is an House of purpose, where hee alwayes eateth; and there his Dyet is set upon a Bensa, like a Table: then hee goeth in and hath the doore shut. So when he hath eaten, then he knocketh and commeth out. So that none see the King eat nor drinke. For it is their Beliefe, that if hee bee seene eating or drinking, hee shall presently dye. And this is an order with all the Kings that now are, or shall succeed, unlesse they abolish this cruell custome.

*Strange cus-  
tome of drink-  
ing.*

*Tyrannicall  
custome.*

This King is so honoured, as though hee were a God among them: and is called Sambe and Pongo, that is,

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*Arrogating to  
give raine.*

*It raineth here  
in December.*

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God. And they beleeve that he can give them raine, when hee listeth. So once a yeare when it is time to raine; which is in December, the people come to begge raine, and bring their gifts to the King: for none come emptie. Then he appointeth the day, and all the Lords farre and neere come to that Feast with all their troupes, as they goe in the warres. And when all the troupes of men be before the King, the greatest Lord commeth forth with his Bow and Arrowes, and sheweth his skill with his weapons, and then he hath a merrie conceit or jest, that he speaketh before the King, and kneeleth at his feet, and then the King thanketh him for his love: and in like manner they doe all. The King sitteth abroad in a great place, and hath a Carpet spread upon the ground, which is some fifteene fathomes about of fine Ensacks, which are wrought like Velvet, and upon the Carpet his seat, which is a fathome from the ground. Then he commandeth his Dembes to strike up, which are Drums, so great that they cannot carrie them, and others that are very great. He hath also eight Pongos, which are his Wayters, made of the greatest Elephants Teeth, and are hollowed and scraped light: which play also. And with the Drums and Waytes they make an hellish noyse. After they have sported and shewed the King pleasure, he ariseth and standeth upon his Throne, and taketh a Bow and Arrowes in his hand and shooteth to the Skie, and that day there is great rejoycing, because sometimes they have raine. I was once there when the King gave raine, and it chanced that day to raine mightily, which made the people to have a great beliefe in their folly.

*Policie of the  
Devils.*

*Some white  
children borne  
among them.*

Here are sometimes borne in this Countrey white children, which is very rare among them, for their Parents are Negroes. And when any of them are borne, they bee presented unto the King, and are called Dondos. These are as white as any white man. These are the Kings Witches, and are brought up in Witchcraft, and alwayes wayte on the King. There is no man that dare meddle with these Dondos. If they goe to the Market, they may

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take what they list, for all men stand in awe of them. The King of Longo hath foure of them.

This King is also a Witch and beleeveth in two Idols, which are in Longo. The one is called, Mokisso à Longo, the other is called, Checocke. This last is a little blacke Image, and standeth in a little house, at a Village that is called, Kinga, which standeth in the landing place of Longo. This house of Checocke standeth in the highway, and they that go by clap their hands, which is the courtesie of the Country. Those that be Crafts-men, as Fishermen, Hunters & Witches do, offer to this Idol, that they may have good lucke. This Checocke doth sometimes in the night come and haunt some of his best Beloved: sometimes a man, sometimes a Boy, or a Woman. And then they be franticke for the space of three houres. And whatsoever the franticke Person speaketh, that is the will of Checocke. And they make a great Feast and dancing at his house.

*Their Mokisso  
and Checocke.*

*A Village  
called Kinga.*

There is another Mokisso, which is also in Kinga, and it is called, Gomberi. It is the name of a woman, and is in an house, where an old Witch dwelleth, and shee is called, Ganga Gomberi, which is, the Priest of Gomberi. Here once a yeare is a Feast made, and Ganga Gomberi speaketh under the ground. And this is a common thing every yeare. I have asked the Negroes what it was, and they told me, that it is a strong Mokisso, that is come to abide with Checocke.

*Mokisso  
Gomberi.*

The children in this Countrey are borne white, and change their colour in two dayes to a perfect blacke. As for example, the Portugals which dwell in the Kingdome of Congo, have sometimes children by the Negro Women, and many times the Fathers are deceived, thinking when the child is borne that it is theirs, and within two dayes it proveth the sonne or daughter of a Negro; which the Portugals doe greatly grieve at: for they rejoyce when they have a Mulato child, though it be a bastard.

*Colour of their  
children when  
they are borne.*

[II. vii. 981.]

The Towne of Longo standeth in the middest of the foure Lordships; and is governed by foure Princes, which

*Foure Princes  
in Loango.*

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are the Kings sisters sonnes. For the Kings sonnes never come to be Kings. The first is, Mani Cabango. The second, Mani Salag. The third Mani Bock. The fourth, Mani Cay. This Mani Cay is next to be King, and hath his Traine and Court as a Prince. And when the King dieth, he commeth presently into the seat of the King. Then Mani Bock commeth to Cay: Mani Salag commeth to Bock, and Mani Cabango commeth to Salag. And then they provide another to goe to Cabango. So there be foure Princes that wait to be Kings, when their turnes come. The Mother of these Princes is called, Mani Lombo: and shee is the highest and chiefe woman in all the Land. Shee maketh choice of her husband, and when shee is wearie of him, she putteth him away, and taketh another. Her children are greatly honoured; and who-soever passeth by them, kneele downe and clap their hands, which is the curtesie of the Countrie. These Lordships are champaine grounds, and full of Corne, and Fruit. The men in this Kingdome make great store of Palme-cloth of sundrie sorts, very fine and curious. They are never idle: for, they make fine Caps of needle-worke, as they goe in the streets.

*Burial of their  
Kings.*

There is a place two leagues from the Towne of Longo, called Longeri, where all their Kings be buried: and it is compassed round about with Elephants teeth pitched in the ground, as it were a Pale, and it is ten roods in compasse.

*No white man  
may be buried  
in Longo.*

These people will suffer no white man to be buried in their Land. And if any Stranger or Portugall come thither to trade, and chance to die, he is carried in a Boat two miles from the shoare, and cast into the Sea. There was once a Portugall Gentleman, that came to trade with them, and had his house on shoare. This Gentleman died, and was buried some foure moneths. That yeere it did not raine so soone as it was wont, which beginneth about December: so that they lacked raine some two moneths. Then their Mokiso told them, that the Christian which was buried, must be taken out of the earth, and cast into the



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Sea. And so he was taken up, and cast into the Sea ; and within three dayes it rained : which made them have a great beliefe in the Devill.

### §. VI.

Of the Provinces of Bongo, Calongo, Mayombe, Manikesocke, Motimbas : of the Ape-monster Pongo, their hunting, Idolatries ; and divers other observations.

**T**O the Eastward of Longeri is the Province of Bongo, and it bordereth upon Mocoke, the Great Angeca is King. In this place is great store of Iron, and Palme-cloth, and Elephants teeth, and great store of Corne. To the North-east, is the Province of Cango, and it is fourteene dayes journey from the Towne of Longo. This place is full of Mountaines and rockie ground, and full of Woods, and hath great store of Copper. The Elephants in this place doe excell. Here are so many, that the people of Longo fetch great store of Elephants teeth, and bring them to the Port of Longo. *Bongo.*

To the Northwards of Longo three leagues is, the River Quelle : and on the North side is, the Province of Calongo. This Countrey is alwaies tilled, and full of Corne : and is all plaine and champaine ground, and hath great store of Honie. Here are two little Villages, that shew at Sea like two homocks : which are the markes to know the Port of Longo. And fifteene miles Northward is the River Nombo : but it hath no depth for any Barke to goe in. This Province, toward the East, bordereth upon Bongo ; and toward the North, upon Mayombe, which is nineteene leagues from Longo, along the Coast. *Calongo.*

This Province of Mayombe is all Woods and Groves ; so overgrowne, that a man may travaile twentie dayes in the shadow without any Sunne or heat. Here is no kind of Corne nor Graine : so that the people liveth onely upon Plantanes, and Roots of sundrie sorts very good, and *Mayombe.*

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*Cape Negro is  
in sixteene  
degrees to the  
South of the  
Line.*

*Banna River.*

Nuts, nor any kind of tame Cattell, nor Hens. But they have great store of Elephants flesh, which they greatly esteeme; and many kind of wild Beasts; and great store of Fish. Here is a great Sandy Bay, two leagues to the Southward of Cape Negro, which is the Port of Mayombe. Sometimes the Portugals lade Logwood in this Bay. Here is a great River, called Banna: in the Winter it hath no barre, because the generall winds cause a great Sea. But when the Sunne hath his South declination, then a Boat may goe in: for then it is smooth because of the raine. This River is very great and hath many Ilands, and people dwelling in them. The Woods are so covered with Baboones, Monkies, Apes, and Parrots, that it will feare any man to travaile in them alone. Here are also two kinds of Monsters, which are common in these Woods, and very dangerous.

[II. vii. 982.]  
*The Pongo, or  
Giant-ape.*

*He told me in  
conference*

*with him, that  
one of these*

*Pongos tooke a  
Negro Boy of  
his, which*

*lived a moneth  
with them. For*

*they hurt not  
those which*

*they surprise at  
unawares, ex-*

*cept they look  
on them, which*

*he avoyded.*

*He said, their  
highth was like*

*a mans, but  
their bignesse*

*twice as great.*

*I saw the  
Negro Boy.*

The greatest of these two Monsters is called, Pongo, in their Language: and the lesser is called, Engeco. This Pongo is in all proportion like a man, but that he is more like a Giant in stature, then a man: for he is very tall, and hath a mans face, hollow eyed, with long haire upon his browes. His face and eares are without haire, and his hands also. His bodie is full of haire, but not very thicke, and it is of a dunnish colour. He differeth not from a man, but in his legs, for they have no calfe. Hee goeth alwaies upon his legs, and carrieth his hands clasped on the nape of his necke, when he goeth upon the ground. They sleepe in the trees, and build shelters for the raine. They feed upon Fruit that they find in the Woods, and upon Nuts, for they eate no kind of flesh. They cannot speake, and have no understanding more then a beast. The People of the Countrie, when they travaile in the Woods, make fires where they sleepe in the night; and in the morning, when they are gone, the Pongoes will come and sit about the fire, till it goeth out: for they have no understanding to lay the wood together. They goe many together, and kill many Negroes that travaile in the Woods. Many times they fall upon the Elephants, which

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come to feed where they be, and so beate them with their clubbed fists, and pieces of wood, that they will runne roaring away from them. Those Pongoes are never taken alive, because they are so strong, that ten men cannot hold one of them : but yet they take many of their young ones with poisoned Arrowes. The young Pongo hangeth on his mothers bellie, with his hands fast clasped about her : so that, when the Countrie people kill any of the femals, they take the young one, which hangeth fast upon his mother. When they die among themselves, they cover the dead with great heapes of boughs and wood, which is commonly found in the Forrests.

The Morombes use to hunt with their Countrie Dogs, and kill many kinds of little beasts, and great store of Pheasants. But their Dogs be dumbe and cannot barke at all. They hang wooden clappers about their neckes, and follow them by the ratling of the clappers. The Huntsmen have Petes, which they whistle their Dogs withall. These Dogs in all this Countrie are very little, with prickt eares, and are for the most part red and dunne. The Portugall mastie Dog, or any other great Dog are greatly esteemed, because they doe barke. I have seene a Dog sold up in the Countrie for thirtie pounds.

In the Towne of Mani Mayombe is a Fetisso, called Maramba : and it standeth in an high basket made like an Hive, and over it a great house. This is their house of Religion : for they beleeeve onely in him, and keepe his lawes, and carrie his Reliques alwaies with them. They are for the most part Witches, and use their witchcraft for hunting and killing of Elephants, and fishing, and helping of sicke and lame men : and to fore-cast journeyes, whether they shall speed well or evill. By this Maramba are all thefts and murthers tried : for in this Countrie they use sometimes to bewitch one another to death. And when any dieth, their neighbours are brought before Maramba : and if it be a great man that dieth, the whole Towne commeth to sweare. The order is, when they come before Maramba, to kneele and claspe Maramba in their armes,

*Their strength. What the other Monster should be, he hath forgotten to relate : and these papers came to my hand since his death, which otherwise in my often conferences I might have learned. Perhaps he meaneth the Pigmy Pongo-killers, mentioned.*

*A Dog sold for thirtie pounds.*

*The Towne of Mani Mayombe. The author was twelve moneths in this Countrie.*

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and to say; Emeno, eyge bembet Maramba: that is, I come to be tried, O Maramba. And if any of them be guiltie, they fall downe starke dead for ever. And if any of them that sweare hath killed any man or child before, although it be twentie yeeres past, hee presently dieth. And so it is for any other matter. From this place as farre as it is to Cape De lopo Gonsalves, they are all of this superstition. I was twelve moneths in this place, and saw many die after this sort.

*All Angola  
circumcised.*

✓ These people be circumcised, as they be through all Angola, except the Kingdome of Congo, for they are Christians. And those that will be sworne, to Maramba, come to the chiefe Gangas, which are their Priests, or Men-witches; as Boyes of twelve yeeres of age, and men and women. Then the Gangas put them into a darke house, and there they remaine certaine dayes with very hard diet: after this they are let abroad, and commanded not to speake for certaine dayes, what injurie soever they be offered: so that they suffer great penurie before they bee sworne. Lastly, they are brought before Maramba, and have two markes cut upon both their shoulders before, like an halfe Moone; and are sworne by the bloud that falleth from them, that they shall be true to him. They are forbidden some one kind of flesh, and some one kind of fish, with many other toyes. And if they eate any of this forbidden meate, they presently sicken and never prosper. They all carrie a relique of Maramba in a little boxe, and hang it about their necks, under their left armes. The Lord of this Province of Mayombe, hath the Ensigne or shape of Maramba carried before him, whithersoever he goeth; and when he sitteth downe, it is set before him; and when he drinketh his Palme-wine, the first cup is powred at the foote of the Mokiso, or Idoll; and when he eateth any thing whatsoever, the first piece he throweth toward his left hand, with enchanting words.

*His travaile to  
Mani Kesock.  
Mani Seat.*

From Cape Negro Northward is a great Lord, called Mani Seat; which hath the greatest store of Elephants teeth of any Lord in the Kingdome of Longo: for, his



THE ZEVEA OR ZEBRA



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people practise nothing else but to kill Elephants. And two of those Negroes will easily kill an Elephant with their darts. And here is great store of Logwood.

*Great store of Logwood.*

There is another Lord to the Eastward, which is called Mani Kesock, and he is eight dayes journey from Mayombe. Heere I was with my two Negro Boyes, to buy Elephants haire and tayles; and in a moneth I bought twentie thousand, which I sold to the Portugals for thirtie Slaves, and all my charges borne. From this place I sent one of my Negro Boyes to Mani Seat with a Looking-glasse: he did esteeme it much, and sent me foure Elephants teeth, (very great) by his owne men; and desired me to cause the Portugals, or any other shippe, to come to the Northward of the Cape Negro, and hee would make fires where his landing place is: For there was never yet any Portugall, or other stranger in that place.

*Mani Kesock. [II. vii. 983.]*

*Twentie thousand Elephants taires.*

*A Trade a little Northward of Cape Negro, which is about sixteen degrees to the South of the line.*

To the North-east of Mani Kesock, are a kind of little people, called Matimbos; which are no bigger then Boyes of twelve yeares old, but are very thicke, and live onely upon flesh, which they kill in the Woods with their Bowes and Darts. They pay tribute to Mani Kesock, and bring all their Elephants teeth and tayles to him. They will not enter into any of the Marombos houses, nor will suffer any to come where they dwell. And if by chance any Maramba, or people of Longo passe where they dwell, they will forsake that place, and go to another. The Women carry Bow and Arrowes as well as the Men. And one of these will walke in the Woods alone, and kill the Pongos with their poysoned Arrowes. I have asked the Marombos, whether the Elephant sheddeth his teeth or no? And they say no. But sometimes they finde their teeth in the Woods, but they find their bones also.

*The Matimbos a people of very small stature, a kind of Pigmeys.*

*Women using Bowes and Arrowes.*

*Elephants, whether they shed their teeth.*

When any man is suspected for any offence, he is carried before the King, or before Mani Bomma, which is as it were a Judge under the King. And if it be upon matter that hee denyeth, and cannot be proved but by their oath; then the suspected person is thus sworne. They have a

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kind of roote which they call Imbondon. This roote is very strong, and is scraped into water. The vertue of this roote is, that if they put too much of it into the water, the person that drinketh it cannot voyd urine: and so it striketh up into the braine, as though hee were drunke, and he falleth downe as though he were dead. And those that fall are counted as guiltie, and are punished.

*The vertue of the roote Imbondon. He told me that this root makes the water as bitter as Gall (he tasted it) and one root will serve to try one hundred. They which have drunke and made water after are cleared, before which if dizziness take them, they cry, Undoke, Undoke, and presently execute them. See my Relat. l. 7. c. 10. which I writ from his mouth. Neither may this be ascribed to the vertue of the herbe, but to the vice of Devill, a murderer and his Instruments. The Ganga or Priest.*

In this Countrey none of any account dyeth, but they kill another for him: for they beleve they dye not of their owne naturall death, but that some other hath bewitched them to death: And all those are brought in by the friends of the dead which they suspect; so that many times there come five hundred men and women to take the drinke, made of the foresaid root, Imbondon. They are brought all to the High-streete or Market-place, and there the master of the Imbondon sitteth with his water, and giveth every one a cup of water by one measure: and they are commanded to walke in a certaine place till they make water, and then they be free: But he that cannot urine, presently falleth downe, and all the people great and small fall upon him with their knives, and beate and cut him into pieces. But I thinke the Witch that giveth the water is partiall, and giveth to him whom he will have to dye the strongest water, but no man \* can perceive it that standeth by. And this is done in the Towne of Longo, almost every week in the yeare.

\* And therefore that conjecture seems improbable. For how could an ordinary tryall of life where are so many so perilous; and therefore curious (more then) spectators, not perceive this in so long and frequent experience, which costs so many their dearest friends their dearest life? I thinke rather that this was the transcribers conjecture. I remember no such scruple in his Narrations to me, who knows not the Devils ambition of Deity, and cruell Misanthropic or man-hating? This is his Apish imitation of Divinity, and those Rites prescribed for triall in case of Jealousie, Num. 5. In Guinea like triall is made by Salt, and also by the Fetisseries pot. In Benomotapa, by a water also: in the Moramba triall before, and Motamba triall by hot Iron in Angola; the Plough-shares in old times with us: and the tryall of Witches still in the East parts by water, &c. were not unlike in deceptible superstition.



## §. VII.

Of the Zebra and Hippopotamus: The Portugals Warres in those parts: The Fishing, Graine, and other things remarkable.

**I**N this Kingdome there is no kind of tame Cattle but Goats; for none other Cattle will live here. Oxen and Kine have beene brought hither, but they presently dye: The Hennes in this place doe so abound, that a man may buy thirtie for the worth of sixe pence in Beads. Heere is store of Pheasants, and great plenty of Partridges, and wilde Fowle. Here is a kind of Fowle that lives in the Land bigger then a Swan, and they are like an Heron, with long legges, and long neckes, and it is white and blacke, and hath in her breast a bare place without Feathers, where she striketh with her Bill. This is the right Pelican, and not those Sea Birds which the Portugals call Pelicans, which are white, and as bigge as Geese, and those abound in this Country also.

*Plenty of wilde Fowle.*

*The right Pelican.*

Here is also the Zevera or Zebra, which is like an horse; but that his mane, his taile, his strakes of divers colours downe his sides and legges, doe make a difference. These Zeveras are all wilde, and live in great herds, and will suffer a man to come within shot of them, and let them shoote three or foure times at them before they will runne away.

*The Zevera or Zebra.*

[II. vii. 984.]

Moreover, there are great store of Sea or River Horses, which feed alway on the Land, and live onely by Grasse, and they be very dangerous in the water. They are the biggest creature in this Countrey, except the Elephant: They have great vertue in the clawes of their left forefoote, and have foure clawes on every foot, like the clawes of an Oxe. The Portugals make Rings of them, and they are a present remedy for the Fluxe.

*The Hippopotamus or River Horse.*

*A present remedy for the Fluxe.*

The Portugals make warre against the Negroes in this manner. They have out of Congo a Noble-man, which is knowne to be a good Christian, and of good behaviour.

*The Port-wars in Congo.*

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*The Generall  
of the blacke  
Campe.*

He bringeth out of Congo some one hundred Negroes that are his followers. This Macicongo is made Tandala, or Generall over the blacke Campe; and hath authoritie to kill, to put downe Lords, and make Lords, and hath all the cheefe doings with the Negroes. And when any Lord commeth to obey; first he commeth to the Tandala and bringeth his present; as Slaves, Kine, and Goats: Then the Tandala carrieth him before the Portugall Governour, and bringeth two Slaves for the Governours Page before he goeth in. Then he must have a great gift for the Governour; which is sometimes, thirtie or fortie Slaves, besides Cattle. And when he commeth before the Governour, he kneeleth downe and clappeth his hands, and falleth downe with his face upon the ground, and then he riseth and saith; I have beene an enemy, and now I protest to be true, and never more to lift my hand against you. Then the Governour calleth a Souldier which hath deserved a reward, and giveth the Lord to him. This Souldier seeth that he have no wrong: and the Lord acknowledgeth him to be his Master; and he doth maintaine the Souldier, and maketh him rich. Also, in the warres he commandeth his Masters house to be built before his owne: and whatsoever he hath taken that day in the warres, he parteth with his Master. So that there is no Portugall Souldier of any account, but he hath his Negro Soua, or Lord.

*Their Fishing  
on the Coast.*

They use upon this Coast to Fish with harping Irons, and waite upon a great Fish that commeth once a day to feed along the shoare, which is like a Grampas. Hee runneth very neere the shoare, and driveth great skuls of Fish before him: and the Negroes runne along the shoare, as fast as they are able to follow him, and strike their Harping Irons round about him, and kill great store of Fish, and leave them upon the Sand till the Fish hath done feeding; and then they come and gather their Fish up. This Fish will many times runne himselfe on ground, but they will presently shove him off againe, which is as much as foure or five men can doe. They call

[II. vii. 985.]

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him Emboa, which is in their speech, A Dogge; and will by no meanes hurt or kill any of them. Also, they use in the Bayes and Rivers, where shoald water is, to Fish with Mats, which are made of long Rushes, and they make them of an hundred fathoms long. The Mats swim upon the Water, and have long Rushes hanging upon one edge of the Mat, and so they draw the Mat in compasse, as we doe our Nets. The Fishes fearing the Rushes that hang downe, spring out of the water, and fall upon the Mat that lyeth flat on the water, and so are taken.

*A strange kind  
of fishing with  
Mats.*

They have foure sorts of Corne in Longo: The first, is called Masanga, and it groweth upon a straw as bigge as a Reede, and hath an eare a foote long, and is like Hemp-seed. The second, is called Masembala. This is of great increase: for of one kernell there springs foure or five Canes, which are tenne foote high, and they beare halfe a pinte of Corne a peece. This graine is as big as Tares, and very good. Thirdly, they have another that groweth low like Grasse, and is very like Mustard-seed: and this is the best. They have also the great Guiney Wheate, which they call Mas-impota. This is the least esteemed.

*Foure sorts of  
corne in Longo.*

They have very good Peason, somewhat bigger then ours: but they grow not as ours do. For the poodes grow on the rootes underneath the ground; and by their leaves they know when they be ripe. They have another kind of Peason, which they call Wandos. This is a little tree; and the first yeare that it is planted, it beareth no fruit: but after it beareth fruit three yeares, and then it is cut downe.

*Two sorts of  
Peason: how  
they grow.*

Their Plantan trees beare fruit but once, and then are cut downe: and out of the root thereof spring three or foure young ones.

They have great store of Hony, which hangeth in the Elicondy Trees. They gather it with an hollow piece of Wood or Chest, which they hang in the top of the Tree, and once a yeare it is full, by smoake, rewarding the laborious Creatures with robbery, exile, death.

*Their Hony.*

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*I added this  
that followes  
out of his owne  
reports to my  
selfe. Other  
like things you  
may find from  
his relation  
scattered in my  
Pilgrimage.*

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*The Juzanda.*

**T**His Alicunde or Elicondy Tree is very tall, and exceeding great; some as big as twelve men can fathome, spreading like an Oake; some of them are hollow, and from the liberall skies receive such plentie of water, that they are Hospitall entertainers of thousands in that thirstie Region. Once have I knowne three or foure thousand remaine at one of those Trees, and thence receiving all their watery provision for foure and twentie houres, and yet not emptie. The Negroes climbed up with pegges of hard Woode (which that softer easily receiveth, the smoothnesse not admitting other climbing) and I thinke that some one Tree holds fortie tunne of water. This Tree affoords no lesse bountifull hospitality to the backe then belly, yeelding (as her belly to their bellies, so) her backe to their backes: excepting that this is better from the younger Trees, whose tenderer backs being more seasonable for Discipline, are soundly beaten (for mans fault, whence came the first nakednesse) whereby one fathome cut from the Tree, is extended into twentie, and is presently fit for wearing, though not so fine as the Juzanda tree yeelds. This tree yeelds excellent cloath from the inner barke thereof by like beating. Of their Palme Trees, which they keepe with watering and cutting every yeare; they make Velvets, Sattins, Taffataes, Damaskes, Sarcenets, and such like; out of the leaves cleansed and purged, drawing long threads, and even for that purpose. They draw Wine (as is said) from the Palme Tree; there is another kind of Palme Tree, which beareth a fruite good for the stomacke, and for the Liver most admirable.

One Crocodile was so huge and greedy, that he devoured an Alibamba, that is, a chained company of eight or nine Slaves: but the indigestible Iron paid him his wages, and murdered the murtherer, found after in his belly. I have seene them watch their prey, haling in gennet, Man or other Creature into the water. But one Souldier thus wrapt in shallower water, drew his knife, tooke his Taker in the belly and slue him.

# THE KINGDOM OF CONGO

A.D.  
1588.

## Chap. IIII.

[II. vii. 986.]

A report of the Kingdome of Congo, a Region of Affrica: Gathered by Philippo Pigafetta,\* out of the Discourses of Master Edward Lopes a Portugall, translated out of Italian into English, by Master Abraham Hartwell, and here abbreviated. \* Anno 1588.

### §. I.

The journey by Sea from Lisbone to the Kingdome of Congo: Of the Ayre, Winds, Raines, Temperature thereof.



IN the yeare 1588. when Don Sebastian King of Portugall, embarked himselfe for the Conquest of the Kingdome of Morocco: Edward Lopes borne at Beneventum (a place foure and twentie miles distant from Lisbone, neere upon the South shore of the River Tagus) sayled likewise in the moneth of Aprill towards the haven of Loanda, situate in the Kingdome of Congo, in a ship called S. Anthony, belonging to an Uncle of his, and charged with divers marchandise for that Kingdome: And it was accompanied with a Patache (which is a small vessell) whereunto the ship did continually yeeld good guard, and ministred great releefe, conducting and guiding the same with lights in the night time, to the end it should not lose the way, which the shippe it selfe did keepe. He arrived at the Island of Madera, belonging to the King of Portugall, distant from Lisbone about sixe hundred miles, where he remained fiftene daies, to furnish himselfe with fresh Victuall and Wine; which in great abundance groweth in that Island, yea and in mine opinion the best in the world, whereof they carry abroad great store into divers Countries, and especially into England. He pro-

*Patache 1. a  
Brigandine or  
a Pinnasse.*

*The Island of  
Madera.*

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*The Canaries.*

*Isle of S.  
Anthony.*

*Isle of S.  
James.*

vided there also sundry other Confections and Conserues of Sugar, which in that Island are made and wrought both in great quantity, and also singular excellency. From this Island they departed, leaving all the Canaries belonging to Castile, and tooke haven at one of the Islands of Cape Verde, called S. Anthony, without having any sight thereof before they were come upon it: and from thence to another called S. Jacopo, which commandeth all the rest, and hath a Bishop & a Chaplaine in it, that rule and governe them: and here they provided themselves againe of victuals. These Islands of Cape Verde were established by Ptolomee in the Tables of his Geography, to be the beginning of the West, together with the Cape or Promontorie which he termeth Cornu ultimum, or the Islands Macarie or Blessed, which we commonly call Fortunate. In these Islands of Cape Verde: the Portugals do often arrive, and in those Countries do Trafficke with sundry marchandises, as little balles of divers coloured Glasse, and other such things, wherein those people doe greatly delight, and Holland cloath, and Caps and Knives, and coloured Clothes: In exchange whereof they bring backe againe, Slaves, Waxe, Hony, with other kind of food, and Cotten-cloth of sundry colours.

*\*These  
generall winds  
are the Etesii,  
which blow  
from some  
Northerly  
point unto  
twentie nine  
degrees South  
latitude. For  
about sixe  
moneths  
together for  
this cause they  
use to set off  
toward  
Brasil, to  
gaine the wind  
and returne to  
Congo.  
Isle of S. Elena,  
all of Eben-  
wood.*

Now the shippe called S. Anthony, holding on his course, met with the generall windes,\* and then turned their Prow and their Sayles, by North, and by North-west on the right hand towards the Kingdome of Congo. And sayling on-wards closely with the halfe shippe, they came in twelve daies and twelve nights, to the Island of S. Elena, not looking for the same, nor thinking of it. This Island was so called, because of the Feast day of S. Helena, which falleth upon the third day of May, it was by the Portugals first descried. And as it is very small, so is it (as it were) singular by it selfe: for being situate in the height of sixteene degrees towards the Antarctike, it containeth in compasse nine miles about, and is farre distant from the firme Land.

From the Island of S. Helena, they made sayle with the

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same weather, and so within the space of seventene daies came to the haven of Loanda, which is in the Province of Congo, the winds being somewhat more calme then they were afore. This is a very sure and great haven, so called of an Island of the same name, whereof we shall speake hereafter.

*The Port of  
Loanda.*

There are two courses of sayling from the Island of Cape Verde to Loanda; the one of them now declared, which being never used afterwards, was at the first attempted and performed by the same shippe wherein Signor Odoardo went, being then guided by Francisco Martinez the Kings Pilot, a man very greatly experienced in those Seas, and the first that ever conducted vessell by that way: the other is atchieved by passing along the Coast of the firme Land. From the Island of San Jacomo, they came to Cape Das Palmas, and from thence direct themselves to the Island of San Thomas, which lyeth under the Equinoctiall; so called, because it was discovered upon that day, wherein the Feast of that Apostle is used to be celebrated. It is distant from the firme Land, one hundred and eightie miles, right against the River, called Gaban, which is so termed because it is in shape very like to that kind of Vesture, that it is called a Gaban, or a Cloke.

*The second  
course of sayl-  
ing to Loanda,*

*De las Palmas.  
The Isle of S.  
Thomas.  
[II. vii. 987.]*

The Haven thereof is fore-closed with an Iland that raiseth it selfe in the Channell of the River, whereunto the Portugals doe sayle with small Barkes from Saint Thomas Iland, carrying thither such things as usually they carrie to the Coast of Guinea, and from thence carrying backe with them Ivorie, Waxe and Honey, Oyle of Palme, and Blacke-moore slaves. Neere to the Iland of Saint Thomas, towards the North lyeth another Iland, called the Ile of the Prince, distant from the firme Land one hundred and five miles, being of the same condition and Trafficke, that the Ile of Saint Thomas is, although in circuit some-what lesse. This Iland of Saint Thomas is in fashion almost round, and in breadth contayneth sixtie miles, and in compasse one hundred and eightie. Very

*The Haven of  
S. Thomas.*

*The Ile of the  
Prince.  
The Ile of S.  
Thomas.*

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*Great  
trafficke.*

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rich it is and of great trafficke, discovered at the first and conquered by the Portugals, at such time as they began the conquest of the Indies. It hath divers Havens, but the principall and chiefest of all, whereinto the Vessels arriving there, doe with-draw themselves, is in the place, where the Citie standeth.

*Sugar.  
Churches.*

The Iland breedeth an infinite deale of Sugar, and almost all kinds of victuals. In the Citie there are some Churches, and a Bishop, with many Clerkes and one Chaplain or Priest. There is also a Castle, with a Garrison and Artillerie in it, which beate upon the Haven, beeing a verie great and safe Port, where many ships may ride. But a very strange and admirable thing it is, that when the Portugals did first come thither, there was no Sugar there planted, but they brought it thither from other Countries: as they did Ginger also, which tooke roote, and grew there in most abundant manner. The soyle indeed is moyst, and as it were appropriated to foster the Sugar-cane, which without any other watering, multiplyeth of it selfe, and fructifieth infinitely: the reason whereof is, because the dew falleth there like raine, and moysteneth the Earth.

*Seventie  
houses to make  
Sugar in.*

There are in this Iland above seventie Houses or Presses for making of Sugar, and every Presse hath many Cottages about it as though it were a Village, and there may bee about some three hundred persons that are appointed for that kind of worke: They doe every yeare loade about fortie great ships with Sugar. True it is, indeed, that not long agoe the Wormes (as it were a plague to that Land) have devoured the roots of the Canes, and destroyed the fruits of their Sugar, in such sort as now of the fortie ships, they doe not loade above five or sixe Vessels with that Merchandize.

*Wormes hurt-  
full.*

*The River and  
Island of  
Fernando Poo.*

The Iland of Saint Thomas holdeth Trafficke with the people that dwell in the firme Land, which do usually resort to the mouthes or entries of their Rivers: The first whereof (to begin withall) is named the River of Fernando di Poo, that is to say, of Fernando Pouldre, who did first



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discover the same, and lyeth in five degrees towards our Pole. Right against the mouth of it, riseth an Iland of the same name, lying thirtie and sixe miles distant from it. The second River is called Bora, that is to say, Filth: The third, La riviera del Campo. The fourth, di San Benedetto, and the fifth, that of Angra, which in the mouth of it hath an Iland, called di Corisco, that is to say, Thunder. All these doe Trafficke the same Merchandizes, which we mentioned before.

But to returne to the Voyage of Saint Thomas: departing from thence towards the South, we found the Cape of Lupo Gonzale, which standeth in the altitude of one degree beyond the Equinoctiall towards the Pole Antarticke, one hundred and five miles distant from the foresaid Ile. And from thence they saile with Land winds, creeping still all along the Coast, and every day casting Anchor in some safe place either behind some point, or else in some Haven, untill they come to the mouth of the greatest River in Congo, called in their Tongue Zaire, which signifieth in Latine, Sapio, (in English, I know.) From whence if yee will goe through to the Haven of Loanda, ye must saile the length of one hundred and fourescore miles.

The Kingdome \* of Congo in the middle part thereof, is distant from the Equinoctiall towards the Pole Antarticke (just where the Citie called Congo doth lye) seven degrees and two thirds: so that it standeth under the Region which ancient Writers thought to be uninhabitable, and called it Zona Torrida.

The habitation there is exceeding good, the Ayre beyond all credit temperate, the Winter nothing so rough, but is rather like Autumne in Rome. The people use no Furres, nor change of apparell, they come not neere the fire, neither is the cold in the tops of the Mountaynes greater then that which is in the Plaines: but generally in Winter time, the Ayre is more hot then it is in Summer, by reason of their continuall raines, and especially about two houres before and after noone, so that it can hardly be

*River, Bora.  
La Riviera del  
Campo.  
River, di San  
Benedetto.  
River, di  
Angra.  
The Ile of  
Corisco.  
The Cape of  
Lupo Gonzale.  
Zaire, the  
greatest River  
of Congo.*

*\*Here begin-  
neth the second  
chapter as it is  
in the Booke,  
which method  
I have for  
brevitie  
altered, and  
brought to  
longer Para-  
graphs.  
The tempera-  
ture of the  
Kingdome.*

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*The complexion of the people.*

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[II. vii. 988.]

*Small difference between their dayes and nights. Their Winter and Summer.*

endured. The men are blacke, and so are the women, and some of them also somewhat inclining to the colour of the wild Olive. Their hayre is blacke and curled, and some also red. The stature of the men is of an indifferent bignes, and excepting their blacknesse they are very like to the Portugals. The apples of their eyes are of divers colours, blacke and of the colour of the Sea. Their lips are not thicke, as the Nubians and other Negroes are : and so likewise their countenances are some fat, some leane, and some betweene both, as in our Countries there are, and not as the Negroes of Nubia and Guinea, which are very deformed. Their nights and their dayes doe not greatly differ, for in all the whole yeare yee shall not discerne the difference betweene them to bee more then a quarter of an houre.

The Winter in this Countrey (to speake at large) beginneth at the same time, that our spring heere beginneth, that is to say, when the Sunne entreth into the Northerne Signes, in the moneth of March. And at the same time that wee have our Winter, when the Sunne entreth into the Southerne Signes in the moneth of September, then beginneth their Summer. In their Winter it rayneth five monethes almost continually, that is to say, in Aprill, May, June, July and August. Of faire dayes they have but a few, because the raine falleth so greatly, and the drops of it are so big, as it is a wonder to see. These waters doe marvellously supple the ground, which is then very dry, by reason of the heate of the Summer past, wherein it never rayneth for the space of sixe monethes together, and after the ground is full, and as it were ingorged with water, then do the Rivers swell beyond all credit, and are so replenished with troubled waters, that all the Countrey is surrounded by them.

*The winds in this Countrey in Winter time.*

The winds which blow in these Moones through all this Region, are the very selfe-same that Cæsar calleth by a Greeke word Etesii, that is to say, Ordinary every yeare : whereby are meant those winds that in the Card are noted from the North to the West, and from the North to the

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North-east. These winds do drive the Cloudes to the huge and high mountaynes, whereupon they rush with very great violence, and being there stayed of their owne nature, they are afterwards melted into water. So that when it is likely to raine, you shall see the Cloudes standing (as it were) upon the tops of their highest hills.

And hence ariseth the increasing and augmentation of the Rivers that spring in Æthiopia, and especially of Nilus and others, that discharge themselves into the East and West Ocean. And in the Kingdome of Congo and Guinea, through which runneth the River Niger, so called by the ancient Writers; and by the new, termed Senega, you shall see the said River increase at the very selfe-same time that Nilus doth; but indeed carrieth his waters towards the West, directly against the Ilands of Cape Verde, whereas Nilus runneth by the Ile of Meroe in Egypt towards the North, refreshing and watering all those Regions that are full of scorching Heates, and Wilderesses, and Deserts.

*The cause of the increase of Nilus, and other Rivers in Æthiopia. The River Niger, or Senega, runneth Westward.*

*Nilus runneth North-ward.*

Now, for as much as in the Regions of Congo and Æthiopia, it is alwayes woont to raine every yeare at a certaine set time, the swelling and over-flowing of the Rivers there, is of no great consideration, nor any strange accident to make account of. But in the Countries, that are farre distant and very dry, as in Egypt, where it never raineth (saving onely in Alexandria, and the Territories thereof) it is accounted a marvellous matter, to see every yeare so great a quantitie of thicke troubled water come upon them, from places so remote, at a certaine set time, without missing: which water doth quicken the ground, and ministreth food both to man and beast.

*It seldome raineth in Egypt but onely in Alexandria, and the rains which there fall are unwholesome.*

This is then the cause of the increase of Nilus, and other Rivers in that Climate, whereof the Ancients of olde times made so great doubt, and invented so many Fables and Errours.

But in their Summer, which is our Winter, there blow other winds that are quite opposite to the former, even in Diametro, and are noted in the Carde, from the South to

*Their winds in Summer time.*

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the Southeast, which out of all question must needs be cold, because they breathe from the contrarie Pole Antartike, and coole all those Countries, even for all the World as our winds in Summer doe coole our Countries. And whereas, there with them, these winds doe make the Ayre very faire and cleere, so doe they never come unto us, but they bring with them great store of raine.

*Cooling of hot  
Regions by the  
breeze or  
winds.*

And certainly, if the breath of these winds did not refresh and coole these Countries of Æthiopia, and Congo, and other places neere about them, it were not possible for them to endure the heate, considering that even in the night time they are constrayned to hang two coverings over them to keepe away the heate. The same cooling and refreshing by winds, is common also to the Inhabitants of the Ile of Candie, and of the Ilands in Archipelago, and of Cyprus, and of Asia the lesse, and of Soria, and of Egypt, which doe live (as it were) with this refreshing of the fore-said winds of the North-west, and of the West: so that they may well bee called as they are in Greeke, Zepheri, quasi ζωηφόροι, breeders of life.

*No Snow nor  
Ice in  
Æthiopia or  
Congo.*

Let it be also remembred, that in the mountaines of Æthiopia, and of Congo, and the Regions neere adjoyning, there falleth no Snow, neither is there any at all in the very tops of them, saving onely towards the Cape of Good Hope, and certaine other hils, which the Portugals call, Sierra Nevada, that is to say, the Snowie Mountaines. Neither is there any Ice or Snow to bee found in all the Countrey of Congo, which would be better esteemed there then Gold, to mingle with their drinkes: So that the Rivers there doe not swell and increase by melting of Snow, but because the raine doth fall out of the Cloudes for five whole Moones continually together, that is to say, in April, May, June, July, and August: the first raine sometimes beginning on the fifteenth day, and sometimes after. And this is the cause why the new waters of Nilus, which are so greatly desired and expected by the Inhabitants there, doe arrive sooner or later in Egypt.

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### §. II.

[II. vii. 989.]

Of the circuit of the Kingdome of Congo, and of the borders and confines thereof; As also of divers bordering Nations: and remarkeable Rarities therein.

**T**He Kingdome of Congo, is distinguished by foure borders: The first, of the West, which is watered with the Ocean Sea: The second, of the North: The third, of the East; and the last, which is towards the South.

And to beginne with the border lying upon the Sea, the first part of it is in the Bay; called Seno delle Vacche, and is situate in the height of thirteene degrees upon the Antarctike-side, and stretcheth all along the Coast unto foure degrees and a halfe on the North-side, neere to the Equinoctiall; which space containeth six hundred and thirtie miles. This Seno delle Vacche, is a Haven but of a moderate bignesse, and yet a good one, and able to receive any ship that arriveth. It is called Seno delle Vacche, that is to say, The Bay of Cowes, because thereabouts there are pasturing very many Herds of that kind of Cattle. The Countrey is plaine, and aboundeth with all manner of victuals, and there you shall find some kind of Metals to be publickly sold, especially silver, and it is subject to the King of Angola.

*The Westerne  
border of  
Congo.*

*The Bay of  
Cowes.*

A little more forward lyeth the River Bengleli, where a certaine Lord, beeing subject to the King of Angola, doth specially command: and about the said River is a great compasse of Countrey, much like to the former. And a little further runneth the River Songa, so called by the Portugals: wherein you may sayle five and twentie miles upwards in a Countrey also like to the former.

*The River  
Bengleli.*

*The River  
Songa.*

Then followeth the River Coanza, which issueth out of a little Lake, fed by a certaine River that floweth out of a great Lake, being the chiefe and principall Spring or Head of Nilus, whereof in the other part of this Discourse

*The River  
Coanza.*

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wee shall have occasion to write. Coanza, at the mouth of it is two miles broad, and you may sayle with small Barkes upwards against the streame about one hundred miles, but hath no Haven. And here it is to bee noted, that all this Countrey which we have here described, was wont to be subject to the King of Congo: but awhile agoe the Governour of that Countrey is become the absolute Lord thereof, and professeth himselfe to be a friend to the King of Congo, but not his Vassall: and yet sometimes he sendeth the King some Present, in manner of a tribute.

*The Iland of  
Loanda.*

Beyond the River Coanza, is the Haven of Loanda, being in ten degrees, made (as it is said) by a certaine Iland, called Loanda, which signifieth in that Language, Bald, or Shaven; because it is a Countrey without any hils and very low: for, indeed, it scarce rayseth it selfe above the Sea. This Iland was framed of the sand and durt of the Sea, and of the River Coanza, whose waves meeting together, and the filthy matter sinking downe there to the bottome, in continuance of time it grew to be an Iland. It may be about twentie miles long, and one mile broad at the most, and in some places but onely a bow-shoot. But it is a marvellous thing, that in such a sandie ground, if you shall digge to the depth of two or three hand-breadthes, you shall find sweet water, the best in all those Countries. Wherein also there is a very strange effect, that when the Ocean ebbeth, this water becommeth somewhat salt, but when it floweth to the top, it is most sweet. A thing that falleth out also in the Iland of Cadis in Spaine, by the report and testimonie of Strabo.

*Strange water  
springs.*

*The money of  
Congo.*

This Iland is the Mine of all the Money which the King of Congo spendeth, and all the people thereabouts. For upon the shoares you shall have certaine women, that use to dive and ducke into the Sea, two yards deepe and more, and fill their baskets with sand, and afterwards divide the gravell from certaine small Shel-fishes that are among it, which are called Lumache: and when these Lumache are severed by themselves, then doe they picke out the Males from the Females, which they may easily

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doe, because the Female is more fine then the Male, and greatly esteemed for her colour, which is very neat, bright and pleasant to the sight. These Lumache doe breed in all the shoares of the Kingdome of Congo, but the best of all are those of Loanda, because they looke very fine, and of a very bright colour, some gray or ash-coloured, and some of other colours not so precious.

*The Lumache  
of Loanda.*

And here you must note that gold and silver and metall is not of any estimation, nor in use of money in these Countries, but onely these Lumache: so that neither with gold nor silver, in masse or in coine you shall buy any thing there, but with these Lumache you shall buy both gold and silver, or any thing else.

*No metall-  
money.*

In this Iland there are seven or eight Townes, called in that Countrey Language, Libata, the principall whereof is Spirito Sancto: and therein dwelleth the Governour which is sent from Congo, to minister Justice and to gather the treasure of the moneyes of these Lumache. Here are also Goates and Sheepe, and Bores in great numbers, which being tame at the first, doe afterwards become wild and live in the Woods. Here groweth also a tree, called Enzanda, which is a great one and alwayes greene, and endued with a singular qualitie. For from the boughes of it that sprout upwards, there hang downe certaine threeds (as it were) which creeping into the Earth doe take roots, and out from these roots doe rise other trees, and so they multiply. And within the outmost barke thereof, there groweth a certaine kind of Pill like fine Linnen, which being beaten and cleansed, they spread out in length and in breadth, and therewith they cloath their men and women, that are of the basest sort.

*Spirito Sancto.*

*The tree  
Enzanda.  
[II. vii. 990.]*

*Cloth made of  
the barke of a  
tree.*

In this Iland they have certaine vessels made of the bodies of Palme-trees, joyned together and framed after the manner of our Boates, with a prow and a sterne, wherein they passe from place to place, both with Oares and Sayles. In these Boates they use to fish about the Rivers, which are indeed exceeding full of fish, and sometime also they will goe over to the firme Land.

*Their Boats or  
Canoes.*

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*Shel-fishes  
growing on  
trees.*

*Ambiziamata-  
tare.*

*What kind of  
money is used  
in sundrie  
Countrie.*

*Pepper money,  
&c.*

*Great store of  
Whales.*

In that part of this Iland, which is towards the maine Land, in certaine low places there grow certaine trees (which when the water of the Ocean ebbeth) discover themselves: and at the feet thereof you shall find certaine other Shel-fishes cleaving as fast to the trees as may bee, having within them a great fish as bigge as a mans hand, and very good meate. The people of the Countrey know them very well, and call them Ambiziamatare, that is to say, The fish of the Rocke. The shels of these fishes, they use to burne, and thereof make very good Lime to build withall. And being like the corke or barke of the tree, which is called Manghi, they dresse their Oxe-hides withall, to make their shooe soles the stronger.

To be briefe, this Iland bringeth forth neither Corne nor Wine, but there is great store of victuall brought thither from all parts thereabouts, to fetch away these Lumache. For as in all other places all things may be had for money of metall, so all things here are had for Lumache. Whereby may be noted, that not onely here in this Kingdome of Congo, but also in her Neighbour Æthiopia and in Africa, and in the Kingdome of China, and certaine others of the Indies; they use moneyes of other matter then of metall, that is to say, neither gold, nor silver, nor copper, nor any other mixture tempered of these.

For in Æthiopia, their money is Pepper: and in the Kingdome of Tombuto, which is about the River Niger, otherwise called Senega, their money is Cockles or Shel-fish: and among the Azanaghi, their moneyes are Porcellette: and in the Kingdome of Bengala, likewise they use Porcellette, and metall together. In China they have certaine Shel-fishes, called also Porcellette, which they use for their money: and in other places Paper stamped with the Kings Seale, and the barkes of the tree called Gelsomora.

Neere to this Iland towards the outward Coast to the Sea, there swimme an innumerable sort of Whales, that looke blacke, and fighting one with another doe kill them-

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selves: which afterwards being by the waves cast up upon the shoare, as bigge as a midling Merchants ship; the Negroes go forth with their Boats to fetch them, and to take the Oyle out of them, which being mingled with Pitch they use to trimme their Vessels withall. Upon the ridges or backs of these creatures, there grow many Shel-fishes, made like Snailes, Cockles, and Whelkes: whereof Signor Odoardo affirmed, that he had seene great store. He was also of opinion that Amber commeth not from these fishes. For over all the Coast of Congo, where there is an infinite number of them, you shall not find either Ambergriz, or any other Amber, blacke or white in any place.

Upon the firme Land directly over against the Iland is a Towne, called Villa di San Paulo, altogether inhabited with Portugals, and their Wives, which they brought with them out of Spaine: and yet it is not fortified. All this Channell is very full of fish, especially of Sardinaes, and of Anchioves; whereof there is so great store, that in the Winter time they will of themselves leape up to Land. Other kinds of most excellent fishes there are, as Soles, and Sturgeons, and Barbelles, and all manner of daintie fish; and great Crabs, in strange abundance, and all very wholesome: so that the greatest part of the people that dwell about the bankes there, doe live upon them.

Into this Channell runneth the River called Bengo, which is a very great one, and navigable upwards twentie five miles. This River with that other of Coanza, whereof I told you before, do make the Ile of Loanda, because when their waters doe meete together, they leave their sand & filth behind them, and so increase the Iland. There runneth also into it another great River called Dande, which will receive Vessels of an hundred tunne: and then another River called Lemba, which neither hath Haven, neither doe any ships enter into it. Very neere unto this there is also another River called Ozone, which issueth out of the same Lake, whence Nilus likewise springeth, and it hath a Haven. Next to Ozone, there is another called

*Villa di San  
Paulo.*

*Store of fish.*

*The River  
Bengo.*

*The River  
Dande.*

*The River  
Lemba.*

*The River  
Ozone.*

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*The River  
Loze.  
The River  
Ambriz.  
The River  
Lelunda.  
The Oteiro of  
Congo.*

Loze, without any Haven: and then another great one with a Haven called Ambriz, which runneth within foure leagues neere to the Royall Citie of Congo. Last of all, is the River Lelunda, which signifieth a Trowt fish, and watereth the roots of that great Hill, whereon the Palace of Congo standeth, called by the Portugals, the Oteiro. This River Lelunda, springeth out of the same Lake, from whence Coanza issueth, and taketh into it by the way another River, that commeth from the great Lake: and when it doth not raine, then you may passe over Lelunda on foot, because it hath so little store of water in it.

[II.vii.991.]

*The River  
Zaire.*

Next unto this is the Zaire, a huge River and a large, and indeed the greatest in all the Kingdome of Congo. The originall of this River commeth out of three Lakes: one is the great Lake from whence Nilus springeth; the second, is the little Lake above mentioned; and the third, is the second great Lake which Nilus engendreth. And certainly, when you will consider the abundance of water that is in this River, you will say, that there was no need to have any fewer or lesser springs to make so huge a streame as this carrieth. For in the very mouth of it, which is the onely entrance into it, the River is eight and twentie miles broad, and when it is in the height of his increase he runneth fresh water fortie or fiftie miles into the Sea, and sometimes eightie, so that the passengers doe refresh themselves withall, and by the troublesomenesse of the water they know the place where they are. It is navigable upwards with great Barkes about five and twentie miles, untill you come to a certaine straight betweene the Rockes, where it falleth with such a horrible noyse, that it may be heard almost eight miles. And this place is called by the Portugals, Cachuiuera, that is to say, a Fall, or a Cataract, like to the Cataracts of Nilus. Betweene the mouth of this River, and the fall thereof, there are divers great Ilands well inhabited, with Townes, and Lords obedient to the King of Congo, which somtimes for the great enmitie that is among them, doe warre one against another in certaine Boats, hollowed out of a stocke

*Huge breadth  
and force of  
Zaire.*

*Cataracts.*

*Certaine  
Ilands.*

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of a tree, which is of an unmeasurable bignesse, and these Boats they call Lungo.

*Boats.*

The greatest Boates that they have, are made of a certaine tree, called Licondo, which is so great, that sixe men cannot compasse it with their armes, and is in length of proportion answerable to the thicknesse, so that one of them will carrie about two hundred persons. They row these Boates with their Oares, which are not tyed to any loopes, but they hold them at liberty in their hands, and move the water therewith at pleasure. Every man hath his Oare and his Bow, and when they fight together they lay downe their Oare and take their Bow. Neither do they use any other Rudders to turne and governe their Boats, but onely their Oares.

*The tree  
Licondo.*

The first of these Ilands, which is but a little one, is called, the Ile of Horses, because there are bred and brought up in it great store of those creatures that the Greekes call Hippopotami, that is to say Water-horses. In a certaine Village within this Iland doe the Portugals dwell, having withdrawne themselves thither for their better securitie. They have their Vessels to transport them over the water to the firme Land, upon the South banke of the River, which Land is called the Haven of Pinda, where many ships doe ride that arrive therein.

*The Ile of  
Horses.*

*The Haven of  
Pinda.*

In this River there are living divers kinds of creatures, and namely, mightie great Crocodiles, which the Countrey people there, call Caiman, and Water-horses above named : And another kind of creature, that hath (as it were) two hands, and a tayle like a Target, which is called, Ambize Angulo, that is to say, a Hog-fish, because it is as fat as a Porke. The flesh of it is very good, and thereof they make Lard, and so keepe it : neither hath it the savour or taste of a fish, although it be a fish. It never goeth out from the fresh water, but feedeth upon the grasse that groweth on the bankes, and hath a mouth like the muzzell of an Oxe. There are of these fishes, that weigh five hundred pounds apiece.

*Crocodiles.*

*Water-horses.*

*Hog-fish.*

The fishermen use to take them in their little Boats, by

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*Cacongo, a fish  
like a Salmon.*

*Fishes Royall.*

*La Baia de las  
Almadias.*

*The river de  
las Barreras  
Vermegias.*

*Baia  
d'Alvaro  
Gonzales.*

*Capo de  
Caterina.*

marking the places where they feed, and then with their hookes and forkes, striking and wounding them, they draw them dead forth of the water: and when they have cut them in pieces, they carrie them to the King. For whosoever doth not so, incurreth the penaltie of death, and so doe they likewise that take the Trowt, and the Tench, and another fish called Cacongo, which is shaped after the likenesse of a Salmon, saving that it is not red: but indeed so fat it is, that it quencheth out the fire whiles it is roasted or broyled. Other fishes also there are that are called Fishes Royall, which are carried to the King, upon very severe and rigorous punishments.

Beyond this River of Congo, there commeth downe another River, which the Portugals call, La Baia de las Almadias, that is to say, the Gulfe of Barkes, because there are great store of them, that are made there, by reason of the abundance of Woods and Trees that grow thereabouts, which are fit for that use, and wherewith all the Countries round about doe furnish themselves. At the mouth of this Bay there are three Ilands, one great Ile in the middle of the Channel, which maketh a convenient Haven for small Vessels, and two other lesse, but none of them inhabited.

A little higher runneth another streame, not very great, which is called, De las Barreras Rossas, of the red Clay-pits, because it floweth from among certaine Rockes of Hills, whose Earth is dyed with a red colour: where also there is a very high Mountaine, called by the Portugals, La Sierra Complida, that is to say, the long Mountaine.

And yet going up a little further, there are two Gulfes of the Sea in the likenesse of a paire of Spectacles, wherein is a good Haven, called La Baia d'Alvaro Gonzales, that is, The Gulfe of Alvaro Gonzales. Beyond all these, are certaine hills and shoares, not worth the remembrance, untill you come to the Promontorie, that is called by the Portugals, Capo de Caterina, which is the border of the Kingdome of Congo towards the Equinoctiall, and is

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distant from the Equinoctiall Line two degrees and a halfe, which is one hundred and fiftie Italian miles.

Now from Cape De Caterina on the North side, [II.vii.992.]  
beginneth another Border or Coast of the Kingdome of *The Northern*  
Congo, which Eastward stretcheth it selfe to the place *Border of*  
where the River Vumba joyneth with the River Zaire, *Congo.*  
contayning the space of sixe hundred miles and more. Beyond this Coast of Congo towards the North, and under the Equinoctiall Line upon the Sea shoare, and about two hundred miles within Land, (comprehending in that reckoning the aforesaid Gulfe of Lope Gonzales) the People called the Bramas doe inhabite in a Countrey, that is now called the Kingdome of Loango; and the King thereof, Mani Loango, that is to say, The King of Loango. *The Bramas.*  
The Countrey hath great abundance of Elephants, whose *The Kingdom*  
teeth they exchange for Iron, whereof they make their *of Loango.*  
Arrow heads, their Knives, and such other instruments. In this Countrie also, they weave certaine Cloth of the leaves of Palme-trees, in sundrie sorts: as we shall tell you in some other place of this narration.

The King of Loango is in amitie with the King of Congo, and the report is, that in times past he was his vassall. The people are circumcised after the manner of the Hebrews, like as also the rest of the Nations in those Countries use to be.

*The People*  
*of Loango*  
*circumcised.*

Beyond the Kingdome of Loango, are the People called Anziques, of whom wee shall deliver unto you a historie, which in trueth is very strange, and almost incredible, for the beastly and cruell custome that they use in eating mans flesh; yea, and that of the neerest kins-folkes they have. This Countrey towards the Sea on the West, bordereth upon the People of Ambus; and towards the North, upon other Nations of Africa, and the Wildernesse of Nubia; and towards the East, upon the second great Lake, from whence the River of Congo springeth, in that Part which is called Anzicana; and from the Kingdome of Congo, it is divided by the River Zaire, wherein there are many Ilands (as before is told you) scattered from the Lake

*The Countrie*  
*of Anzicos.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Sanders.*

*Medicines for  
the French  
Poxe.*

*For the head-  
ache.*

*Their Bowes.*

downewards, and some of them belonging to the Dominion of the Anzigues, by which River also they doe traffique with the People of Congo. In this Kingdome of the Anzigues, there are many Mines of Copper; and great quantitie of Sanders, both red and grey: the red is called Tauilla, and the grey (which is the better esteemed) is called Chicongo, whereof they make a powder of a very sweet smell, and divers medicines. They doe also mingle it with the Oyle of Palme-tree, and so anoynting all their bodies over withall, they preserve themselves in health. But the Portugals use it being tempered with Vinegar, which they lay upon their pulses, and so heale the French Poxe, which they call in that Language, Chitangas. Some doe affirme, that this grey Sanders is the very Lignum Aquilæ, that groweth in India: and Signor Odoardo affirmed, that the Portugals have proved it for the headache, by laying it on the coales, and taking the smoake of it. The pith and innermost part of the Tree is the best, but the outter part is of no estimation.

They make great store of Linnen of the Palme-tree, both of sundrie sorts and colours, and much Cloth of Silke, whereof wee will discourse more hereafter. The people are subject to a King that hath other Princes under him. They are very active and warlike. They are readie to take Armes; and doe fight on foot. Their weapons are different from the weapons of all other people round about them: for, their Bowes are small and short, made of wood, and wrapped about with Serpents skins of divers colours, and so smoothly wrought, that you would thinke them to be all one with the wood: and this they doe, both to make the Bowe stronger, and also to hold it the faster. Their Strings are of little wooden twigs like reeds, not hollow within, but sound and pliable, and very daintie; such as the Cavalieros of Portugall doe carrie in their hands to beate their Palfreyes withall. They are of an ash-colour, and of a Lion-tawney, somewhat tending to blacke. They grow in the Countrey of the Anzigues, and also in the Kingdome of Bengala, through which the River



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Ganges runneth. Their Arrowes are short and slender, and of a very hard wood, and they carrie them on their Bow-hand. They are so quicke in shooting, that holding eight and twentie Shafts or more in their Bow-hand, they will shoot and discharge them all, before the first Arrow light on the ground: yea, and sometimes there have beene scene divers stout Archers, that have killed birds as they flie in the aire.

*Their Arrowes.*

Other weapons also they make, as Axes and Hatchets, which they use and frame after a strange manner: for, the handle is shorter by the halfe then the Iron is, and at the lowest end of it there is a pommell, for the faster holding of it in the hand; and all covered over with the foresaid skinne of a Serpent. In the uppermost end of it, is the Iron very bright and shining, fastned to the wood with plates of Copper, in the manner of two nailes, as long as the handle: it hath two edges, the one cutteth like a Hatchet, and maketh a wound after the fashion of an halfe roundell; the other is a Hammer. When they fight with their Enemies, or defend themselves from their Arrowes, they are so exercised with a wonderfull speed and nimblenesse to manage their weapons, that whirling them round about, as it were in a circle, they keepe all that compasse of the ayre which is before them; so that when the Enemie shooteth, and the Arrow beginne to fall, it lighteth upon the Hatchet, being so swiftly and vehemently whirled about, that it breaketh the force of the Arrow, and so it is repulsed: then doe they hang the Hatchet upon their shoulder, and begin to shoot themselves. They have also certaine short Daggers, with sheaths of the Serpents skins, made like Knives with an haft unto them, which they use to weare acrosse. Their Girdles are of divers sorts; but the Men of warre have their Girdles of Elephants skin, three good fingers broad: and because they are at the first two fingers thicke, and very hard to handle handsomely, by the heat of the fire they bow them round, and so with certaine buttons tye them overthwart about them. The men are very active

*Their  
weapons.*

[II. vii. 993.]

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*The nature of  
the Anzicos.*

*Vain-glorious  
madnesse.*

*Their  
merchandise.*

*Circumcision.  
The Anzichi  
are circum-  
cised, and  
marked in  
their faces.*

*A shambles of  
mans flesh.*

and nimble, and leape up and downe the Mountaines like Goats. Courageous they are and contemne death: men of great simplicitie, loyaltie, and fidelitie, and such as the Portugals doe trust more then any other. In so much as Signor Odoardo was wont to say, that if these Anzichi would become Christians (being of so great fidelitie, sinceritie, loyaltie, and simplicitie, that they will offer themselves to death, for the glorie of the world, and to please their Lords will not sticke to give their owne flesh to bee devoured) then would they with a farre better heart and courage indure martyrdome, for the name of our Redeemer Jesus Christ, and would most honourably maintaine our Faith and Religion, with their good testimonie, and example against the Gentiles.

Moreover, the said Signor Odoardo did likewise affirme, that there was no conversing with them, because they were a savage and beastly people, saving onely in respect that they come and traffique in Congo, bringing thither with them Slaves, both of their owne Nation, and also out of Nubia (whereupon they doe border) and linnen Cloth (whereof we will tell you hereafter,) and Elephants teeth: in exchange of which chaffare they recarrie home with them, Salt, and these Lumache, which they use in stead of money and Coyne; and another greater kind of Lumache, which come from the Ile of Saint Thomas, and which they use to weare for Brooches to make themselves fine and gallant withall. Other Merchandises, also they carrie backe with them, which are brought out of Portugall, as Silkes, Linnen, and Glasses, and such like. They use to circumcise themselves. And another foolish custome they have, both men and women, as well of the Nobilitie, as of the Commonaltie, even from their childhood, to marke their faces with sundrie slashes made with a knife, as in due place shall be further shewed unto you.

They keepe a Shambles of mans flesh as they doe in these Countries for Beefe and other victuals. For their Enemies whom they take in the Warres, they eate; and

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also their Slaves, if they can have a good market for them, they sell: or if they cannot, then they deliver them to the Butchers, to be cut in pieces, and so sold, to be roasted or boiled. And (that which a marvellous historie to report) some of them being wearie of their lives, and some of them even for valour of courage, and to shew themselves stout and venturous, thinking it to bee a great honour unto them, if they runne into voluntarie death, thereby to shew that they have a speciall contempt of this life, will offer themselves to the butcherie, as faithfull subjects to their Princes, for whose sakes, that they may seeme desirous to doe them notable service, they doe not onely deliver themselves to bee devoured by them, but also their Slaves, when they are fat and well fed, they doe kill and eate them. True it is, that many Nations there are, that feed upon mans flesh, as in the East Endies, and in Brasill, and in other places: but that is onely the flesh of their adversaries and enemies, but to eate the flesh of their owne friends, and subjects, and kinsfolkes, it is without all example in any place of the World, saving onely in this Nation of the Anzichi.

*Blind  
subjection.*

*A strange  
beastly custom.*

The ordinarie apparell of these people is thus: The common sort goe naked from the girdle upwards, and without any thing upon their heads, having their haire trussed up, and curled. The Noblemen are apparelled in Silkes and other Cloth, and weare upon their heads, blue and red, and blacke colours, and Hats and Hoods of Portugall Velvet, and other kinds of Caps usuall in that Countrie. And indeed, they are all desirous to have their apparell handsome and neat, as their abilitie will suffer them. The women are all covered from top to toe, after the manner of Africa. The poorer sort of them doe gird themselves close from the girdle downewards. The Noble women and such as are of wealth, doe weare certaine Mantles, which they cast over their heads, but keepe their faces open and at libertie: and Shooes they have on their feet, but the poore goe bare-foot. They goe very quicke and lightsome. Their stature is comely, and their

*Their  
Apparel.*

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*Their  
Language.*

conditions faire and commendable. Their Language is altogether different from the Language of Congo, and yet the Anzichi will learne the Language of Congo very soone and easily, because it is the plainer Tongue: but the People of Congo doe very hardly learne the Language of the Anzichi. And when I once demanded what their Religion was, it was told mee they were Gentiles, and that was all that I could learne of them.

*The Easterne  
border of  
Congo.*

The East Coast of the Kingdome of Congo, beginneth (as we have told you) at the meeting of the River Vumba, and the River of Zaire; and so with a line drawne towards the South in equall distance from the River Nilus, which lieth on the left hand, it taketh up a great Mountaine which is very high, and not inhabited in the tops thereof, called the Mountaine of Crystall, because there is in it great quantitie of Crystall, both of the Mountaine and of the Cliffe, and of all sorts. And then passing on farther, includeth the Hills that are called Sierras de Sol, that is to say, the Hills of the Sunne, because they are exceeding high. And yet it never snoweth upon them, neither doe they beare any thing, but are very bare and without any trees at all. On the left hand there arise other Hills, called the Hills of Sal-Nitrum, because there is in them great store of that Minerall. And so cutting over the River Berbela, that commeth out of the first Lake, there endeth the ancient bound of the Kingdome of Congo on the East.

*The Moun-  
taines of  
Crystall.*

*The Moun-  
taines of the  
Sunne.*

*The Moun-  
taines of Sal-  
Nitrum.*  
[II. vii. 994.]

Thus then the East Coast of this Kingdome is derived from the meeting of the two foresaid Rivers, Vumba and Zaire; untill you come to the lake Achelunda, and to the Countrie of Malemba; containyng the space of sixe hundred miles. From this line which is drawne in the Easterne Coast of Congo to the River Nilus, and to the two Lakes (whereof mention shall be made in convenient place) there is the space of one hundred and fiftie miles of ground well inhabited, and good store of Hills, which doe yeeld sundrie Metals, with much Linnen, and Cloth of the Palme tree.

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*The Arte of  
making Silkes,  
in this Eastern  
Coast, of  
Palm-trees.*

And seeing wee are now come to this point of this discourse, it will be very necessarie to declare unto you the marvellous Arte which the people of this Countrey, and other places thereabouts doe use in making Clothes of Sundrie sorts, as Velvets shorne and unshorne, Cloth of Tissue, Sattins, Taffata, Damaskes, Sarcenets, and such like, not of any silken Stuffe, (for they have no knowledge of the Silke-wormes at all, although some of their apparell bee made of Silke that is brought thither from our Countries.) But they weave their Clothes afore-named of the leaves of Palme-trees, which Trees they alwaies keepe under and low to the ground, every yeere cutting them, and watering them, to the end they may grow small and tender against the new Spring. Out of these leaves, being cleansed and purged after their manner, they draw forth their theeds, which are all very fine and daintie, and all of one evenesse, saving that those which are longest, are best esteemed: for, of those they weave their greatest pieces. These Stuffes they worke of divers fashions, as some with a nappe upon them like Velvet, on both sides, and other Cloth, called Damaskes, branched with leaves, and such other things; and the Broccati, which are called High and Low, and are farre more precious then ours are. This kind of Cloth no man may weare but the King, and such as it pleaseth him. The greatest pieces are of these Broccati: for they containe in length foure or five spans; and in breadth, three or foure spannes, and are called Incorimbas, by the name of the Countrey where it groweth, which is about the River Vumba. The Velvets are called Ensachas, of the same bignesse; and the Damaskes, Infulas; and the Rasi, Maricas; and the Zendadi, Tangas; and the Ormesini, Engombos. Of the lighter sort of these Stuffes they have greater pieces, which are wrought by the Anzichi; and are sixe spannes long, and five spannes broad, wherewith every man may apparell himselfe according to his abilitie. Besides that, they are very thicke and found to keep out the water, and yet very light to weare. The Portugals have lately begun

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to use them for Tents and Bootheres, which doe marvellously resist both water and wind.

*The Southerne Coast.*

*The Mountaine of Silver.*

This Easterne Coast (as it is before set downe) endeth in the mountaine, called Serras de Plata, that is, the Mountaines of Silver; and there beginneth the fourth and last border of the Kingdome of Congo, towards the South, that is to say, from the foresaid Mountaine to the Bay of Cowes on the West, containing in length the space of foure hundred and fiftie miles. And this Southerne Line doth part the Kingdome of Angola in the middle, and leaveth on the left hand of it, the foresaid Mountaines of Silver; and farther beyond them towards the South, the Kingdome of Matama; which is a great Kingdome, very mightie, and absolute of it selfe, and sometimes in amitie, and sometimes at utter enmitie with the Kingdome of Angola.

*The King of Matama.*

The King of Matama is in Religion a Gentile, and his Kingdome stretcheth towards the South to the River Bravagal, and neere to the Mountaines, commonly called the Mountaines of the Moone; and towards the East bordereth on the Westernne bankes of the River Bagamidri, and so crosseth over the River Coari.

This Countrie aboundeth in Vaults of Crystall and other Metals, and all manner of victuall, and good aire. And although the people thereof, and their neighbour borderers doe traffique together: Yet the King of Matama, and the King of Angola, doe oftentimes warre one against the other, as we told you before: And this River Bagamidri divideth the Kingdome of Matapa from the Kingdome of Monomata, which is towards the East, and whereof John de Barros doth most largely discourse, in the first Chapter of his tenth Booke.

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### §. III.

Of Angola, the Warres betwixt Congo and Angola: their manner of warfare. The present Kingdome of Congo bounded. Of Bamba, one of the sixe Princes of Congo, and the Creatures therein.

**T**Owards the Sea-coast there are divers Lords, that take upon them the Title of Kings: but indeed they are of very base and slender estate: Neither are there any Ports or Havens of any account or name in the Rivers there. And now, forasmuch as we have oftentimes made mention of the Kingdome of Angola, this will bee a very convenient place for us to intreat thereof; because it hath beene heretofore said, that the King of Angola, being in times past but a Governour or Deputie under the King of Congo; although, since that time he is become a Christian, he made himselfe a free and an absolute Prince, and usurped all that Quarter to his owne Jurisdiction, which before he had in regiment and government under another. And so afterwards in time conquered other Countries thereabouts; insomuch, as he is now growne to be a great Prince, and a rich, and in power little inferiour to the King of Congo himselfe, and therefore either payeth tribute, or refuseth to pay tribute unto him, even at his owne good pleasure.

It came to passe, that Don Giovanni the Second, being King of Portugall, planted the Christian Religion in the Kingdome of Congo; and thereupon, the King of Congo became a Christian. After which time the Lord of Angola was alwaies in amitie, and (as it were) a Vassall of the forenamed King of Congo, and the People of both Countries did traffique together one with another, and the Lord of Angola did every yeere send some Presents to the King of Congo. And by licence from the K. of Congo, there was a great trade betweene the Portugals

[II. vii. 995.]  
*The King of Angola freeth himselfe from subjection to the King of Congo, since Congo received the Faith.*

*John the Second, King of Portugall, first brought Christianitie into Congo.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Paulo Diaz,  
the first discoverer of this  
traffick.  
Don Sebastian  
King of  
Portugall.*

*Paulo Diaz  
buildeth an  
house in  
Anzelle.*

*The Author  
calleth him  
Lord, because  
he was then  
but a petie  
King.*

and the People of Angola, at the Haven of Loanda, where they bought Slaves, and changed them for other merchandises, and so transported all into the Ile of S. Thomas. Whereby it came to passe, that the traffique was here united with the traffique of S. Thomas: so that the ships did use first to arrive at that Iland, and then afterward passed over to Loanda. And when this trade began in processe of time to encrease, they dispatched their ships from Lisbone to Angola of themselves, and sent with them a Governour, called Paulo Diaz of Novais, to whom this businesse did (as it were) of right appertaine, in regard of the good deserts of his Ancestors, who first discovered this Traffique. To this Paulo Diaz, did Don Sebastiano King of Portugall grant leave and authoritie to conquer, for the space of three and thirtie leagues upwards along the Coast, beginning at the River Coanza, towards the South, and within the Land also, whatsoever hee could get towards all his charges for him and his heires. With him there went many other ships that opened and found out a great trade with Angola, which notwithstanding was directed to the foresaid Haven of Loanda, where the said ships did still discharge themselves. And so by little and little he entred into the firme Land, and made himselfe an house in a certaine Village, called Anzelle, within a mile neere to the River Coanza, because it was the more commodious and nigher to the traffique of Angola. When the trade here began thus to encrease, and merchandises were freely carried by the Portugals, and the People of Congo to Cabazo, a place belonging to the Lord of Angola, and distant from the Sea, one hundred and fiftie miles, there to sell and barter them, it pleased his Lordship to give out order, that all the Merchants should be slaine, and their goods confiscated, alledging for his defence, that they were come thither as spies, and to take possession of his estate: but in trueth it is thought that he did it onely to gaine all that wealth to himselfe, considering that it was a People that did not deale in the habite of Warriars, but after the manner of Merchants. And this fell out in the



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same yeere, that the King Don Sebastiano was discomfited in Barbarie.

When Paulo Diaz understood of this course, he put himselfe in Armes against the King of Angola, and with such a troupe of Portugals as he could gather together, that were to be found in that Countrie, and with two Gallies and other vessels, which he kept in the River Coanza, he went forward, on both sides of the River conquering, and by force subdued many Lords, and made them his Friends and Subjects. But the King of Angola perceiving that his Vassals had yeelded to the obedience of Paulo Diaz, and that with all prosperous successe he had gained much Land upon him, hee assembled a great Armie to goe against him, and so utterly to destroy him. Whereupon Paulo Diaz requested the King of Congo, that he would succour him with some helpe to defend himselfe withall, who presently sent unto him for ayde, an Armie of sixtie thousand men, under the conduct of his Cousin Don Sebastiano Mani-bamba, and another Captaine, with one hundred and twentie Portugall Souldiers, that were in those Countries, and all of his owne pay for the atchieving of this enterprise. This Armie was to joyne with Paulo Diaz, and so altogether to warre against the King of Angola: but arriving at the shoare, where they were to passe over the River Bengo, within twelve miles of Loanda, and where they should have met with many Barkes to carrie the Campe to the other shoare, partly because the said Barkes had slacked their comming, and partly because much time would have beene spent in transporting so many men, the whole Armie tooke their way quite over the River, and so going on forwards, they met with the People of the King of Angola, that were readie to stop the Souldiers of Congo from entring upon their Countrie.

*Paulo Diaz, in Armes against the King of Angola.*

*P. Diaz demandeth succour of the King of Congo.*

The militarie order of the Mociconghi (for by that terme wee doe call the naturall borne People of the Kingdome of Congo, as we call the Spaniards, those that are naturally borne in Spaine) and the militarie order of the People of

*The militarie order of the People of Congo.*

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*How the Sou-  
diers doe  
understand the  
pleasure of  
their Generall.*

Angola, is almost all one: for both of them doe usually fight on foot, and divide their Armie into severall troupes, fitting themselves according to the situation of the Field where they doe encampe, and advancing their Ensignes and Banners in such sort as before is remembred. The removes of their Armie are guided and directed by certaine severall sounds and noyses, that proceed from the Captaine Generall, who goeth into the middest of the Armie, and there signifieth what is to be put in execution; that is to say, either that they shall joyne battell, or else retire, or put on forward, or turne to the right hand, and to the left hand, or to performe any other warlike action. For by these severall sounds distinctly delivered from one to another, they doe all understand the commandements of their Captaine, as we here among us doe understand the pleasure of our Generall by the sundrie stroakes of the Drum, and the Captaines sounds of the Trumpet.

[II. vii. 996.]  
*Three kinds of  
Instruments  
used in their  
warres.*

Three principall sounds they have which they use in Warre: One which is uttered aloud, by great Rattles, fastned in certaine Wooden Cases, hollowed out of a tree, and covered with Leather, which they strike with certaine little handles of Ivory. Another is made by a certaine kind of Instrument, fashioned like a Pyramis turned upward: for the lower end of it is sharpe, and endeth as it were in a point, and the upper end waxeth broader and broader, like the bottome of a Triangle, in such sort, that beneath they are narrow and like an Angle, and above they are large and wide. This Instrument is made of certaine thinne plates of Iron, which are hollow and emptie within, and very like to a Bell turned up-side-downe. They make them ring, by striking them with wooden wands: and oftentimes they doe also cracke them, to the end that the sound should be more harsh, horrible, and warlike: The third Instrument is framed of Elephants teeth, some great, and some small, hollow within, and blownen at a certaine hole which they make on the side of it, in manner of the Fife, and not aloft like the Pipe. These are tempered by them in such sort, that they yeeld

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as warlike and harmonious Musicke, as the Cornet doth, and so pleasant and jocond a noyse, that it mooveth and stirreth up their courages, and maketh them not to care for any danger whatsoever. Now of these three severall sorts of warlike Instruments, there are some bigger, and some lesse. For the Captaine Generall carrieth alwaies with him the greater sort, to the end that by them he may give signification to the whole Campe what they shall doe. The particular bands and troupes of the Armie have in like manner their smaller sort, and every Captaine in his severall Regiment hath also one of the smallest, which they strike with their hands. Whereupon it falleth out, that when they heare the sound of the generall Rattle, or Cornet, or the other third kind of Instrument, every part of the Army doth presently answere in the same note, signifying thereby, that they have well understood the good pleasure of the Captaine, and so consequently the under Captaines doe the like. Neither doe they onely use these Instruments and sounds universally, but also when they are in fight and in skirmish, the valiant and courageous Souldiers go before the rest, and with this kind of bells, which they strike with their wooden wands, they dance, and encourage their fellowes, and by the note doe signifie unto them in what danger they are, and what weapons they have met withall.

*The use of  
these Instru-  
ments.*

The Military apparell of the better sort, and of the Lords of the Moci-Conghi, is this. On their heads they carie a Cap, which is garnished with sundry Plumes of the feathers of the Estridge, of the Peacocke, of the Cocke, and of other kinds of Birds, which make them to seeme men of greater stature then they are, and terrible to looke upon. From the girdle upwards they are all naked, and have hanging about them from their necks, both on the right side and on the left, even as low as to both their flankes, certaine chaines of Iron, with Rings upon them as bigge as a mans little finger, which they use for a certaine militarie pompe and bravery. From the girdle downwards they have breeches of Linnen, or Sendale, which are

*The Militarie  
apparell of the  
better sort.*

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*Their  
weapons.*

covered with Cloath, and reach downe to their heeles, but then they are folded againe upwards, and tucked under their girdle. Upon their girdle, which (as we told you) is made with exquisite and curious worke, they doe fasten certaine bells, very like to the instruments that are before named, which in mooving of themselves, and in fighting with their enemies, doe ring, and make a noyse, and adde courage unto them, while they are in combate with their adversaries. Upon their legges they have likewise their Buskins, after the Portugall fashion. Their Armour we have already declared, that is to say; Bow and Arrowes, Sword, Dagger and Target: but yet with this caveat, that whosoever weareth a Bow, he weareth also a Dagger, but no Target: for those two weapons may not be worne together, but Sword and Target they may lawfully weare both at once.

*The Militarie  
apparell of the  
meaner sort.*

The common Souldiers goe all naked from the girdlestead upwards, and have the rest of their bodies armed with Bow and Arrowes, and Daggers. These are they that doe first offer the skirmish, going out before the rest of the Army, as it were severally and dispersedly provoking to fight, and receiving the shot from a farre off, they turne and winde this way and that way, and doe nimbly leape from one side to another, to the end they may avoyd the lighting of their enemies Arrowes. Besides these, there are also certaine quicke and gallant young men, that runne out before the rest, which with the ringing of their bells (as before is said) are as it were comforters of their fellowes, and when they have fought so much, that the Captaine thinketh them to be even weary, then doth he call them backe with the sound of one of those instruments above mentioned: so that perceiving the medley to wax hot, they turn about and retyre themselves backe againe, and others succcede in their places, which course is still observed and kept untill such time, as both the Armies doe indeed joyne all their maine forces together, and so fight it out.

In the place above described, there were sundry

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encounters on the one side, and on the other. And in the first batailes the people of Congo remained Conquerors: but afterward, when they had divers times fought together with great losse on both sides, and victuals began now to faile, and consequently men waxed sicke and died, the Campe of the King of Congo was dissolved, and every man returned to his owne home.

*The Issue of  
this battell.*

In this meane while Paulo Diaz, though he could not joyne his forces with the Army of his friends that came to succour him, yet set himselfe forwards, and passing over the River stayed at Luiola, because it was a place very strong, and fit to resist the King of Angola. The situation of Luiola is this: The two Rivers, Coanza and Luiola doe joyne together about one hundred and five miles from the Sea shore, and a little above the said joyning, these Rivers doe sever themselves, for the space of an Harquebusse shot, so that they make as it were an Iland betweene them. In which Iland, at the meeting of the two Rivers there riseth a hill, which Paulo Diaz surprized and fortified for his better safetie. And whereas in times past, there was never any habitation there, now at this present it is growne to be a pretie Countrey inhabited by the Portugals.

*P. Diaz at  
Luiola.*

[II.vii. 997.]

From this place thus surprized by Paulo Diaz, and called Luiola, you may saile along the River with certaine small vessels, even to the Sea, and goe by land without any danger for the space of one hundred and five miles. Neere thereunto are the hills, that are called the hills of Cabambe, producing infinite store of Silver: which the said Diaz doth every day by little and little endeavour to conquer. And these hils are the grand quarrell betweene him and the people of Angola. For knowing that the Portugals doe esteeme greatly of these hills, in regard of the Silver pits which are there in great abundance; they doe use all the force and skill they can to keepe the Portugals from them. They fight also with them in divers other places: for the Portugals passing over the River Coanza, do continually make in-roads into the Countries that are subject to the King of Angola.

*The hills  
Cabambe.*

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*The weapons  
of the people  
of Angola.*

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Their mili-  
tarie actions.*

The weapons of these peoples, are Bowes sixe handfull long, with strings made of the barks of Trees, Arrowes of Wood, lesse then a mans little finger, and sixe handfuls long. They have Iron heads, made like a hooke, and feathers of Birds in the tops of them: and of these Arrowes they use to carry to the number of sixe or seven upon their Bow hand, without any Quiver at all. Their Daggers are fashioned with a haft after the manner of a Knife, which they weare at their girdle, on their left side, and hold them aloft in their hands, when they fight with them. By their Militarie actions and proceedings, you may observe their great skill and good order in matter of warre. For in divers batailes that were betweene them and the Portugals, it was plainely seene how they could chuse their advantages against their enemies, as by assaulting them in the night time, and in rainy weather, to the end that their Harquebusses and Gunnes should not take fire; and also by dividing their forces into many troopes, to trouble them the more. The King doth not use to goe to the warre in his owne person, but sendeth his Captaines in his stead. The people are also accustomed to flye and runne away incontinently, as soone as they see their Captaine slaine, neither can they be perswaded to stay by any reason or argument, but presently yeeld up the field. They are all Foot-men, neither have they any Horses at all: and therefore the Captaines, if they will not goe on foote, cause themselves to bee carried on the shoulders of their Slaves, after one of the three manners, which we will shew unto you hereafter.

*Rudenesse of  
art military,  
and provision  
of and for  
souldiers.*

This Nation goeth out to warre, in number almost infinite, and very confusedly: they leave no man at home that is fit to carry a weapon: they make no preparation of victuals necessarie for the Campe: but such as perhaps have any, convey it with them upon the shoulders of their Servants, and yet they have sundry sorts of creatures that might bee managed, and serve their turnes to draw, and to carry, as in the second part of this Treatise shall be described unto you. And thereupon it falleth out, that

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when they come into any Countrey with their whole Army, all their food is quickly quite consumed, and then having nothing left to feed upon, they dissolve their hoast even in the greatest necessitie of prosecuting their enterprise, and so are inforced by hunger to returne into their owne Countries.

They are greatly given to Divination by Birds: If a Bird chance to flye on their left hand, or cry in such manner, as those which make profession to understand the same, do say, that it fore-sheweth ill lucke and adversity, or that they may goe no further forwards, they will presently turne backe and repaire home: which custome was also in the old time observed by the ancient Romans, and likewise at this day by sundry other Pagans.

*They are given  
to divination  
by Birds.*

Now if it shall seeme strange to any man, that so few Portugall Souldiers, as Paulo Diaz retaineth there with him, and others of the Portugall Nation, which Trafficke into the Realme, and relieve him with succours, being in number but three hundred at the most, accounting their Slaves, and also the Male-contents, the Rebels and Fugitives of Angola, which daily resort unto him, and amount not in all to the quantitie of fifteene thousand men, should be able to make so gallant a resistance against that innumerable rabble of Negroes, being subject to the King of Angola, which are gathered there together (as it is said) to the number of a Million of soules. I answere, that great reason may be alleadged for the same. For the Armie of the Negroes is all naked, and utterly destitute of all provision and furniture for Armour of defence: And as for their weapons of offence, they consist onely but of Bowes and Daggers (as I told you.) But our few Portugals that are there, are well lapped in certaine Jackets that are stuffed and basted with bombaste, and stitched and quilted very soundly, which keepe their Armes very safe, and their bodies downe-wards as low as their knees: Their heads also are armed with cappes made of the same stuffe, which doe resist the shot of the Arrow, and the stroke of the Dagger: Besides that, they are girt with long

*Why so small  
a number, as  
Paulo Diaz  
had with him,  
was able to  
resist so huge  
an Army of  
the King of  
Angola.*

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[II. vii. 998.]  
*The kingdome  
of Angola very  
populous, sup-  
posed to hold  
a million of  
fighting men.  
The commodi-  
ties of Angola.*

*A Dogge  
sold for two  
hundred and  
twentie  
Duckets.*

*The money of  
Angola.*

swords, and some Horsemen there are among them that carry speares for their weapons. Now you must understand that one man on horse-backe, is of more worth then a hundred Negroes, because the Horsemen doe afright them greatly: and especially of those that doe discharge Gunnes and Peeces of Artillarie against them, they doe stand continually in an extreame bodily feare. So that these few being well armed, and cunningly and artificially ordered, must needs overcome the other, though they be very many in number. This Kingdome of Angola, is full of people beyond all credite: For every Man taketh as many Wives as he listeth, and so they multiply infinitely: But they doe not use so to do in the kingdome of Congo, which liveth after the manner of the Christians.

This Kingdome also is very rich in Mines of Silver, and most excellent Copper; and for other kinds of Mettall, there is more in this kingdome then in any other Countrey of the world whatsoever. Fruitfull it is in all manner of food, and sundry sorts of Cattell, and specially for great heards of Kine. True it is, that this people doe love Dogges flesh better then any other meate: and for that purpose they feed and fatten them, and then kill them and sell them in their open shambles. It is constantly affirmed, that a great Dog accustomed to the Bull, was sold by exchange for two and twentie Slaves, which after the rate of ten Duckets a poll, were worth in all two hundred and twentie Duckets: in so high a price and account doe they hold that Creature.

The Monyes that are used in Angola, are much different from the Lumache of Congo: for they of Angola doe use Beads of Glasse, such as are made in Venice, as bigge as a Nut, and some of lesser quantitie, and of divers and sundry colours and fashions. These doe the people of Angola make, not onely to use them for money, but also for an ornament of their men and women, to weare about their necks and their armes, and are called in their tongue Anzolos: but when they are threaded upon a string like a paire of Beads, they call them Mizanga.



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*The Religion  
of Angola.*

The King of Angola is by religion a Gentile, and worshippeth Idols, and so doe all the people in his Kingdome. It is true, that he hath greatly desired to become a Christian, after the example of the King of Congo. But because there hath not beene as yet any possibilitie to send Priests unto him, that might illuminate and instruct him, he remaineth still in darknesse. The foresaid Signor Odoardo told mee, that in his time the King of Angola sent an Ambassadour to the King of Congo, requesting that hee would send him some religious persons to informe him in the Christian Religion: but the King of Congo had none there that he could spare, and therefore could send him none. At this day, both these Kings doe Trafficke together, and are in amitie one with another: the King of Angola having now cleered and discharged himselfe for the injuries and slaughters that were committed upon those of Congo, and upon the Portugals at Gabazo.

The language of the people of Angola is all one with the language of the people of Congo, because (as we told you before) they are both but one Kingdome. Onely the difference betweene them is, as commonly it is betweene two Nations that border one upon another.

*The language  
of the people of  
Angola.*

We have signified unto you heretofore, that the Bay of Cowes doth divide the Kingdome of Angola in the midst; and hitherto we have treated but of the one halfe thereof: Now wee will describe unto you the second part of it, which lyeth from the said Bay of Cowes towards the South. From this Bay then, to the blacke Cape, called Cape Negro, by the Coast of the Ocean, they doe reckon two hundred and twenty miles, of such Countrey and soyle as the former is, and possessed by many Lords that are subject to the King of Angola. From Cape Negro there runneth a line towards the East, through the midst of the Mountaines, that are called, Monti Freddi, that is to say, The cold Mountaines: which also in some certaine parts of them, that are higher then the rest towards the Equinoctiall, are tearmed by the Portugals, Monti Nevosi,

*The rest of the  
Kingdome of  
Angola  
described.*

*Cape Negro 1.  
The blacke  
Cape.*

*Monti Freddi.  
1. The cold  
Mountaines.*

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*The Mountaines of  
Chrystall.*

or Snowy Mountaines, and so endeth at the rootes of other Mountaines, that are called the Mountaines of Crystall. (Out of these Snowy Mountaines doe spring the waters of the Lake Dumbear Zocche.) This foresaid line, from the Mountaine of Crystall, draweth on-wards towards the North through the Mountaines of Silver, till you come to Malemba, where we told you the Kingdome of Congo was divided, and parted the River of Coari in the midst. And this is the Countrey possessed by the King of Angola, whereof I have no more to say, then is already set downe, neither of the qualities of his person, nor of his Court.

*The West containeth 375.  
miles.*

Beginning therefore at the River Coanza, and drawing towards the Equinoctiall three hundred seventie five miles, you shall finde the River, that they call Las Barreas Vermellias, or the Redde Pits, which are indeed the ragged ruines of certaine Rockes worne by the Sea; and when they fall downe, doe shew themselves to bee of a red colour. From thence by a direct line upon the North, that which the King possesseth, is foure hundred and fifty miles. And then the said line dividing it selfe towards the South, passeth by the hills of Crystall (not those that we told you before did belong to Angola, but others that are called by the same name) and so by the Mountaines of Salnitro, traversing the River Verbela, at the roots of the Mountaines of Silver, it endeth at the Lake Aquelunda, which is the space of five hundred miles.

*The North  
450.*

*The East 500.*

*The South 360.*

*The kingdome  
of Congo containeth in  
comparse, 1685.  
miles.*

The fourth line runneth along the River Coanza, which issueth out of the said Lake, and containeth three hundred and sixtie miles. So that the whole Realme now possessed by Don Alvaro, the King of Congo is in compasse, one thousand sixe hundred eightie five miles. But the breadth thereof beginneth at the mouth of the River Zaire, where the point is, which in the Portugall speech is called, Padraon, and so cutting the Kingdome of Congo in the middle, and crossing over the Mountaines of the Sunne, and the Mountaines of Crystall, there it endeth, containing the space of sixe hundred miles, and within one hundred and fiftie miles, neere to the River Nilus. Very true it

*In breadth  
600. miles.*

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is indeed, that in ancient time the Predecessors of this Prince did raigne over many other Countries thereabouts, which in processe of time they have lost: and although they bee now in the government of others, yet doe the Kings of Congo, retaine still to this day the titles of those Regions, as for example, Don Alvaro, King of Congo, and of Abundos, and of Matama, and of Quizama, and of Angola, and of Cacongo, and of the seven Kingdomes of Congere Amolaza, and of the Pangelungos, and Lord of the River Zaire, and of the Anziquos, and Anziquana, and of Loango.

[II. vii. 999.]  
*The title or  
stile of the  
King of Congo.*

This Kingdome is divided into sixe Provinces, that is to say, Bamba, Songo, Sundi, Pango, Batta, and Pemba. The Province of Bamba, (which is the greatest and the richest) is governed by Don Sebastian Mani-Bamba, cousin to the King Don Alvaro last deceased, and it is situated upon the Sea-coast, from the River Ambrize, untill you come to the River Coanza towards the South. This Don Sebastian hath under his Dominion many Princes and Lords, and the name of the greatest of them are these, Don Antonio Mani-Bamba, who is Lieutenant and Brother to Don Sebastian, and Mani-Lemba another, and Mani-Danda, and Mani-Bengo, and Mani-Loanda, who is Governour of the Iland of Loanda, and Mani-Corimba, and Mani-Coanza, and Mani-Cazzanzi. All these doe governe all the Sea-coast but within Land, for that part which belongeth to Angola, there are another people called the Ambundos, who dwelling on the borders of Angola, are subject to the said Mani-Bamba, and they are these, Angazi, Chinghengo, Motollo, Chabonda, and many others of baser condition.

*The first  
Province is  
Bamba, and  
the description  
of it.  
Sebastian  
chiefe Gover-  
nour of Bamba,  
and those that  
rule under  
him.*

Note, that this word Mani, signifieth a Prince or a Lord, and the rest of the word is the name of the Countrey and Lordship, where the Lord ruleth. As for example, Mani-Bamba signifieth the Lord of the Countrey of Bamba, and Mani-Corimba, the Lord of the Countrey of Corimba, which is a part of Bamba, and so likewise of the rest. This Province of Bamba confineth with Angola

*Mani, what it  
signifieth.*

*The Confines  
of Bamba.*

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*The Countrey  
of Quizama.*

on the South, and upon the East of it towards the Lake Achelunda, lyeth the Countrey of Quizama, which is governed like a Common-wealth, and is divided among a number of Lords, who indeed living at their owne libertie, doe neither obey the King of Congo, nor the King of Angola.

And to be short, these Lords of Quizama, after they had a long time quarrelled with Paulo Diaz, yet at last they became his subjects, because they would avoyd the yoke of the King of Angola, and by their good aid and assistance, doth Paulo Diaz greatly helpe himselfe against the said King of Angola.

*Bamba the  
principall Province of all  
Congo.*

Now, the aforesaid Countrey of Bamba, (as we have told you) is the principall Province of all the Realme of Congo, and indeed the very Key, and the Buckler and the Sword, and the defence thereof, and (as it were) the frontier which opposeth it selfe against all their Enemies. For it resisteth all the revolts and rebellions of those quarters, and hath very valorous people in it, that are alwayes readie for to fight, so that they doe continually keepe their Adversaries of Angola in great awe: and if it happen at any time that their King stand in need, they are alwayes at his command to annoy the other Countries whensoever. When need requireth, he may have in Campe foure hundred thousand men of Warre, and yet that number is but onely the sixt part of the whole Kingdome, though indeed it be the better part and the stronger. The principall Citie of this Province lyeth in the Plaine which is betweene the River Loze and Ambrize, and is called Panza (which is a common name for every Towne.) There dwelleth the Lord of the Province, and it is distant from the Sea one hundred miles. In this Signorie also doe the hils begin, where the Mines of silver and other metals are found, and so stretch out towards the Kingdome of Angola. It is very rich, for upon the Coast of the Sea there, they have great store of the Lumache, which are used for moneyes over all the Kingdome of Congo: Besides, there is also a greater Trafficke and

*Bamba  
yeeldeth for a  
need 400000.  
men of warre.*

*Panza the  
principall  
Citie of  
Bamba.  
Mines of silver  
and other  
metals.*

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Market for slaves, that are brought out of Angola, then in any place else. For there are yearly bought by the Portugals above five thousand head of Negroes, which afterwards they conveigh away with them, and so sell them into divers parts of the World.

*Incredible numbers of slaves yearly sold to the Portugals. One M. T. Turner which lived there, told me of 10000. slaves out of these parts of Africa yearly can yeeld, and that one Portugall in Brasill had 10000.*

The people of this Province, are in Armes the most valiant of all the Kingdome of Congo. They goe armed like the Slavonians, with long and large Swords, that are brought them out of Portugall. There are among them very mightie men, that will cleave a slave in the middest at one blow, and cut off the head of a Bull at one stroke with one of those Swords. And (that which is more, and will peradventure seeme incredible) one of these valiant men did beare upon his arme a certaine Vessell of Wine, which was the fourth part of a Butte, and might weigh about three hundred twentie five pound, untill it was cleane emptied. Moreover, they doe carrie Bow and Arrowes, whereat they are very quicke and nimble, and withall their long Targets made of the Dants skinne, whereof wee told you before, when wee made mention of the Anzichi.

The creatures that are found in this Province, are first the Elephants, which do breed over all the Kingdome of Congo, but principally in the Countrey of Bamba, because it aboundeth in Woods, in pastures and in waters.

*Certaine creatures in Bamba Province. Elephants.*

Signor Odoardo told mee, that hee had oftentimes taken the measure of an Elephants foot in the dust, and one of them was in plaine Diameter foure spannes broad. But in these quarters they say that the Elephants doe live one hundred and fiftie yeares, and that untill the middle of their age they continue still in growing. And to confirme this truth he added, that hee had seene and weighed divers of their Teeth (which are not of horne, as some thinke) and their waight amounted to two hundred pounds apiece, after the rate of twelve ounces to every pound. In the Language of Congo, the Elephants Tooth is called Mene-Manzao, that is to say, The Tooth of an Elephant.

*An Elephants foot foure span broad. The Elephant liveth 150. yeares. [II. vii. 1000.] An Elephants Tooth of 200. waights.*

Their Eares are greater then the greatest Targets that

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the Turkes use to weare, in length sixe spannes, in shape like an Egge, and towards their shoulders they grow to be narrower and sharper. With their Eares, and with their Trunke, and with their Tayle, they beat away the Flies that trouble them.

*Certain haire  
in the Ele-  
phants tayle,  
very precious.  
M. Jobson  
gave me one of  
these tayles  
with such  
blacke strong  
haire.*

They have in their Tayle, certaine haire or bristles as bigge as Rushes or Broome-sprigs, of a shining blacke colour. The older they be, the fairer and stronger they bee, and of great price among them.

And for the cause lately rehearsed, many there are, which wayting for the Elephants, when they ascend some steepe and narrow way, doe come behind them, and with very sharpe Knives cut off their Tayles: the poore beast being not able in those straites to turne backe to revenge it selfe, nor with his Trunke to reach his Enemie. And this they doe, onely to have those haire, which they sell for two or three slaves a peece. Other light and couragious persons there are, that trusting much to their swiftnesse in running, doe lye in a waite, and set upon the poore beasts behind, whiles they are in feeding, and at one blow attempt to cut off their Tayles, and so endeavour to save themselves by running away in a round. For the greatnesse of the beast is such as out-right it is very swift, because it maketh very large strides, though indeed but slow, and in the plaine is farre quicker then any lustie Horse: but in turning round it loseth much time, and so the Huntsman escapeth in safetie.

*The manner of  
the Elephants  
feeding their  
want of knees  
is a fable.*

In their feeding, they use to shake and root up the great Trees with the force of their shoulders, and strength of their whole backs: But the smaller Trees they take betweene both their Teeth, and so bow them and plucke them downe, that they may feede upon the leaves of them: insomuch, as sometimes they breake one of their Teeth with so doing. And this is the cause why you shall find divers of them in the fields that have lost their Teeth. They chawe their meate with their short Teeth, which are not seene as their two long Tuskes are: and they carrie it to their mouth by their long Snout, or Trunke,

## A DESCRIPTION OF ANGOLA

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which is to them in stead of an arme and a hand. The tip of their Trunke is fashioned and divided into little slits, and (as it were) fingers, wherewith they will take up very small things, as Nuts, and Strawes, and Berries, and so reach them to their mouth, as I, Philippo Pigafetta have seene my selfe at Lisbon.

The Females of these Creatures, doe beare their brood in their wombe for the space of two yeares and no more: And for as much as the yong Elephant cannot so quickly be brought up, (for it groweth very slowly) the Milke is kept from it, and so it waxeth apt to feed of it selfe. And therefore Mother Nature hath provided that the Elephants are not great with young, but from seven yeares to seven yeares.

*The shee-  
Elephant.*

Their skinne is hard beyond all credit. For being foure fingers thicke, it cannot be pierced, no not with the shot of an Harquebusse.

*The Elephants  
skinne.*

The people of that Countrey have not the skill to tame these beasts. Whereby they might reape great commoditie and profit, for carrying their stuffe from place to place for divers other good uses. But yet they take them by digging certaine deepe Trenches in the places, where they use to pasture, which Trenches are very narrow at the bottome, and broad above, to the end the beast may not helpe himselfe, and leape out when hee is fallen into them. These Trenches they cover with Soddes of Earth, and Grasse, and leaves, because the beast should not see their traine, but passing over them remayne there entrenched. Whereupon the Gentleman beforenamed told me, that he had seene with his owne eyes a very strange and admirable thing in Coanza; namely, that a young Elephant following his Damme, fell downe by chance into one of these Pits, and after that she could not with all her skill and strength draw him out of it, she buried him therein, and covered him with Earth, with branches and with boughes, inso-much as she filled the pit up to the top, to the end that the Hunters should not enjoy her Calfe, choosing rather to kill it her selfe, then to leave it to the mercie of the cruell

*The manner of  
taking the  
Elephants.*

*A strange  
effect of  
nature.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

Huntsmen. This loving and kind Mother, not fearing the people (that stood round about her, and shouted against her, and threatned her with sundry weapons, and uttered strange clamours and noyses to affray her, and cast many fires at her) but assuring her selfe in her owne strong and valiant nature, did labour and toyle from morning till night, that she might draw her Calfe out of the pit: and when shee found that it was not possible for her to atchieve what shee desired, then she covered it in manner as we have told you.

*The nature of  
the Elephant.*

The Elephant is a very gentle beast, and trusteth greatly in his naturall strength. Hee feareth nothing, nor hurteth any man that doth not trouble him: and haunteth neere to mens houses, without doing any harme at all. If hee espie men that goe in his walke, hee will not meddle with them, unlesse they seeke to molest him: saving that sometimes peradventure he will gently with his Snout, hoysse them upwards into the Ayre, whom hee meeteth withall in his way, and that is all the hurt he will doe unto them. [II. vii.  
1001.] These Elephants doe greatly delight in waters. For Signor Odoardo affirmed, that in the way betweene Cazanza and Loanda, in a little grasse Valley he had seene about one hundred of them in a company, old and young that followed their Dammes: they use to goe together in Heards, as Kine, and Camels, and other such like gentle Creatures doe, and not alone like Lions and other such wild beasts.

*Rhinoceros, or  
Abadas.*

There are brought into the Countries of the Anzichi, some of the Hornes that grow upon the nose of the Rhinoceros, that are both of great value and estimation, and also used for the helpe of divers Diseases.

*Lions.*

There are in the Region of the Anzichi, Lions also, like the Lions that breed in other parts of the World, but they doe not use to haunt the Region of Bamba: But in Bamba there are verie great store of Tygres, which are of the very same shape that those in Florence are, which Signor Odoardo saw there, and testifieth to be very Tygres indeed. They will not set upon any men that are white,

*Tygres.*



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but onely such as are blacke: And it hath beene found, that when the white and the blacke have slept together in the night-time, they have slaine the blacke to devoure them, and spared the white.

When they are hungry, they will be so bold as to fetch Cattle, even out of the yards that are about the houses without any feare at all, when they cannot find any victuals abroad in the fields. They are very dangerous and hurtfull to all kinds of Creatures whatsoever they bee, and in that Language they are called, Engoi.

They are as fierce and cruell beasts as the Lion, and roare as the Lion doth. They are also altogether like the Lion, saving onely in the colour of their haire; for the Tygre is spotted, but the Lion all of one colour. They use to take and kill these Tygres after divers manners. For besides that, which hath beene before spoken, they poyson them with Sublimate, or some other venome, mingled with flesh which is laid for them. Or else they tye young Goates at certaine Lines made like snares, and fastned about the stocke of a Tree, so that when the beast commeth to her prey, the Engine openeth it selfe, and the more the beast striveth withall, the more it is intangled, and so at last is hanged therein.

*The manner of  
taking the tame  
Tygres.*

Signor Odoardo told me, that he had gotten one of them, that was fifteene dayes old, and hee brought it up with Goats Milke: which being afterwards growne bigger would follow him like a Dogge: and although it were tame, yet it would not willingly suffer any other to touch it, besides his Master. He would also roare mightily, and when hee was angry, his eyes would looke very terribly and fearefully. But in processe of time this Tygre killed a Dogge, belonging to the house, and also a Zebra, that were very deare to their Master, and thereupon, perceiving how perillous a beast it was, he slue it with an Harquebusse-shot. Hee reported, moreover, that the Mostacchios of the Tygre are held in that Region to be mortall Poyson: for beeing given in meates, it procureth a man to die, as it were in a madnesse: And therefore the King doth

*A tame Tygre.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

punish all those that bring him a Tygres skin without the Mostacchios.

*The Zebra.*

There breedeth likewise in this Countrey another Creature, which they call a Zebra, commonly found also in certaine Provinces of Barbary and Africa, which although it be altogether made like a great Mule, yet is not a Mule indeed, for it beareth young ones. It hath a most singular skin, and peculiar from all other Creatures. For from the ridge of the chin downe towards the belly, it is straked with rowes of three colours, blacke, white, and browne Bay, about the breadth of three fingers a piece, and so meet againe together in a Circle, every row, with his owne colour. So that the necke, and the head; and the Maine (which is not great) and the eares, and all the legs are so interchanged with these colours, and in such manner and order, as with out all faile, if the first strake beginne with white, then followeth the second with blacke, and in the third place the Bay: and so another course beginning in white, endeth still in Bay. And this rule is generally and infallibly observed over all the bodie. The Tayle is like the Tayle of a Mule, of a Morell colour, but yet it is well coloured, and hath a glistening glosse. The feet like the feet of a Mule, and so are the hoofes. But touching the rest of her carriage and qualities, she is very lustie and pleasant as a Horse: and specially in going, and in running shee is so light and so swift, that it is admirable. Insomuch as in Portugall and in Castile also, it is commonly used (as it were for a Proverbe) as swift as a Zebra, when they will signifie an exceeding quicknesse. These Creatures are all wild, they breed every yeare, and are there in such abundance that they are innumerable. If they were made tame, they would serve to runne and to draw for the warres, and for many other good uses, as well as the best Horses that are.

*The manner of  
the carrying of  
the Moci-  
Conghi.*

Necessitie has taught them to use men in steed of labouring Cattell. For either they lay themselves all along in certaine Litters (as it were) or else set themselves upright, with shadowes over them to keepe them from

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the Sunne, and so they cause themselves to bee carried too and fro, by their slaves, or by other men that for wages are alwayes readie at Poste-houses to that purpose. They that meane to journey with speed, doe take with them many slaves, and when the first number are weary, then doe the second number undertake the burden, and so sucessively change one after another, as the Tartarians and Persians use to doe with their Horses: and these men being thus accustomed to these labours, (and so often changing) will goe as fast as any Postilion gallop.

There are also to be found in this Countrie, certaine other foure-footed beasts, somewhat lesse then Oxen, of colour Red, with hornes like Goats hornes, which are very smooth and glistening, and inclining to blacke, whereof they make divers pretie knackes, as they doe likewise of the Busses hornes. They have their heads and their haire, like the heads & haire of Oxen: and their skins are of great estimation; and therefore they are carried into Portugall, and from thence into Germanie to be dressed, and then they are called Dantes. The King of Congo is very desirous to have some men that had skill to cleanse them, and dresse them, and to make them fit for use, to end he might employ them for Armour of defence. And yet those Nations doe alreadie use them for Shields and Targets; and doe find that they will resist the blow of a weapon, and especially the shot of an Arrow. They kill them with Harquebusses, and with Arrowes. But if they doe espie the Huntsman, they will set upon him, and being by nature very fierce, and couragious, they will so knocke him and thumpe him with their feet, and their Muzzle (because they cannot doe him any harme with their hornes) that they will leave him either halfe dead, or starke dead. There is also an infinite number of wild Buffes, that goe wandring about the Desarts, in the Kingdome of the Anzichi; and wild Asses likewise, which the Greekes call Onagri.

[II. vii.  
1002.]  
*The Dante.*

*Wild Buffes.*  
*Wild Asses.*

There are besides these, other beasts, called Empalanga, which are in bignesse and shape like Oxen, saving that

*Empalanga.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

they hold their necke and head aloft, and have their hornes broad and crooked, three hand-breadths long, divided into knots, and sharpe at the ends, whereof they might make very faire Cornets to sound withall : and although they live in the Forrests, yet are they not noysome nor harmefull. The skins of their neckes are used for shoo-soles, and their flesh for meate. They might likewise be brought to draw the Plough, and doe good service in any other labour, and tilling of the ground. Moreover, they feed great herds of Kine, and tame Oxen, tame Hogs, and wild Boares, flockes of Sheepe and Goats. Signor Odoardo affirmed, that the Goats and the Sheepe doe bring forth two, and three, and foure Lambs or Kids at a time, and two, when they have fewest, and never one alone at any time.

*Other fruit-  
full Cattell.*

*Wolves.*

There are Wolves also which love the Oyle of Palmes, beyond all measure. They will smell this Oyle afarre off, and steale it in the night time out of their houses of straw, and sometimes from those that carrie it by the way, whiles the poore soules doe rest themselves and sleepe. The Oyle (as shall be told you) is made of the Palme-tree ; it is thicke and hard, like Butter. And it is a marvell to see, how these Wolves doe take a Bottle that is full of this liquor betweene their teeth, and so cast it on their shoulders, and runne away withall, as our Wolves here doe with a Sheepe. There are very great store of Foxes, that steale Hennes as our Foxes doe. And farther in this Countrie of Bamba, there is an innumerable quantitie of hunting game, as Stags, fallow Deere, Roe-buckes, and Gazels, whereof he affirmed that he had seene exceeding great herds, as also of Conies and Hares, because there were no Hunters to kill them.

*Foxes.*

*Hunting  
game.*

*In Pemba,  
Civet-cats.*

In the Region of Pemba there are many wild Civet-cats, which the Portugals call Algazia, and some of these, the people of that Countrie had made tame, that they might enjoy their Civet, in the smell whereof they doe greatly delight. But this was before the Portugals did trafficke with those Countries. And in Manibatta there are caught many Sables, with very white haire, and

*In Batta,  
Sables.*

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exceeding fine, called Incire : but no man may weare these skinnnes unlesse the Prince permit him so to doe ; for, it is held in great estimation, and every Sable is worth a Slave. Towards the Anzichi they catch Marterns also, wherewith they apparell themselves, as in due place we will note unto you. Apes, Monkies, and such other kind of beasts, small and great of all sorts there are many in the Region of Sogno, that lieth upon the River Zaire.

*In Anzigua,  
Marterns.*

*In Sogno, Apes,  
and Monkies.*

Of Adders and Snakes you shall find some that are five and twentie spanne long, and five span broad : and the bellie and the mouth so large, that they can swallow and receive into their bellie a whole Stag, or any other creature of that bignesse. And it is called, Naumri that is to say, A great Water-adder. It will goe forth of the water up to the Land to prey for his victuals, and then returne into the Rivers againe, and so it liveth in both the Elements. It will get it selfe up upon the boughs and branches of Trees, and there watch the Cattell that feed thereabouts, which when they are come neere unto it, presently it will fall upon them, and wind it selfe in many twines about them, and clap his taile on their hinder parts, and so it straineth them, and biteth so many holes in them, that at last it killeth them. And then it draweth them into some Wood, or other solitarie place, where it devoureth them at pleasure, skinne, hornes, hooves and all. Now it falleth out, that when it is thus full, and (as it were) great with so monstrous a meale, it becommeth almost drunke, and very sleepe, so that any child may kill it. And in this sort will it remaine full and satisfied for the space of five or sixe dayes together, and then returne againe to prey. These Adders doe change their skinnnes in their ordinarie seasons ; yea, and sometimes after they have eaten so monstrously, and the said Sloughs, when they are found, are gathered up, and reserved for a shew of so unmeasurable a Creature. These Adders are also greatly esteemed by the Pagan Negroes, for they doe use to roast them, and eate them for meate, and make more account of them then they doe of Hennes, or any such

*Adders and  
Snakes of an  
huge scantling.*

*The Author  
doth not set  
downe the  
name. In  
Brasill they  
call it Cucu-  
rijuba.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

[II. vii.  
1003.]  
*Vipers.*

delicate flesh. They find great store of them, when they have occasion to burne their thicke Woods: for there they shall have them lying on the ground, rosted with the fire. Besides these there are Vipers also, well knowne unto that People. Which Vipers are so venomous, that such as are bitten by them, doe die within the space of foure and twentie houres. But the Negroes are acquainted with certaine herbs that will heale their wounds.

*Another  
strange Creature.*

There are also certaine other Creatures, which being as big as Rams, have wings like Dragons, with long tailes, and long chaps, and divers rowes of teeth, and feed upon raw flesh. Their colour is blue and greene, their skinne bepainted like scales; and two feet they have, but no more. The Pagan Negroes, doe use to worship them as Gods, and at this day you may see divers of them, that are kept for a wonder. And because they are very rare, the chiefe Lords there doe curiously preserve them, and suffer the people to worship them, which tendeth greatly to their profit, by reason of the gifts and oblations which the people offer unto them. There are there also to be found Chamelions.

*Chamelions.  
A strange  
Serpent.*

Other Serpents there are that are venomous, that carrie upon the tippe of their tayle, a certaine little roundell like a Bell, which ringeth as they goe, so as it may be heard.

*The Estridge.*

Estridges are found in those Parts of Sundi, and of Batta, that are towards the Muzambi. The young Estridges doe spring out of their egges, being warmed and disclosed by the eye and heate of the Sunne. Their feathers are used in stead of Ensignes and Banners in Warre, mingled with some plumes of the Peacocke, and are fashioned in the likenesse of a shadow against the Sunne. And forasmuch as I am fallen into the speech of Peacocks, I must tell you by the way, that in the Parts of Angola, there are Peacocks brought up privately in a certaine Wood that is compassed about with walls: and the King will not suffer any other bodie to keep those Birds but onely himselfe, because they are for the Royall Ensignes, as I told you before.

*Peacocks.*

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There are also Indie-cocks, and Hens, and Geese, and Duckes of all sorts both wild and tame: Partridges, so many as children take them with ginnes. Other Birds they have likewise, as Phesants, which they call Gallignoles, Pigeons, Turtles, and of these small Birds, called Beccafichi, an infinite number. Birds of prey, as Eagles Royall, Faulcons, Gerfaulcons, and Sparrow-hawks, and others, great store, which notwithstanding the people never use to hawke withall. Birds of the Sea, as Pelicanes (for so the Portugals doe call them) white and great, which swimme under the water, and have their throats so wide, that they will swallow a whole fish at once. This Bird hath so good a stomacke, and naturally so hot, that it easily digesteth the Fish that it swalloweth whole, and the skinne of it is so hot, that the people of that Countrie doe use to weare them, and to warme their cold stomackes withall, and therefore make great reckoning of them. There are many white Herons and grey Bittours, that feed in the Washes there, and are called, Royall Birds. Other Fowles there are of the likenesse of a Crane, with a red bill and red feet, as bigge as Storkes, and their feathers for the most part red and white, and some darke grey. Goodly Birds they are to looke to, and the people of the Countrie doe call them Flemmings, because they doe much resemble them, and are good meat to eate.

*Fowles of  
divers sorts.*

*Birds of prey.*

*Birds of the  
Sea.*

*Other kinds of  
Fowle.*

They have Parrots of grey colour, great and very talkative: and others of greene colour, but they are little ones, and not so talkative. They have likewise certaine small little Birds, which they call Birds of Musicke, and yet greater then the Canarie Birds, of feather and bill red: some greene, with their feet and bill onely blacke: some all white: some grey or dunne: some all blacke, and this kind is more sweet in their notes then all the rest afore-named; for you would thinke that they talked in their singing. Others there are of divers colours, but they doe all sing in sundrie sorts, so that the chiefe Lords of those Countries,

*Parrots.*

*Birds of  
Musicke.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

from ancient times to this day, have continually kept them in Cages, and greatly esteemed them for their song.

### §. IIII.

Of the five other Provinces of Congo, to wit, Sogno, Sundi, Pango, Batta, and Pemba.

*The second  
Province  
Sogno, and the  
description  
therof.*

**T**His Countrie is bounded with the River Ambrize, towards the North in seven degrees and an halfe, and so traversing the River Lelunda, and the River Zaire, it endeth at the Rockes, called Berreur as Vermellias, that is to say, the Red pits, which are in the Borders of the Kingdome of Loango. In the middest of this Province there is a certaine Territorie, called by the same name Sogno, where the Governour of the Countrie dwelleth. The chiefe Lords that rule this Province, are called Mani-Sogno, that is, Princes of Sogno, and are commonly of the blood Royall. The Prince that governeth there at this day,\* is called Don Diego Mani-Sogno. He hath under his dominion many other petie Lords, and other Provinces, that in old time were free, and lived by themselves, as the People of Mombalas, situate somewhat neere to the Citie of Congo, which are now subject to this government. And on the other side of the River Zaire towards the North, is the Province of Palmar, that is to say, of Palmes, because there is great store of Palme-trees growing therein. Other Lords there are, that border upon the King of Loango, who was sometime subject to the King of Congo; but in processe of time he became a free Lord, and now posesseth himselfe to bee in amitie with the King of Congo, but not to be his vassall. The people that are under these Lords in those borders, are called the Bramas: and they reach within the Land, under the Equinoctiall line towards the East, to the bounds of Anzicana, all along the Mountaines which divide them from the Anzichi upon the North. They are called by the people of Loango, Congreamolal, because they were subject to Congo.

*Sogno the chief  
Towne of this  
Province.*

*\*1588.  
Don Diego,  
chiefe Gover-  
nour of Sogno,  
and those that  
rule under  
him.*

[II. vii.  
1004.]

*The Bramas.*



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*The commodities of Sogno.*

In this Countrey of Loango there are many Elephants, and great store of Ivory, which they doe willingly exchange for a little Iron, so that for the naile of a ship (be it never so small) they will give a whole Elephants tooth. The reason thereof, is either because there groweth no Iron in that place, or else they have not the skill to get it out of the Mines where it groweth: But all the Iron they can get, they imploy for the heading of their Arrowes, and their other weapons, as we told you when we spake of the Bramas.

*The manner of the life of the Inhabitants.*

They make great store of cloth of the Palme tres, whereof we made mention before: but these are lesser, and yet very fine. They have great abundance of Kine, and of other cattell, before named. They are in Religion Pagans: their apparell after the fashion of the people of Congo: They maintaine warre with their bordering neighbours, which are the Anzichi, and the Inhabitants of Anzicana; and when they enterprise warre against the Anzichi, then they crave ayde of the people of Congo, and so they remaine halfe in freedome, and halfe in danger of others. They worship what they list, and hold the Sunne for the greatest God, as though it were a man, and the Moone next, as though it were a woman. Otherwise every man chooseth to himselfe his owne Idoll, and worshippeth it after his owne pleasure. These people would easily embrace the Christian Religion: For many of them that dwell upon the borders of Congo, have beene converted to Christendome: and the rest, for want of Priests, and of such as should instruct them in the true Religion, do remaine still in their blindnesse.

*Sunne worshipped.*

*The third Province Sundi, & the description thereof.*

Sundi, is the neerest of all to the Citie of Congo, called, Citta di San-Salvatore, the Citie of Saint Saviours, and beginneth about fortie miles distant from it, and quite out of the Territorie thereof, and reacheth to the River Zaire, and so over the same to the other side, where the Caduta or Fall is, which we mentioned before: and then holdeth on up-wards on both sides towards the North, bordering upon Anzicana, and the Anzichi. Towards the South it

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*The chiefe  
Towne of  
Sundi.*

goeth along the said River Zaire, untill you come to the meeting of it with the River Bancare, and all along the bankes thereof, even to the rootes of the Mountaine of Crystall. In the bounds of the Province of Pango, it hath her principall Territorie, where the Governor lyeth, who hath his name from the Province of Sundi, and is seated about a daies journey neere to the Fall of the River, towards the South.

*This Province  
of Sundi, is  
alwaies  
governed by  
the heire  
apparent of the  
King of  
Congo.*

This Province is the chiefeſt of all the reſt, and (as it were) the Patrimony of all the Kingdome of Congo: and therefore it is alwaies governed by the Kings eldeſt Son, and by thoſe Princes that are to ſucceed him. As it fell out in the time of their firſt Chriſtian King, that was called Don John: whoſe eldeſt ſonne, that was Governour heere, ſucceeded him, and was called Don Alfonſo. And ever ſithence, the Kings of Congo have ſucceſſively continued this cuſtome, to conſigne this government to thoſe Princes which are to ſucceed in the Kingdome: As did the King that now \* is called Don Alvaro, who was in this government before Don Alvaro the King his father died, and was called Mani-Sundi.

\*1588.

*In all the king-  
dome of Congo,  
no man hath  
any thing of  
his owne  
whereof he  
may diſpoſe, or  
leave to his  
heires, but all  
is the Kings.*

And heere by the way you muſt note, that in all the Kingdome of Congo, there is not any perſon that poſſeſſeth any proper goods of his owne, whereof he may diſpoſe, and leave to his heires: but all is the Kings, and he diſtributeth all Offices, all Goods, and all Lands, to whomſoever it pleaſeth him; yea, and to this Law, even the Kings owne ſonnes are ſubject. So that if any man doe not pay his tribute yearely (as he ought) the King taketh away his Government from him, and giveth it to another. As it happened to the King that now liveth, who at the time that Signor Odoardo was at the Court, being of his owne nature very liberall, and bountifull beyond measure, and one that beſtowed much upon his ſervants, could not diſcharge thoſe impositions that the King had laid on him. Whereupon he was by the King deprived of his revenues, of his government, and of his royall favour; that is to ſay, in that language, he was Tombocado, as

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we will declare more at full in the second part of this Discourse.

Many Lords there are that are subject to the Governour of Sundi. The people doe Trafficke with their neighbour Countries, selling and bartring divers things. As for example, Salt, and Cloathes of sundry colours, brought from the Indies, and from Portugall, and Lumachette, to serve for their Coyne. And for these commodities they doe exchange cloath of Palme Trees, and Ivory, and the skinnes of Sables and Marternes, and certaine girdles wrought of the leaves of Palme trees, which are greatly esteemed in those parts.

*The manner of  
the life of Sundi  
Inhabitants.*

There groweth in these Countries great store of Crystall, and divers kinds of Metall: but Iron they love above all the rest; saying, That the other Metals are to no use: for with Iron they can make Knives, and Weapons, and Hatchets, and such like Instruments, that are necessary and profitable for the use of mans nature.

The Province of Pango in ancient time was a free Kingdome, that was governed of it selfe, and bordereth on the North upon Sundi, on the South upon Batta, on the West upon the Countrie of Congo, and on the East upon the Mountaines of the Sun. The principall Territorie, where the Governors dwelling is, hath the same name that the Province hath, (viz:) Pango. It standeth upon the Western side of the River Barbela, and in old time was called, Pangu-lungos: and in time afterwards, the word was corrupted and changed into Pango. Through the midst of this Province runneth the River Berbela, which fetcheth his Originall from the great Lake, (whence the River Nilus also taketh his beginning) and from another lesser Lake, called Achelunda, and so dischargeth it selfe into Zaire. And although this be the least Countrey of all the rest, yet doth it yeeld no lesse tribute then the rest.

[II. vii.  
1005.]  
*The fourth  
Province  
Pango, and the  
description  
thereof.  
Pango the  
chiefe town of  
this Province.  
Berbela.*

This Province was conquered after the Countrey of Sundi, and made subject to the Princes of Congo: and is now all one with it, both in speech and manners; neither

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*Don Francisco,  
chiefe Govern-  
nor of Pango.*

is there any difference at all betweene them. The present Governor thereof is called, Don Francesco Mani-Pango, and hath remained in the government of this Region for the space of fiftie yeares, and no man ever complained of him.

*The fift Pro-  
vince Batta,  
& the descrip-  
tion thereof.*

The bounds of Batta are towards the North, the Countrey of Pango: on the East it taketh quite over the River Barbela, and reacheth to the Mountaines of the Sunne, and to the foote of the Mountaines of Sal-Nitre. And on the South from the said Mountaines, by a line passing through the meeting of the Rivers Barbela and Cacinga, to the Mountaine Brusciato, that is to say, Scorched.

*Batta, the  
chiefe towne of  
all Batta.*

Within these bounds is Batta contained, and the principall Citie where the Prince dwelleth, is likewise called Batta. In ancient time it was called Aghirimba, but afterwards the word was corrupted, and it is now called Batta. It was in old time a very strong and a great Kingdome, and voluntarily of it selfe, without any warre it joyned it selfe with the Kingdome of Congo, peradventure because there were some dissention among their Lords: and therefore it hath more preheminance then the rest of the Provinces of the Kingdome of Congo, in priviledges and liberties. For the Government of Batta is alwaies assigned to one, that is of the blood of the Kings of that Countrey, at their choise and pleasure, having no more respect to one then to another, so that he be of the stocke and blood Royall, neither to the eldest sonne, nor to the second. Neither yet goeth this Government by inheritance, but the King of Congo (as is told you before) doth dispose it at his owne pleasure to whom he thinketh best, to the end they should not usurpe it by way of succession, or by rebellion. He dwelleth neerer the King then any other Governour or Lord of the Kingdome of Congo, and is the second person therein, neither may any man gaine-say his arguments and reasons, as they may any of the rest, for it is so decreed among them. Now if the line of the King of Congo should chance to faile, so that there were none of that blood to succeed, the succession shall

*The pre-  
heminance of  
the Governor  
of Batta.*

## THE PROVINCES OF CONGO

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fall upon the Governour of Batta. He that now governeth there, is called, Don Pedro Mani-Batta.

*Don Pedro,  
chiefe Governor of Batta.  
1588.  
State-ceremony.*

Sometimes he eateth at the Kings owne Table, but yet in a baser seat then the Kings seat is, and that also not sitting, but standing; which is not granted to any other Lord of Congo, no nor to the sonnes of the King himselfe. His Court and his Traine, is little lesse then the Court and traine of the King of Congo. For he hath Trumpets and Drums, and other instruments going before him, as becommeth a Prince.

He doth hold continuall warres with the Pagans that border upon him, and he is able to gather together about seventie or eightie thousand fighting men. And because he doth still maintaine warre with the people that are next him, he hath libertie granted unto him to entertaine Harquebusiers, that shall be of his owne naturall subjects. For the King of Congo will not suffer any other Governor of any other Provinces, nor any of their children, to have any Harquebusiers that are borne within their Countrey, but onely the Portugals.

*The King of  
Congo will not  
suffer any  
naturall borne  
subject in  
Congo, to have  
an Harque-  
busse.*

Towards the East of Batta, beyond the Mountaines of the Sunne, and of Sal-Nitre, upon the bankes of the East and West of the River Nilus, and in the borders of the Empire of Mohenbe-Muge there liveth a Nation, which by the people of Congo, are called Giaquas, but in their owne language they are called Agag: Very fierce they are and warlike, much given to fight and pillage, and make continuall inroades into the Countries neere adjoyning; and sometimes among the rest into the Province of Batta. So that this Countrey must needs be in continuall Armes, and stand upon good guard, and maintaine Harquebusiers to defend themselves from them.

*The Giaquas.  
Of these, see  
Andrew Battell, which  
lived and  
warred with  
them.*

The Prince of Batta hath many Lords under him: and the naturall people of this Province are called Monsobos, and their language is well understood by the Inhabitants of Congo. They are farre more rude and rustically then the Moci-Congi, and the Slaves that are brought from

*The conditions  
of the people of  
Batta.*

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thence, doe proove more obstinate and stubborne, then those that come from other Countries.

*The sixt Province Pemba, and the situation thereof. Don Antonio chiefe Governor of Pemba.*

[II. vii.  
1006.]

The Province of Pemba is seated in the heart and middle of the Kingdome of Congo, compassed and comprised within the bounds before described, whose Governor is called Don Antonio Mani-Pemba, second sonne to King Don Alvaro, that dead is, and brother to the King that reigneth at this present. And for as much as his father did love him dearely, he assigned unto him this Government, because he knew not what better thing to give him, saving the Realme it selfe: which in deed he would willingly have bestowed on him, for that hee was more like unto him in quality and nature then his eldest sonne was. But it would not be by reason of the law of the Kingdome, which would not have yeelded thereunto.

*The chiefe Citie of all Congo, is situate in this Province of Pemba.*

This Countrey is the very Centre, and middest of all the State of Congo, and the originall of all the ancient Kings, and the Territorie where they were borne, and the chiefe and principall seat of all the other Provinces and Principalities. And therefore the chiefe and royall Citie of all that Empire, is assigned to this Province, whereof we will hereafter deliver you a full information. The Governor of Pemba dwelleth in a Territory of the same name, situate at the foote of the scorched Mountaine, along the River Loze, which riseth out of the Lake, and runneth through the Region of Bamba into the Sea. The Courtiers and Lords, and Servitors belonging to the King of Congo, have their goods and possessions, and revenues in this Province; because it is neerest to the Court, and very convenient for the conveyeing of their victuals, and their other stuffe unto the Court. Some of these Lords, in that part specially, that bordereth upon the aforesaid Province of Bamba, have much adoe to keepe fight and defend themselves from the people of Quizama, because they are neerest unto them. For this people (as we told you) did rebell against the King of Congo, and revolted from him, and doe professe that they will be at libertie, and governed of themselves.

*The Courtiers &c., dwell for the most part in Pemba.*

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## §. V.

Of the situation of the Royall Citie of the Kingdome of Congo: Of their first conversion and Warre, thence arising betwixt the Kings two Sonnes.

**A**Lthough the chiefe and Royall Citie of the Kingdome of Congo be after a sort comprehended within the Province of Pemba, yet notwithstanding for as much as the government thereof, and the Territorie thereunto belonging, which may in compasse amount to the space of twentie miles about, doth depend wholly of the King of Congo himselfe, we will place it in a severall Regiment, and intreat of it by it selfe.

This Citie is called San Salvatore, or Saint Saviour, and in times past in that Countrie Language it was called Banza, which generally signifieth The Court, where the King or the Governour doeth ordinarily sojourne. It is seated about one hundred and fiftie miles from the Sea, upon a great and a high Mountaine, being almost all of a Rocke, but yet having a veyne of Iron in it, whereof they have great use in their housing. This Mountaine hath in the toppe of it a great Plaine, very well manured and furnished with Houses and Villages, contayning in circuit about ten miles, where there doeth dwell and live, the number of one hundred thousand persons.

The soyle is fruitfull, and the aire fresh, wholesome, and pure: there are great store of Springs, of indifferent good water to drinke, and at certaine times doe not harme any man: and of all sorts of Cattell great abundance. The top of the Mountaine is severed and distinguished from all the rest of the Hill which is about it, and therefore the Portugals doe call it, The Otheiro, that is to say, A view, or a Watch-tower, or a Singular heighth, from whence you may take a sight of all the Champaine round about: onely towards the East, and towards the River, it is very steepe and rockie.

*The Territorie of the chiefe Citie in all Congo, containeth in compasse twentie miles about.*

[II. vii.  
1007.]  
*The chiefe Citie, called San Salvatore. The situation of the Citie.*

*The Mountaine whereupon it standeth.*

*The soyle, the aire, the waters and the Castell.*

*The Otheiro.*

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*The reason  
why they built  
in this place.*

1.

2.

*Five miles  
from the bot-  
tome of the  
Hill to the top.  
A River at  
the Hill foot.*

*The particular  
situation of the  
Citie.*

*A severall  
place for the  
Portugals.  
The Kings  
Palace.*

*The principall  
Church and  
Market place.*

For two causes did the Princes of this Kingdom place this habitation in the foresaid heighth of this Mountaine. First, because it lieth in the very middest, and (as it were) in the Centre of all the Realme, from whence hee may presently send aide to any part of his Kingdome, that may stand in need of reliefe: and secondly, because it is situated in a Territorie that is by Nature mounted aloft, having a very good aire, and of great safetie; for it cannot be forced. By the chiefe common high-way that goeth up to the Citie, and looketh towards the Sea, being distant from thence one hundred and fiftie miles (as hath beene told you) which way is very large and competent, though it goe somewhat about in compasse, you shall ascend five miles from the bottome to the top of the Mountaine. At the foot thereof on the East side there runneth a River, whereunto the women doe descend by the space of a miles walke to wash their clothes. In divers other parts thereof there are sundrie valleys planted and manured: neither doe they suffer any part of the Countrie thereabouts to be left untilled or unused, because it is the Countrie where the Court remaineth.

The Citie is seated in a corner or angle of the hill towards the South-east, which Don Alfonso the first Christian King did compasse about with walls, and gave unto the Portugals a severall place for themselves, shut up likewise within walls. Then did he also inclose his owne Palace and the Kings Houses with another wall, and in the middest betweene these two enclosures left a great space of ground, where the principall Church was built, with a faire Market place before it. The doores and gates as well of the Lodgings of the Lords, as of the Portugals Inhabitations, doe open on the side of the said Church. For, in the uppermost end of the Market place doe divers great Lords of the Court dwell, and behind the Church doeth the Market place runne into a narrow street, where there is also a gate, and beyond that gate many houses towards the East. Without these walls, (which doe enclose the Kings houses, and the Citie of the



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Portugals) there are a number of other buildings, erected by divers Lords, every man making his severall choise of the place which he thinketh most fit and convenient for his dwelling neere unto the Court. So that the greatnesse of this Citie cannot well be determined or limited. Beyond these walls also, that thus doe compasse this Citie; there is a great champaine Plaine, full of Villages, and sundrie Palaces, where every Lord possesseth (as it were) a whole Towne within himselfe. The circuit of the Portugals Citie containeth about a mile; and the Kings houses as much. The walls are very thicke: the gates are not shut in the night time, neither is there any watch or ward kept therein.

And although that Plaine doeth lie very high and aloft, yet is there great abundance of waters in it, so that there is no want thereof. But the Court and the Portugals Citie doe all drinke of a certaine Fountaine that springeth continually, towards the North, and lieth downe the hill, as farre as a Gunne will shoot: and from hence they doe fetch all their water, and bring it to the Citie in vessels of Wood, of Earth, and Leather, upon the backes of their Slaves.

*Good store of waters.*

All this Plaine is very fruitfull, and well manured. It hath Meadows full of Grasse, and Trees that are alwaies greene. It beareth sundrie sorts of Graine, but the principall and best of all is called Luco, which is very like to Mustard-seed, but that it is somewhat bigger. When it is grinded with Hand-querns (for so they use to do) it yeeldeth a very white Meale, whereof they make Bread, that is both white, and also of a very good savour, and wholsome withall: neither doth it give place to our Wheat in any sort, saving that they doe not celebrate the Sacrament with it. Of these Graines there now is great store, over all the Kingdome of Congo: but it is not long since that this Seed was brought thither from that part of the River Nilus, where it falleth into the second Lake. There is also a white kind of Millet, called the Mazza of Congo, that is to say, The Corne of Congo: and another

*The Plaine very fruitfull. Several sorts of Graine. Luco, Millet.*

*White Millet, called the Mazza of Congo.*

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*Maiz.*

Graine which they call Maiz, but they make no account of it, for they give it to their Hogs: neither doe they greatly esteeme of Rice. The foresaid Maiz they commonly terme by the name of Mazza-Manputo, that is to say, the Portugals Corne; for they call a Portugall Manputo.

[II. vii.

1008.]  
*Divers kinds  
of Trees bearing  
fruit.*

There are moreover divers and sundrie sorts of Trees, that beare very great store of Fruits, insomuch as the greatest part of the people doe feed upon the Fruits of the Countrie, as Citrons, Lymons, and specially Oranges, very full of liquor, which are neither sweet nor sowre, and are ordinarily eaten without any annoyance or harme at all. And to shew the fruitfulnessse of this Countrie, the said Signor Odoardo reported, that he had seene from a kernell of the fruit of a Pome-Citrone, which was left within the rind thereof, there sprung up within the space of foure dayes a pretie tall sprig. Other Fruits there are, which they call Banana, and wee verily thinke to be the Muses of Ægypt and Soria, saving that in those Countries they grow to be as bigge as Trees; but here they cut them yeerely, to the end they may beare the better. The Fruit is very sweet in smell, and of good nourishment.

*Banana.*

*Divers kinds  
of Palme-trees.*

In these Plaines there grow likewise sundrie kinds of Palme-trees; one that beareth Dates, and another that beareth the Indian Nuts, called Cocoes, because they have within them a certaine shell that is like to an Ape: and thereupon they use in Spaine to shew their children Coccolla, when they would make them afraid. Another Palme-tree there groweth also very like to the former, but of a more strange and singular propertie: for it yeeldeth Oyle, Wine, Vinegar, Fruit and Bread. The Oyle is made of the shell of the fruit, and is of the colour and substance of Butter, saving that it is somewhat greenish. They use it, as other people doe use Oyle and Butter, and it will burne like Oyle. They anoint their bodies withall; and besides, it is very good to eate. They presse it out of the Fruit, as Oyle is pressed out of the Olives, and then they boyle it, and so preserve it. The Bread is made of

*The Oyle of  
Palme.*

*The Bread of  
Palme.*

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the stone of the fruit it selfe, which is like to an Almond, but somewhat harder: and within the same is there a certaine kernell or pith, which is good to eate: very wholsome and of good nourishment. The whole Fruit, together with the outter shell is greene; and they use to eate it both raw and rosted. The Wine is drawn from the top of the Tree, by making an hole therein, from whence there distilleth a liquor like Milke, which at the first is sweet, but afterwards sowre, and in processe of time becommeth very Vinegar, to serve for Sallets. This Wine they drinke cold, and it moveth to urine very much: so that in those Countries, there is not a man that is troubled with Gravell or Stone in the bladder. It will make them drunke, that drinke too much of it: but indeed it is of a very good nutriment.

*The fruit of  
the Palme.*

*The Wine and  
Vinegar of  
Palme.*

There are other Trees, that beare a certaine fruit, called Cola, as big as a Pine-apple, which hath within it other fruits like Chest-nuts, wherein are foure severall shells or skins, of red and Carnation colour. These they use to hold in their mouthes, and chaw them, and at last to eate them, for the quenching of their thirst, and better relishing of their water. They comfort and preserve the stomacke, but above all other qualities, they are singular good against the diseases of the Liver. And it is said, that the Liver of a Henne, or of any other like Bird, which is putrified, and stinketh, being sprinkled over with the matter of this fruit, returneth into his former estate, and becommeth fresh and sound againe. This food is commonly and generally used among them all, and there is very great abundance of it: and therefore it is good cheape. Other kinds of wild Palme-trees there are, which yeeld divers fruits that are eaten: and their leaves reserved to make Mats, wherewith their houses are covered; and Baskets and Skeps, and such other like Instruments that are necessarie for their daily uses. Other Trees there are likewise, called Ogheghe, which beare a fruit which is like a yellow Plumme, and is very good to eate, and hath a very sweet smell withall. Of these Trees they cut off

*The fruit  
Cola.  
See of it  
Finches  
Journall.*

*Andrew  
Battell  
affirmed this  
to be true.*

*Other kinds of  
Palme-trees.*

*Trees called,  
Ogheghe.*

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the boughs, and plant them so thicke together, that they touch one another, and stand closely all in a ranke; so that when they are growne great, they make a strong Fence or wall about their houses, which being afterwards covered with Mats, it resembleth a handsome Court or Closse, wherein they use to walke, (as it were) in an Arbour that maketh a great shadow, and defendeth them from the heate of the Sunne. In the middest of these enclosures, they use to build certaine houses of wood, covered with straw, and divided into sundrie convenient roomes, all on the ground without any Stories or Sollers above them. These they doe line with very faire and delicate Mats, and furnish them with other ornaments in very handsome manner.

*Great store of  
stone to build  
withall.*

There are to bee found among them many masses and lumpes of stone, which are of such thicknesse and hugeness, that you may cut out a whole Church, even of one whole piece; yea, and of the same kind of stone, whereof the Obelisco is made, that is erected before Porta del Popolo in Rome. Besides this, there are whole Mountaines of Porphyrie, of Jasper, and of white Marble, and of other sundrie colours, which here in Rome are called, Marbles of Numidia, of Africa, and of Æthiopia: certaine Pillars whereof, you may see in the Chappell of Pope Gregorie.

Other Stone there is, that is speckled with graines or strakes, but among all the rest, that kind is most admirable, which hath in it faire Jacynthes, that are good Jewels. For the strakes being dispersed like veynes over all the bodie of their Mother-stone, if you shall divide them, and plucke them out as you would picke the kernels out of a Pomegranate, they will fall into graines and little pieces of perfect Jacynth. But if you please to make Pillars, or Obeliskes, or other such like memorials, of the whole masse, you shall see them shine and sparkle, full of most faire and goodly Jewels.

[II. vii.      There are also other kinds of rare stones, which make a  
1009.] shew of metall in them, as of Copper, and of sundry

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other colours, that are very fresh, and bright, and smooth, whereof you may make Images, or any other worke of singular beautie. True it is, indeed, that they want Masons, and Cutters, and Playsterers, and Carpenters, and other such Artificers: for when the Churches, and the walls, and the other fabrickes in those Countries were built, the Workmen were brought thither out of Portugall.

*Want of work-  
men to build.*

There are also Tamarindes, and Cassia, and Ceders in such multitudes growing all along the River of Congo, besides other Trees of an unmeasurable length and thickness, that an infinite number of ships and houses may be builded of them. Their Gardens doe beare all manner of Herbes and Fruits, as Pompions, Melions, Cucumbers, Coleworts, and such like, besides other sorts that doe not agree with our Climates of Europe.

*Stuffe for  
building ships  
and housing.*

*Herbs &  
fruits.*

The King of Portugall, Don Giovanni the second, being desirous to discover the East Indies, sent forth divers ships by the Coast of Africa to search out this Navigation, who having found the Ilands of Cape Verde, and the Ile of Saint Thomas, and running all along that Coast, did light upon the River Zaire, whereof we have made mention before, and there they had good Trafficke, and tryed the people to bee very courteous and kind. Afterwards hee sent forth (for the same purpose) certaine other Vessels, to entertaine this Trafficke with Congo, who finding the Trade there to bee so free and profitable, and the people so friendly, left certaine Portugals behind them, to learne the Language, and to Trafficke with them: among whom one was a Masse-priest. These Portugals conversing familiarly with the Lord of Sogno, who was Uncle to the King and a man well stricken in yeares, dwelling at that time in the Port of Praza (which is in the mouth of Zaire) were very well entertained and esteemed by the Prince, and revered as though they had beene earthly Gods, and descended downe from Heaven into those Countries. But the Portugals told them that they were men as themselves were, and professors of Christianitie. And when they perceived in how great estimation the

*The first traf-  
ficke of the  
Portugals into  
Congo.*

*Mani-Sogno,  
the Kings  
Uncle enter-  
taineth the  
Portugals.*

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*Mani-Sogno,  
converted and  
become a  
Christian.*

people held them, the foresaid Priest and others began to reason with the Prince touching the Christian Religion, and to shew unto them the errors of the Pagan superstition, and by little and little to teach them the Faith which we professe, insomuch as that which the Portugals spake unto them, greatly pleased the Prince, and so he became converted.

*The King of  
Congo,  
promiseth to  
become a  
Christian.*

With this confidence and good spirit, the Prince of Sogno went to the Court, to enforme the King of the true Doctrine of the Christian Portugals, and to encourage him that he would imbrace the Christian Religion which was so manifest, and also so wholesome for his soules health. Hereupon the King commanded to call the Priest to Court, to the end he might himselfe treat with him personally, and understand the truth of that which the Lord of Sogno had declared unto him. Whereof when hee was fully informed, he converted and promised that he would become a Christian.

*The King of  
Portugall  
sendeth Priests  
to the King of  
Congo to  
instruct him.*

And now the Portugall ships departed from Congo, and returned into Portugall: and by them did the King of Congo write to the King of Portugall, Don Giovanni the second, with earnest request, that he would send him some Priests, with all other Orders and Ceremonies to make him a Christian. The Priest also that remayned behind had written at large touching this businesse, and gave the King full information of all that had happened, agreeable to his good pleasure. And so the King tooke order for sundry Religious persons, to be sent unto him accordingly, with all Ornaments for the Church and other service, as Crosses and Images: so that he was thoroughly furnished with all things that were necessarie and needfull for such an action.

*Mani-Sogno  
promoteth the  
Christian  
Religion.*

In the meane-while, the Prince of Sogno, ceased not day and night to discourse with the Portugall Priest, whom hee kept in his owne House, and at his owne Table, aswell that hee might learne the Christian Faith himselfe, as also instruct the people therein: so that hee began to favour Christianitie with all his power.

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At last the ships of Portugall, arrived with the expected provisions (which was in the yeare of our Salvation 1491.) and landed in the Port which is in the mouth of the River Zaire. The Prince of Sogno with all shew of familiar joy, accompanied with all his Gentlemen, ranne downe to meete them, and entertayned the Portugals in most courteous manner, and so conducted them to their Lodgings. The next day following, according to the direction of the Priest that remayned behind, the Prince caused a kind of Church to be builded, with the bodies and branches of certaine trees, which hee in his owne person, with the helpe of his Servants, most devoutly had felled in the Wood. And when it was covered, they erected therein three Altars in the worship and reverence of the most holy Trinitie, and there was baptised himselfe and his young Sonne, himselfe by the name of our Saviour, Emanuel, and his childe by the name of Anthony, because that Saint is the Protector of the Citie of Lisbone.

*The ships  
returme from  
Portugall,  
1491.  
Mani-Sogno  
& his traine  
entertayneth  
the Portugals.*

*Mani-Sogno  
buildeth a  
Church.*

*Mani Sogno  
& his Sonne  
baptized.*

The men and women before this had no proper names agreeable to reasonable creatures, but the common names of Plants, of Stones, of Birds and of Beasts. But the Princes and Lords had their denominations from the Places and States which they governed. As for example, the foresaid Prince, which was the first Christian in Congo, was called Mani-Sogno, that is to say, The Prince of Sogno, and when hee was christned, was called Emanuel, but at this day they have all in generall such Christian names as they have learned of the Portugals.

After a Masse was celebrated and sung, one of the Priests that came from Portugall went up, and made a briefe Sermon in the Portugall Language, declaring the summe of the new Religion, and faith of the Gospell which they had received. This Sermon, the Priest that was left behind, having now learned the Congo speech, did more at large expound to the Lords that were in the Church: for the Church could not possibly hold the innumerable multitude of the people that were there

[II. vii.

1010.]

*A sermon con-  
tayning the  
sum of Christ-  
ian Religion.*

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*Mani-Sogno  
rehearseth the  
Sermon to his  
people.*

gathered together, at the conversion of their Prince: who afterwards came abroad unto them, and rehearsed the whole Sermon, with great love and charitie, moving and exhorting them to imbrace likewise the true beliefe of the Christian Doctrine.

*The Portugals  
goe to the  
Court to bap-  
tise the King.*

When this was done, all the Portugals put themselves on their way towards the Court, to baptise the King, who with a most fervent longing attended the same. And the Governour of Sogno tooke order that many of his Lords should wait upon them with Musicke, and singing, and other signes of wonderfull rejoycing; besides, divers slaves which he gave them to carrie their stuffe, commanding also the people, that they should prepare all manner of victuall to bee readie in the streets for them. So great was the number of people, that ranne and met together to behold them, as the whole Champaigne seemed to bee in a manner covered with them, and they all did in great kindnesse entertaine and welcome the Portugall Christians, with singing and sounding of Trumpets and Cymbals, and other Instruments of that Countrey.

*How beautiful  
are the feet of  
them that  
bring tydings  
of peace?*

And it is an admirable thing to tell you, that all the streets and high-wayes, that reach from the Sea, to the Citie of Saint Saviours, being one hundred and fiftie miles, were all cleansed and swept, and abundantly furnished with all manner of victuall and other necessities for the Portugals. Indeed, they doe use in those Countries, when the King or the principall Lords goe abroad, to cleanse their wayes and make them handsome.

*The Courtiers  
of Congo meet  
the Portugals.*

Three dayes journey from the place whence they departed, they descryed the Kings Courtiers, that came to meet them, to present them with fresh victuals, and to doe them honour: and so from place to place they encountred other Lords, that for the same purpose were sent by the King to receive the Christians, who were the Messengers and Bringers of so great a joy. When they were come within three miles neere to the Citie, all the Court came to entertaine and welcome the Portugals, with all manner of pompe and joyfulness, and with Musicke and Singing, as



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in those Countries is used upon their solemnest Feast-dayes.

And so great was the multitude of people, which abounded in the streets, and that there was neither Tree nor Hillocke higher then the rest, but it was loden with those that were runne forth and assembled to view these Strangers, which brought unto them this new Law of their Salvation. The King himselfe attended them at the gate of his Palace, in a Throne of Estate erected upon a high Scaffold, where he did publikely receive them, in such manner and sort as the ancient Kings of that Realme were accustomed to doe, when any Embassadours came unto him, or when his Tributes were payed him, or when any other such Royall Ceremonies were performed.

*The King himselfe receiveth them.*

And first of all, the Embassadour declared the Embassage of the King of Portugall, which was expounded and interpreted by the foresaid Priest, that was the principall Author of the conversion of those people. After the Embassage was thus delivered, the King rayseed himselfe out of his Seate, and standing upright upon his feet, did both with his countenance and speech, shew most evident signes of the great joy, that he had conceived for the comming of the Christians, and so sate downe againe. And incontinently all the people with shouting, and sounding their Trumpets, and Singing, and other manifest arguments of rejoycing, did approve the Kings words, and shewed their exceeding good liking of this Embassage. And further in token of obedience, they did three times prostrate themselves upon the ground, and cast up their feet according to the use of those Kingdomes.

*The Portugall Embassadour declareth his Embassage.*

*The King rejoyceth at the Embassage.*

*The people rejoyce at it.*

Then the King tooke view of all the Presents that were sent him by the King of Portugall, and the Vestments of the Priests, and the Ornaments of the Altar, and the Crosses, and the Tables, wherein were depainted the Images of Saints, and the Streamers, and the Banners, and all the rest, and with incredible attention, caused the meaning of every one of them to be declared unto him, one by one. And so withdrew himselfe, and lodged the

*The King vieweth the Presents sent unto him by the King of Portugall.*

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Embassadour in a Palace made readie of purpose for him, and all the rest were placed in other Houses of severall Lords, where they were furnished with all plentie and ease.

*Consultation  
among the  
Portugals for  
the Christning  
of the King,  
and for the  
building of a  
Church.*

The day following, the King caused all the Portugals to be assembled together in private: where they devised of the course that was to be taken for the Christning of the King, and for effecting the full conversion of the people to the Christian Faith. And after sundry Discourses, it was resolved and concluded, that first of all a Church should bee builded, to the end that the Christning, and other Ceremonies thereunto belonging, might be celebrated therein with the more Solemnitie: and in the meane-while the King and Court should be taught and instructed in the Christian Religion. The King presently commanded, that with all speed provision should be made of all manner of stufte necessary for this Building, as Timber, Stone, Lime, and Bricke, according to the direction and appointment of the Work-masters and Masons, which for that purpose were brought out of Portugall.

*An insurrec-  
tion raysed by  
the Devill, to  
hinder the  
progresse of  
Christian  
Religion.  
[II. vii.]*

1011.]

But the Devill who never ceaseth to crosse all good and holy proceedings, raysed new dissentions and conspiracies, by procuring a rebellion among certaine people of the Anzichi, and of Anzicana, which dwell upon both the bankes of the River Zaire, from the foresaid fals upwards, to the great Lake, and are subject and belonging to the King of Congo. Now this monstrous River being restrayned and kept backe by these fals, doth swell there mightily, and spreadeth it selfe abroad in a very large and deepe channell. In the breadth whereof there are many Ilands, some small and some great, so that in some of them, there may be maintayned about thirtie thousand persons. In these Ilands and in other places adjoyning to the Rivers thereabouts, did the people make an insurrection, and renounced their obedience to the King, and slue the Governours that he had sent thither to rule.

The King must needs goe himselfe in person to pacifie these broyles: howbeit, he resolved to bee baptised before

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his going, and so was enforced to forbear the building of the Church of Stone, and with all speed, in stead thereof to erect one of Timber, which Church hee in his owne person with the advice of the Portugals, did accomplish in such manner and sort as it ought to bee, and therein did receive the Sacrament of holy Baptisme, and was named Don Giovanni, and his wife Donna Eleonora, after the names of the King and Queene of Portugall, and the Church it selfe intituled and dedicated to Saint Saviour.

*The King  
buildeth in  
haste a church  
of timber.  
The King and  
Queene of  
Congo  
christned.  
The Church of  
S. Saviours.  
Divers Lords  
baptised.*

The same day, wherein the King was baptised, divers other Lords following his example were baptised likewise, having first learned certaine Principles of the Christian Faith. And when all this was done, the King went in person to disperse the turbulent attempts of his Adversaries, against whom hee found the Prince his Sonne, and the Lord of Batta already fighting with a formall Armie. But at the arrivall of the King, the Enemies yeilded, and submitted themselves to the obedience which before they performed: and so he returned in triumph to the Citie of Congo, and the Prince his Sonne with him, who presently was desirous to become a Christian, and was christned by the name of the first Prince of Portugall, called Alfonso: and with him also were christned many Gentlemen and Cavaleros, and other of his Servants, that came with him out of his Province.

*The King  
goeth in person  
against the  
rebels, and  
discomfitteth  
them.*

*Mani-Sundi  
christned and  
many other  
with him.*

The Kings second Sonne, would not agree to receive the new Religion, many other Lords favoured him, who being addicted rather to the sensualitie of the flesh, then the puritie of the minde, resisted the Gospel, which began now to be preached, especially in that Commandement, wherein it is forbidden, that a man should have any more Wives but one.

*Mani-Pango  
resisteth the  
Gospel.  
Polygamie.*

The eldest Brother Don Alfonso, did with great fervencie, defend Christianitie, and burned all the Idols that were within his Province. The second Brother (called Mani-Pango, because hee was Governour of the Countrey of Pango) did resist it mightily, and had gotten the greatest part of the principall Lords of Pango to be on

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*Mani-Pango  
& his Com-  
plices accuse  
Mani-Sundi to  
his Father.*

*The King  
depriveth  
Mani-Sundi of  
his govern-  
ment.*

*Mani-Sogno,  
maketh inter-  
cession for his  
Brother.*

his side. For there were divers of the new christned Lords, whose Ladies seeing themselves seperated, and forlorne of their Husband-Lords by force of the Christian Law, did take it as a great injurie and scorne done unto them, and blasphemed and cursed this new Religion beyond all measure. These Lords united themselves together with others, and began to plot Trecherie against Don Alfonso, hoping that if they could rid him out of the World, the Christian Faith would utterly cease of it selfe. And therefore Mani-Pango and his Complices gave intelligence to his Father, that the Prince Don Alfonso favoured the Christian Faction, onely to the end that under the colour of his countenance and favor, they might rayse an Insurrection & Rebellion against him, & so drive him out of his Kingdom.

The King gave credit to their informations, and deprived his Sonne of the Government wherein hee was placed: But the Providence of God which reserved him for a greater matter, did relieve him by the good mediation and counsell of his friends, who entreated the King his Father, that hee would not be moved to anger, before he had examined the Answeres and Reasons of the Prince his Sonne. Wherein the King was especially perswaded by Mani-Sogno, who (as wee told you) was before christned, and called, Don Emanuel, and by good hap was in Court at that present. This man (being the ancientest Courtier and Lord of that time, singularly well beloved of the King and all his people) did with sound reasons and dexteritie of wit, procure the King to revoke the sentence, with a speciall charge, that hee should not proceed with such rigour against the Gentiles, for the propagation and exaltation of the Christian Religion. But he being full of fervent charitie, and godly spirit, ceased not (for all that) to advance the Faith of the Gospell, and to put the Commandements of God in execution.

Whereupon his Adversaries who never rested from their former attempt, were continually at the Kings elbow, and sought by all cunning shifts and secret devises, to destroy

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that which the good Prince had builded, especially when they saw that the Prince of Sogno was departed from Court, and returned into his government. So that no bodie being now left to protect and defend the Christian Religion, the King began to doubt of the Faith, which with so great zeale he had before imbraced: and therefore sent to his Sonne, that he should come againe to the Court, to make account of those Revenues that hee had gathered within the Countrey of his Government, with a full intent and meaning, indeed, to deprive him, when his accounts should be finished.

*The King  
wavereth in  
Religion, and  
calletli Mani-  
Sundi to  
account, of  
purpose to  
deprive him.*

But he, in the meane-while, his Father being an old man, did by meanes of a naturall infirmitie depart out of this life. And his Mother who alwaies persevered constant in the Catholike Faith, loving her eldest Sonne most entirely, concealed the Kings death for the space of three dayes, being therein ayded and assisted by some of her trustie friends, & gave it out, that the King had taken such order as no man might come unto him to trouble him. In the meane season, she did secretly signifie to her Sonne, the death of his Father, which she would keepe close till his comming, and charged him without any delay, and in all haste to speed him to the Court.

*The King  
dyeth.*

This shee did by certaine Runners, that from place to place in convenient distances and journeyes, are alwaies readie like Postes, to convey the precepts and commandements of the King over all the Realme. Whereupon he presently caused himselfe to be carried poste both day and night, by certaine Slaves according to the use of that Countrey, and in one day and two nights, with most exquisite diligence, accomplished the journey of two hundred miles, and so arrived at the Citie, before he was expected.

*The Queene  
Mother send-  
eth in al haste  
for her Sonne  
Mani-Sundi.*

[II. vii.  
1012.]

Now together with the death of the King, there was also published the succession to the Crowne of Don Alfonso, being then present, who in his owne person did accompanie the corps of his dead Father to the buriall, with all the Lords of the Court, and all the Christian

*The funerall  
of King John,  
celebrated by  
King Alfonso.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Mani-Pango,  
rebelleth  
against his  
brother.*

Portugals, which was solemnized after the manner of Christendome, with service and prayers for the dead, and all this with such funerall pompe, as was never scene before among those people. But they which heretofore were adversaries to this new King, doubting of their owne safetie, if they should remaine in the Court, united themselves with Mani-Pango, who was now departed into the Province of his owne Government, and while his father lived, was wholly employed in fighting against the Mozombi, and certaine other people that had rebelled against him.

*The King to  
his Souldiers.*

Mani-Pango and his forces set forwards to the besieging of the Citie, with so great a noyse of warlike Instruments, and cryes, and showtings, and terrible threatnings, that the poore few, which were in the Citie, as well Christians as others, fainted in their hearts, and failed in their courage, and came and presented themselves before the King, saying, that he had not power enough to resist so powerfull an Enemie, and therefore they thought it better for him to grow to some concord and composition, and to abandon the new Religion, which he had lately begun to professe, to the end he might not fall into the hands of his cruell adversaries. But the King being resolute, and full of religious constancie, reproved their cowardise, and called them dastards, and base people; and willed them, if they had any mind or desire to forsake him, and goe to the Enemie, that they should so doe. As for himselfe, and those few that would follow him, he did not doubt, but assuredly trust, though not with the possibilitie or strength of Man, yet with the favour of God, to vanquish and overcome that innumerable multitude. And therefore hee would not request them either to joyne with him, or to put their lives in hazard against his adversaries for his sake, but onely they might rest themselves and expect the issue that should follow thereon.

*The King  
erecteth a  
Crosse of a  
great length.*

He did presently cause a Crosse to be planted, and erected in the midst of the Market place, right against the Church, which his Father had builded. This Crosse

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was of a wonderfull length, for it was fourescore spanne long, and the Crosse-barre in proportion answerable thereunto. The Crosse is to be seene in the same place, wherein it was erected, at the front of the Church, which Church was called Saint Crosses, of the Crosse there planted. This Crosse the last King, that dead is, Don Alvaro, Father to the King that now is, renewed and made another of the same bignesse that the first was of.

Mani-Pango terrified with visions, and not with his brothers forces, overcome with feare and danger ranne away, and fell into the Snares and Nets which he himselfe had laid for the Christians; For, lighting among the foresaid Stakes, he was with one of them thrust into the bodie, and so being surprized with an evill death, he finished his life, as it were in a rage. For you must understand, that the sharpe ends of the said Stakes, were envenomed with a certaine poyson, which taking hold of the blood, and entring somewhat into the flesh, would kill without all cure or remedie. By this victorie and death of his brother, did the King remaine in securitie and libertie.

All things well established, the King Don Alfonso tooke order, that they should presently goe in hand with the fabricke of the Principall Church, called Saint Crosses, which was so named of the Crosse that was there planted, (as wee told you before) and also because upon the Feast day of the holy Crosse, the first stone was laid in the foundation thereof. Moreover, he commanded that the men should bring stones, and the women should fetch sand from the River, for the furthering of this worke. The King would needs be the first Porter himselfe, and upon his owne shoulders brought the first basket of stones, which he cast into the foundation, and the Queene her basket of sand likewise, thereby giving an example to the Lords and the Ladies of the Court to doe the like, and to encourage and hearten the people in so holy an action. And so this fabricke being furthered by so good Work-masters and Workmen, in a very short time was fully finished, and therein were celebrated Masses, and

*The miracle  
which the  
author addes, I  
have omitted,  
a vision of  
light and five  
swords, as also  
the vision of  
our Ladie and  
Saint James,  
fighting  
against Mani-  
Pango.  
The stratagem  
of Mani-  
Pango, turneth  
to his owne  
destruction.  
The death of  
Mani-Pango.  
The building  
of the Church  
called Saint  
Crosses.*

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other Divine Service, with great solemnitie, besides, a number of Lords and others, that were there baptised and christned: so that the multitude of such as came to be partakers of the holy Baptisme abounded so greatly, that there were not Priests enough to execute that office.

*King Alfonso  
dispatcheth  
the Portugall  
Embassadour,  
and another of  
his owne into  
Portugall.*

After this the King dispatched away the Portugall Embassadour, who till this time had remained at the Court, by reason of these troubles: and with him he sent also another Embassadour of his owne, called Don Roderico, and divers others that were of kinne both to himselfe and to his Embassadour, to the end that they should learne, both the Doctrine of the Christians in Portugall, and also their Language, and further declare unto the King all these accidents that hapned.

*The king com-  
mandeth all  
Idols to bee  
brought in,  
and all other  
things that are  
contrarie to  
the Christian  
Religion.*

Moreover, hee caused the Lords of all his Provinces to be assembled together, in a place appointed for that purpose, and there publikely signified unto them, that whosoever had any Idols, or any thing else that was contrarie to the Christian Religion, he should bring them forth and deliver them over to the Lieutenants of the Countrie. Otherwise, whosoever did not so, should be burned themselves, without remission or pardon. Which commanded was incontinently put in execution. And a wonderfull thing it is to be noted, that within lesse then one moneth, all the Idols, and Witcheries and Characters, which they worshipped and accounted for Gods, were sent and brought unto the Court. Many there were, that caried a devotion to Dragons with wings, which they nourished and fed in their owne private houses, giving unto them for their food, the best and most costly Viands that they had. Others kept Serpents of horrible figures: Some worshipped the greatest Goats they could get; some Tygres, and other most monstrous creatures; yea, the more uncouth and deformed the Beasts were, the more they were honored. Some held in veneration certaine uncleane Fowles, and Night-birds, as Bats, Owles, and Scritch-Owles, and such like. To be briefe, they did choose for their Gods divers Snakes, and Adders, and

[II. vii.  
1013.]



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Beasts, and Birds, and Herbs, and Trees, and sundry Characters of Wood and of Stone, and the figures of all these things above rehearsed, as well painted in Colours, as graven in Wood and in Stone, and in such other stuffe. Neither did they onely content themselves with worshipping the said Creatures, when they were quicke and alive, but also the verie skinnes of them when they were dead, being stuffed with straw.

The act of this their adoration, was performed in divers sorts, all wholly addressed, and directed to expresse their humilitie, as by kneeling on their knees, by casting themselves groveling upon the earth, by defiling their faces with dust, by making their prayers unto their Idols, in words and in actions, and by offering unto them the best part of the substance which they had in their possession. They had moreover, their Witches, which made the foolish people to beleeeve that their Idols could speake, and so deceived them: and if any man being in sicknesse or infirmitie, would recommend himselfe unto them, and afterwards that man recovered his health, the Witches would perswade him that the Idoll had beene angry with him, but now was appeased, and had healed him.

*Their devout  
worshipping of  
Idols.*

*Witches.*

The King caused fire to be set unto their Idols, and utterly consumed them. When he had thus done, he assembled all his people together, and in stead of their Idols which before they had in reverence, hee gave them Crucifixes, and Images of Saints, which the Portugals had brought with them, and enjoyned every Lord, that every one in the Citie of his owne Government and Regiment, should build a Church, and set up Crosses, as he had already shewed unto them by his owne example. And then he told them, and the rest of his people, that he had dispatched an Embassadour into Portugall to fetch Priests, that should teach them Religion, and administer the most holy and wholesome Sacraments to every one of them, and bring with them divers Images of Christ, of the Virgin Mother, and of other Saints to distribute among them. In the meanwhile, he willed them to be of good comfort,

*The king com-  
mandeth every  
Lord to build a  
Church, in the  
Citie of his  
owne govern-  
ment.  
Exchanged  
Imagerie.*

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and to remaine constant in the faith. But they had so lively imprinted the same in their hearts, that they never more remembred their former beliefe in false and lying Idols.

*The King  
buildeth three  
Churches.*

*One to Saint  
Saviour.*

*The second, to  
our Lady of  
Helpe.*

*The third, to  
S. James.*

He ordained moreover, that there should be three Churches builded. One in reverence of our Saviour, to give him thanks for the victorie which he had granted unto him, wherein the Kings of Congo doe lye buried, and whereof the Citie Royall tooke the name, (for as it was told you before, it is called, S. Saviours.) The second Church, was dedicated to the blessed Virgin, the mother of God, called, Our Ladie of Help, in memorie of the succour which he had against his enemies: And the third, was consecrated to S. James: in honour and remembrance of the Miracle which that Saint had wrought by fighting in the favour of the Christians, and shewing himselfe on Horse-backe in the heate of the battaile.

*The ships  
returne from  
Portugall with  
Friers and  
Priests.*

Not long after this, the ships arrived from Portugall, with many men that were skilfull in the holy Scriptures, and divers religious Friers of the Orders of S. Francis, and of S. Dominick, and of S. Austine, with sundry other Priests, who with great charitie and fervency of spirit, sowed and dispearsed the Catholike Faith over all the Countrey: which was presently embraced by all the people of the Kingdome, who held the said Priests in so high reverence, that they worshipped them like Saints, by kneeling unto them, and kissing their hands, and receiving their blessing, as often as they met them in the streetes. These Priests being arrived into their severall Provinces, did instruct the people in the Faith of Christ.

*Priests  
worshipped.*

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### §. VI.

The death of the King Don Alfonso, and the succession of Don Pedro. How the Iland of S. Thomas was first inhabited, and of the Bishop that was sent thither: The Kings lineage extinct: Invasion of the Jagges: Their savage conditions.

**W**Hile these matters were thus in working for the service of God, and that Christianitie was now begun and increased with so happy successe, it pleased God to call away to himselfe the King Don Alfonso, who at the time of his death, discoursed of the Christian Religion, with so great confidence and charitie, as it evidently appeared, that the Crosse and Passion, and the true beliefe in our Saviour Jesus Christ, was imprinted in the root of his heart. To Don Pedro, his sonne and successor, he did especially and principally recommend the Christian doctrine, which indeed following the example of his father, hee did maintaine and uphold accordingly.

*King Alfonso dieth.*

*Don Pedro succeedeth him.*

In his time, there began to saile into these quarters a great number of vessels, and the Iland of S. Thomas was inhabited with Portugals, by the Kings commandement. For before those dayes, it was all waste and desert within Land, and inhabited onely upon the shoare by a few Saylers that came from the Countries adjoyning. But when this Iland in processe of time was well peopled with Portugals, and other Nations, that came thither by licence of the King, & became to be of great Trafficke, and was Tilled and Sowed, the King sent thither a Bishop, to governe the Christians that were in that Iland, and those also that were in Congo: which the said Bishop did accomplish presently upon his arrivall, and afterwards in Congo, where hee tooke possession of his Pastorall charge. When he was come into the Kingdome of Congo, it was a thing incredible to see, with how great joy he was entertained by the King and all his people.

[II. vii.  
1014.]  
*The Ile of S. Thomas beginneth to be inhabited.*

*The King of Portugall sendeth one to be Bishop of the Ile of S. Thomas and of Congo.*

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*The entertain-  
ment of the  
Bishop in  
Congo.*

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For from the Sea side, even unto the Citie, being the space of one hundred and fiftie miles, he caused the streetes to be made smooth and trim, and to bee covered all over with Mats, commanding the people, that for a certaine space severally appointed unto them, they should prepare the waies in such sort, that the Bishop should not set his foot upon any part of the ground which was not adorned. But it was a far greater wonder, to behold all the Countrey thereabouts, and all the Trees, and all the places that were higher then the rest, swarming with men and women that ran forth to see the Bishop, as a man that was holy and sent from God, offering unto him, some of them Lambs, some Kids, some Chickins, some Partridges, some Venison, and some Fish, and other kinds of victuals in such abundance, that he knew not what to doe withall, but left it behind him; whereby he might well know the great zeale and obedience of these new Christians. And above all other things it is to be noted for a memorable matter, that the Bishop going on his way, there met him an innumerable multitude of men, and women, and girles, and boyes, and persons of fourescore yeares of age, and above, that crossed him in the streets, and with singular tokens of true reliefe required the water of holy Baptisme at his hands: neither would they suffer him to passe untill he had given it them: so that to satisfie their desires, hee was greatly stayed in his voyage, and was faine to carrie water with him in certaine vessels, and Salt, and other provision necessary for that action.

*The Bishop  
foundeth the  
Cathedrall  
Church of S.  
Crosses.*

And now I will tell you, he arrived at the Citie of Saint Saviours, where he was met by the Priests, and by the King, and by all the Court, and so in procession entred into the Church, and after due thanks given to God, he was conducted to his lodging, that was assigned unto him by the King. And then presently he beganne to reforme and reduce to good order, the Church it selfe, and the Friars, and Priests that dwell therein: ordaining the said Church to be the Cathedrall Church of Saint Crosses, which at that time had belonging unto it eight and twentie

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Canons, with their Chaplaines, and a Master of the Chappell, with Singers, and Organs, and Bels, and all other furniture meete to execute Divine service. But this Bishop who laboureth in the Lords Vineyard, sometimes in Congo, and sometimes in the Ile of Saint Thomas, going and comming continually by ship, the space of twentie daies, and still leaving behind him his Vicars in the place where he himselfe was absent, at the last dyed, and was buried in the Island of Saint Thomas.

*The Bishop dyeth.*

After this Bishop, succeeded another Bishop in Congo, being a Negro, and descended of the blood Royall, who before had beene sent by King Alfonso first into Portugall, and afterwards to Rome, where he learned the Latine tongue, and the Christian Religion, but being returned into Portugall, and landed out of his ship, to goe and enter upon his Bishopricke of Saint Saviours, he dyed by the way: whereupon the Kingdome remained without a Pastor for the space of divers yeares. Don Piedro also the King aforesaid, dyed likewise without Children; and there succeeded him his Brother, called Don Francisco, who in like manner lasted but a while: and then was created the fift King, named Don Diego, who was next of all the race Royall: A man of haughtie courage, and magnificall, and wittie, of a very good disposition, wise in counsell, and above all other qualities, a maintainer of Christian Faith: and in briefe, so great a Warriour he was, that in few yeares he conquered all the Countries adjoyning. He loved the Portugals very much, so that he forsooke the usuall garments of his owne naturall Country, and attired himselfe after the Portugall fashion. He was very sumptuous, as well in his apparell, as also in the ornaments and furniture of his palace: he was besides very courteous and liberall, and would bestow largely, both upon his owne Subjects, and also upon the Portugals. With great cost would he provide and buy such stuffe as pleased him, and would often say, that Rare things should not be in the hands of any but onely of Kings. He used to weare one suite of apparell but once or twice, and then

*The second Bishop dyeth.*

*The King Don Piedro dyeth.*

*Don Francisco succeedeth and dyeth.*

*Don Diego the fift King.*

*The King Diego very sumptuous.*

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he would give it away to his followers. Whereupon the Portugals perceiving that he did so greatly esteeme cloath of Gold and Arras, and such other costly household-stuffe, they brought great store thereof out of Portugall, so that at that time, Arras-hangings, and Cloth of Gold, and of Silke, and such like Lordly furniture, began to be of great estimation in that Kingdome.

*The third  
Bishop of S.  
Thomas, & of  
Congo.*

In the time of this King, there was a third Bishop of Saint Thomas, and Congo, by Nation a Portugall, who with the usuall ceremonies was entertained both by the way, and also in the Court at Saint Saviours. And now every man esteemed himselfe not onely to be as good as the Bishop, but also to be a farre better man then he was; and therefore would yeeld no obedience to their Prelate. But the King like a good Catholike, and a faithfull, did alwaies maintaine the Bishops part, and to cut off these troubles and stirres, he sent some of these Priests to prison into Portugall, and others into the Ile of Saint Thomas, and some others went away with all their substance of their owne accord.

[II. vii.

1015.]

Also after the death of this King, there started up three Princes at once to challenge the succession. The first was the Kings Sonne, whom few of them favoured, because they desired to have another, so that hee was slaine incontinently. The two other that remained were of the blood Royall: one of them was created King by his favourites and followers, with the good liking of the greater part of the people, but utterly against the minds of the Portugals, and certaine of the Lords, who aymed and endeavoured to set up the other. In so much as the foresaid Lords, together with the Portugals, went into the Church to kill the King elected: making this reckoning with themselves, that if they slue him, the other must of necessitie bee made King. But at that very selfe-same time, those of the contrary faction had slaine the King that was already made by the Portugals, perswading themselves assuredly, that he being dead, there would be no difficulty for them to obtaine the State for their King, because there was none

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other left, that by law could challenge the Scepter Royall. And thus in an houre, and in two severall places, were these two Kings murthered at once.

In these conspiracies and slaughters, when the people saw that there were no lawfull persons left to enjoy the Royall Crowne, they laid all the blame upon the Portugals, who were the causers of all these mischiefes: and thereupon they turned themselves against them, and slue as many of them as they could find: Onely they spared the Priests, and would not touch them, nor any other that dwelt in other places.

*The Portugals  
slaine and  
dispersed.*

Seeing therefore (as before is said) that there was none of the blood Royall left to be placed in the Government, they made choise of one Don Henrico, Brother to Don Diego the King deceased. And this Henrico going to warre against the Anzichi, left behind him in his stead for Governour, under the Title of King, one Don Alvaro, a young man of five and twenty yeares of age, sonne to his Wife by another Husband. But Don Henrico dyed shortly after the warre was ended, and thereupon the said Don Alvaro was with the common consent of them all elected King of Congo, and generally obeyed of every man. And thus faile the Royall stocke of the ancient Kings of Congo, in the person of Don Henrico.

*Don Henrico  
created King.*

*King Henrico  
dieth, and Don  
Alvaro  
succeedeth:  
and so the  
stocke of the  
ancient Kings  
of Congo  
ceased.  
King Alvaro  
restoreth the  
Portugals.*

But Don Alvaro was a man of good judgement and government, and of a milde disposition, so that he did presently appease all these tumults in his Kingdome, and caused all the Portugals that by the last warres were dispersed over all the Countries thereabouts, to be gathered together, as well religious persons as lay men, and by their meanes he was much better confirmed in the Catholike Faith, then he was before.

Moreover, he used them very courteously, and cleared them of all faults that were laid to their charge, declaring unto them by gentle discourses, that they had not beene the occasion of the former troubles, as every man would confesse and acknowledge: and to that effect hee determined with himselfe to write a large information touching

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all these accidents to the King of Portugall, and to the Bishop of Saint Thomas, which he did accordingly, and dispatched certaine Messengers unto them with his letters.

*The Bishop of  
S. Thomas  
returneth into  
Congo.*

When the Bishop of Saint Thomas understood these newes, he was very glad thereof, and whereas before he durst not adventure to goe into the Kingdome of Congo in the heate of all those troubles, he did now presently take ship and sayled thither, where he imployed himselfe wholly with all his authoritie, to pacifie his former dissensions, and to set downe order for all such matters as concerned the worship of God, and the office of his Priests. And a while after he had so done, he returned to his habitation in the Ile of Saint Thomas, where by meanes of sicknesse he finished his daies. And this was the third time, that those parts remained without a Bishop.

*The Bishop of  
S. Thomas  
dieth.*

*King Alvaro  
liveth licen-  
tiously.*

Now it came to passe, that for want of Bishops, the King and the Lords, and the people likewise began to waxe cold in the Christian Religion, every man addicting himselfe licentiously to the libertie of the flesh, and especially the King, who was induced thereunto by divers young men of his owne age, that did familiarly converse with him. Among whom there was one principall man, that was both a Lord, and his Kinsman, called Don Francisco Bullamatare, that is to say, Catch-stone. This man, because he was a great Lord, and wholly estranged from all instructions of Christianitie, walked inordinately after his owne pleasure, and did not sticke to defend openly, That it was a very vaine thing to keepe but one Wife, and therefore it were better to returne to their former ancient custome. And so by his meanes did the Devill open a gate, to the overthrow and destruction of the Church of Christ in that Kingdome, which untill that time with so great paine and travaile had beene there established. But afterwards the man did so wander and stray out of the way of truth, that he fell from one sinne to another, and in the end quite relinquished and abandoned all true Religion. Yet at the last, the said Francisco died, and was solemnly buried.

*Francisco  
BullaMatore,  
an ill com-  
panion &  
Counsellour to  
the King.*

*Bullamatare  
dieth: and as  
they say,  
caried out of  
his grave by  
Devils.*



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For not long after, there came to rob and spoyle the Kingdome of Congo, certaine Nations that live after the manner of the Arabians, and of the ancient Nomades, and are called Giachas. Their habitation or dwelling is about the first Lake of the River Nilus, in the Province of the Empire of Moenemugi. A cruell people they are, and a murderous, of a great stature and horrible countenance, fed with mans flesh, fierce in battell, & valarous in courage. Their weapons are Pavises or Targets, Darts and Daggers: otherwise they goe all naked. In their fashions and daily course of living, they are very savage and wilde: They have no King to governe them, and they leade their life in the Forrest under Cabbins and Cottages like Shepherds.

*What people the Giachas are: Their conditions, and weapons. Of these, see Andrew Battell, Chap. 3. which better knew them.*

This people went wandering up and downe, destroying, and putting to fire and sword, and robbing and spoyling all the Countries that they passed through, till they came to the Realme of Congo, which they entred on that side where the Province of Batta lyeth. Those that first came forth to make resistance against them, they overthrew, and then addressed themselves towards the Citie of Congo, where the King remayned at that time in great perplexitie, for this victorie that his enemies had gotten in the Countrey of Batta: yet some comfort he tooke to himselfe, and went out against his Adversaries with such Souldiers as he had, and in the same place, where in times past Mani-Pango fought with the King Don Alfonso, he joyned battell with them. In which encounter the King being halfe discomfited, retyred into the Citie, wherein when hee perceived that he could not remayne in good safetie, being utterly forsaken of the grace of God by reason of his sinnes, and not having that confidence in him, that Don Alfonso had, he thought good to leave it for a prey to his Adversaries, and to betake himselfe to an Iland within the River Zaire, called Isola del Cavallo, that is to say, the Ile of Horse; where he continued with certaine Portugall Priests, and other principall Lords of his Kingdome. And thus were the Giachi become Lords and Masters of the Citie Royall, and of the whole Realme. For the naturall Inhabitants

[II. vii.  
1016.]  
*The Giachas spoile the province of Batta.*

*The Giachas come to the Royall Citie of Congo.*

*King Alvaro flyeth into the Ile of Horses. The Giachas surprise the Citie, and rule over all the Kingdome.*

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fled away, and saved themselves in the Mountaynes, and desart places: but the enemies burned and wasted, Citie, and Churches, and all, and spared no mans life, so that having divided themselves into severall Armies, they ruled and governed sometimes in one Province, and sometimes in another over all the Kingdome.

*The King, and those that followed him, plagued with an extreame famine.*

As for the poore people, they went wandring like Vagabonds over all the Countrey, and perished for hunger and want of necessities. And for the King with those that followed him, and had saved themselves in the Iland, they also, because the Ile was very little, and the multitude great, were oppressed with so terrible a scarsitie of victualls, that the most part of them died by famine and pestilence. For this dearth so increased, and meate arose to so excessive a rate, that for a very small pittance (God wot) they were faine to give the price of a slave, whom they were wont to sell for ten Crownes at the least. So that the Father was of necessitie constrained to sell his owne Sonne; and the Brother, his Brother, and so every man to provide his victualls by all manner of wickednesse. The persons that were sold, for the satisfying of other mens hunger, were bought by the Portugall Merchants, that came from Saint Thomas with their ships laden with victualls. Those that sold them, said, they were Slaves; and those that were sold, justified and confirmed the same, because they were desirous to be rid of their greedie torment. And by this occasion there was no small quantitie of Slaves, that were borne in Congo, sold upon this necessitie, and sent to the Ile of Saint Thomas, and to Portugall, among whom there were some of the bloud Royall, and some others, principall Lords.

*Many of the bloud Royall sold for Slaves to the Portugalls.*

By this affliction, the King did manifestly learne and know, that all these great miseries and adversities abounded for his misdeeds: and although he was not much punished with hunger, because he was a King, yet he did not escape the cruell infirmitie of the dropsie, that made his legs to swell exceedingly, which disease was engendred, partly by the aire, and very ill diet, and partly by the moystnesse of

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the Iland, and so it accompanied him even untill his death. But in the meane while, being stricken to the heart with these misfortunes and calamities, he converted and turned to God, requiring pardon for his offences, and doing penance for his sinnes: and then was counselled and advised by the Portugals, that he should send to request succours of the King of Portugall, by certaine Embassadors, that might recount unto him all the mischiefs which had lighted upon him. This embassy was accordingly performed, at the same time that the King Don Sebastiano began his reigne, who with great speed and kindnesse sent him succours by a Captaine, called Francisco di Gouea, a man well exercised in divers warres, both in India, and also in Africa, who lead with him sixe hundred Souldiers, and many Gentlemen Adventurers, that did accompanie him.

*King Alvaro  
sendeth to the  
King of Portu-  
gall for succor.*

*Don Sebastian  
the King of  
Portugall  
sendeth  
succour unto  
him.*

This Captaine Francisco di Gouea, carried with him a commandement from his King, that the Iland of Saint Thomas should provide him ships and victualls, and whatsoever else was requisite for this enterprise. And with this provision he arrived at the last in the Ile of Horse, where the King of Congo was resident. In whose companie the Portugalls departing from thence, and gathering together all the men of warre in that Countrey, with all speed possible, put themselves onwards against their Adversaries, and fought with them sundrie times in plaine battell, so that at the end of one yeere and a halfe, they restored the King into his former estate. Which victorie they atchieved indeed by the noyse and force of their Harquebusses, for the Giachi are exceedingly afraid of that weapon.

*Francisco di  
Gouea  
restoreth the  
King, and  
driveth the  
Giachas out of  
Congo.*

The Portugall Captaine stayed there for the space of foure yeeres, to settle the King in his Kingdome, and then returned into Portugall with letters of request to his King, that hee would send over some moe Priests to uphold and maintayne the Christian Religion. And the King being thus established in his former degree, and the Kingdome all in quiet and peace, became a very good Christian, and

*Francisco di  
Gouea, after  
foure yeeres  
returneth into  
Portugall with  
letters for moe  
Priests.  
The King  
becommeth a  
good  
Christian,  
and marrieth.*

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married the Lady Katharina, who is yet alive; by whom hee had foure daughters, and by certaine Maid-servants, which he kept, two sonnes and one daughter. And because in those Regions the women doe not succeed: there remayned as Heire of his Kingdome his elder sonne, called also Don Alvaro, who liveth at this day, 1588.

[II. vii.

1017.]  
*The K. of Portugall sendeth to make search in Congo for metall Mines.*

*Francisco Barbuto dissuadeth the King from making the search, and avoydeth it by policie.*

*The inconvenience of not suffering the metall Mines to be digged and melted. Priests resort not to save soules so much as to get gold. The King sendeth new Embassadors into Portugall for moe Priests.*

During the time, that the foresaid Captaine stayed in Congo, the King of Portugall, Don Sebastiano understanding, that there were in that Kingdome divers Caves and Mines of Silver, of Gold, and other Metals, sent thither two persons that were cunning and skilfull in that Arte, (for therein they had served the Castilians in the West) to make search for them, and to draw some profit thereof. But the King of Congo was by a certaine Portugall, called Francisco Barbuto, that was his Confessor, and great familiar, perswaded to the contrarie, that he should not in any case suffer those Mines to be discovered: signifying unto him, that thereby peradventure the free enjoying and possession of his Kingdome, might by little and little be taken quite from him, and therefore advised him that he would cause these skilfull Masters to bee led and guided by some other wayes, where he knew there were no metall Mines to be found, which he did accordingly. But assuredly, it grew afterwards to a great mischief: for, thereupon began the great trade and trafficke in that Countrie to cease, and the Portugall Merchants did not greatly care for venturing thither, or dwelling there any more. And so consequently, very few Priests resorted among them. So that as well upon these occasions, as also for other such causes afore rehearsed, the Christian Religion waxed so cold in Congo, that it wanted very little of being utterly extinguished. But the King Don Alvaro ceased not still to send new Embassadors into Portugall, with earnest request that he might have moe Priests, and such as were skilfull in the holy Scriptures to maintaine the Catholike Faith, which was now almost utterly forgotten in that Realme, onely for want of religious persons, that should teach the people and

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administer the Sacraments. He had none other answer from him, but words and promises, that he would have a care of the matter that was demanded: but in the meane while he provided neither Priests, nor Divines to be sent for Congo. Whereupon the King of Congo dispatched againe another principall Embassadour, being his kinsman, called Don Sebastiano Alvarez, together with a Portugall, to beare him companie. But he was faine to returne home againe into Congo, without any Priests or Religious persons to goe with him.

Three yeeres after, the King Don Sebastiano dispatched a certaine Bishop (called Don Antonio de gli Ova, being a Castilian borne) principally to the Iland of Saint Thomas: but withall hee gave him also a commission to visite the Kingdome of Congo: who being arrived at Saint Thomas, fell at jarre with the Captaine there, and so sailed into Congo; there he stayed eight moneths, and then departed againe, and left behind him in Congo, two Friars, and foure Priests. The Bishop being thus gone, and the King overthrowne in Africa, there was exalted to the Crowne of Portugall, Don Henrico the Cardinall, to whom the King of Congo did write, with great instance, and earnest request; that hee would send him some religious persons, and Preachers.

After Don Henrico succeeded Philip King of Castile, who sent advertisements to the Captaine of Saint Thomas, that he was invested in the Crowne of Portugall, and Letters also to the King of Congo, to the same effect: and in his Letters proffered to discover unto him the metall Mines, which heretofore had beene concealed from all the other Kings his Predecessors: and withall sent him divers trials of them; beseeching him especially withall affectionate entreatie, that (as soone as possibly he could) he would furnish him with some store of Priests: But Costa, which was sent, died by the way, the Vessell wherein he sailed being cast away upon the shoare of Portugall, and every man drowned that was in it: and the naughtie newes were knowne by the contents of the Letters, that were

*Don Sebastian was faine to returne into Congo without any Priests.*

*Antonio de gli Ova sent by the Portugall King to be Bishop of S. Thomas, and Congo.*

*Don Sebastian K. of Portugall overthrowne in Africa, and Don Henrico the Cardinall succeedeth.*

*Philip King of Spaine succeedeth the Cardinall. The King of Congo offereth King Philip of Spaine the discoverie of the metall Mines in Congo, with request for Priests.*

*Costa dieth by the way, and his message knowne by letters that were found.*

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found in a little Chest, which was driven on Land by the waves of the Sea.

*The Embas-  
sage of  
Odoardo  
Lopez to the  
K. of Spaine.*

After this he made choise of one Odoardo Lopez, a Portugall borne, from whose mouth Pigafetta tooke his present report, and put it in writing. This man had dwelt now a good time in those Regions, and was well experienced in the affaires of the World.

*His Embassage  
to the Pope.*

The summe of his Embassage was this: That he should present his Letters to the King Don Philip, and at large discourse unto him the state, wherein the Kingdome of Congo stood, touching matter of Religion, by the reason of the former Warres, and scarcitie of Priests, and thereupon request his Majestie to provide him a competent number of Confessors, and Preachers, that might be sufficient to maintaine the Gospell in those remote Countries, being but lately converted to Christianitie. Moreover, that he should shew unto him the sundrie trials of Metals, which he had made, and many other matters, which were worthie to be knowne: and withall, that he should proffer unto him in his name, free and liberall trafficke of them, which heretofore was ever denied to his Predecessors. Touching the Pope, That he should likewise on his behalfe kisse his feet, deliver unto him his Letters, and recount the miserable trouble and detriment that his people had suffered for the Christian Faith. That he should recommend those poore soules to his Holinesse, and beseech him, as the universall Father of all Christians, to have compassion upon so many faithfull persons, who because they had no Priests to deliver the holy Faith unto them, and to administer the wholesome Sacraments, were by little and little falling into everlasting perdition. And being thus dispatched he departed from the Court, and went about certain services for the King, wherein he spent about eight moneths. So that in Januarie, being then Sommer time in Congo, he embarked himselfe in a Vessell of one hundred Tunne burthen, which was bound with her lading for Lisbon. But forced by leakes and winds, the Pilot thought it better to turne his course, and taking

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the wind in the poope, to goe and save themselves in the Ilands of Nova Hispania. And they arrived with much adoe, at a little Iland, called Cubagoa; and situate over against the Ile of Saint Margarete, where they fish for Pearles. From thence, when they had in some haste amended their ship, and some-what refreshed themselves, they sayled with a short cut to the firme Land, and tooke Haven in a Port, called Cumana, or (as it is called by another name) The new Kingdome of Granado in the West Indies. This battered and weather-beaten Vessell, was no sooner arrived in this safe Harbour, but it sunke presently.

*The Ile of  
Cubagoa.  
The Ile of S.  
Margarete.  
[II. vii.*

1018.]

*Cumana or the  
new kingdome  
of Granado in  
the West  
Indies.*

*The ship sunke  
in the Haven.*

*Odoardo  
Lopez stayeth  
in Cumana, a  
yeare and a  
halfe.*

*The King of  
Congo sendeth  
Don Pedro  
Antonio, and  
Gaspar Diaz  
a Portugall,  
with the same  
Embassage  
which he sent  
by Lopez.*

*Don Pedro  
taken by the  
English, and  
by misfortune  
drowned, and  
his Sonne with  
him.*

While the foresaid Embassadour endeavoured in this place to recover his former health, the company of ships, which is called La Flotta, that is to say, The Fleet, and useth every yeare to saile from that Coast for Castile, departed from thence, so that he was constrained to stay for a new Navie, and so consumed a whole yeare and a halfe without doing any good. In this meane time, the King of Congo sent another Embassadour with the selfesame commandements, called Don Pedro Antonio, the second person in all his Realm, & with him one Gasparo Diaz, a Portugall.

But an infortunate end had this Embassadour, for he was taken at Sea by Englishmen, and his ship also, which being drawne towards England, when it was neere unto the Coast, by great misfortune it ranne a-thwart the shoare, and there Don Pedro Antonio, and his Sonne were both drowned: but the Portugall and some few others with him escaped, and arrived in Spaine, at such time as the said Odoardo was come to the Court, and had entred upon the charge of his Embassage.

*Alvaro King of  
Congo dyeth.  
King Philip  
busied about  
the Conquest  
of England.*

There he was courteously entertained by his Catholike Majestie, to whom he propounded the contents of his Commissions. But divers great accidents there happened. For first, he heard the dolorous newes of the Kings death, that sent him on this message: and then the King Don Philip was wholly busied about the Conquest of England,

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*Odoardo  
Lopez  
changeth his  
kind of  
profession.  
Lopez goeth to  
Rome, where  
he was kindly  
entertayned  
by the Pope.*

*The Vow of  
Odoardo  
Lopez to erect  
a Seminary,  
and an  
Hospitall in  
Congo.*

so that his businesse went nothing forwards, but was delayed from time to time: neither did he see any meanes of dispatch, but rather he was given to understand, that for that time they could not intend to harken unto him.

Now the foresaid Odoardo, being afflicted with so many adversities, renounced the World with all the deceitfull pompe and glorie thereof, and in Madrill apparelled himselfe in a grey course habit, and so went to Rome, to declare to Sixtus Quintus the Pope, the Tenor and Commission of his Embassage, because he would not altogether neglect the good intent and meaning of the King, that had sent him, although hee were now descended into a better life. Hee was kindly welcommed and received by his Holinesse, to whom he discoursed the miserable estate wherein the Christian people of the Realme of Congo did stand, for want of the worship and service of God, and also the small number of Priests, that were there to instruct them in the Doctrine of the Gospel, and to deliver unto them the Sacraments of the Church, especially the multitude in that Countrey, being (as it were) innumerable, that every day resorted together, to be baptised, instructed, confessed, and communicated. Moreover, he made a vow and resolved in his mind, that with such store of wealth, as God had blessed him withall in Congo, (which was not very small) he would build a house, wherein for the service of God, there should dwell certaine learned men, and sundry Priests, to instruct the youth of those Countries in all good Languages, and in the Arts Liberall, and in the Doctrine of the Gospel, and in the Mysteries of our Salvation. Out of which House, as it were out of a holy Schoole, there might come forth from time to time, many learned men and well studied in the Law of God, that should be able in their owne naturall Countrey Tongue, to awaken and raise againe the Faith of Christ, which was now asleepe, and dreyed up in those Regions: and thereby in processe of time there would spring up many fruits of blessing, and vigilant soules in the Christian Faith. Hereunto hee meant also



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to adde an Hospitall, that might be a Recourse and Harbour for Gods poore, which comming and sayling out of strange Countries should have reliefe and entertainment in that Hostelry, and there be cured and restored of their infirmities and necessities. With this purpose therefore he went to Rome, to obtaine of his Holinesse a Licence to erect this Seminarie and Hospitall, and to beseech him also that he would grant him Jubilies, Indulgences, and other Dispensations, that for such Christian and wholesome workes are requisite, especially to the use and benefit of those Countries, which are so remote from Christendome. He presented himselfe to the Pope, and delivered unto him his Letters of credence, and then declared unto him at large the Tenor of his Commissions, wherein hee had a gracious audience. But when the Pope did understand that the Kingdome of Congo belonged to the King of Spaine, he remitted that matter wholly unto him.

*The Pope remitteth the whole matter to the King of Spaine.*

### §. VII.

Of the Court of the King of Congo. Of the apparell of that people before they became Christians and after. Of the Kings Table, and manner of his Court.

**I**N ancient time this King and his Courtiers were apparelled with certaine Cloth made of the Palme-tree (as wee have told you before) wherewith they covered themselves from the Girdle-stead downewards, and girded the same straites unto them with certaine Girdles made of the same stuffe, very faire and well wrought. They used also to hang before them, like an Apron, certaine delicate and daintie skinnes, of little Tygres, of Civet-cats, of Sabels, of Maternes, and of such like creatures for an ornament: and for a more glorious pompe and shew, they did weare upon their shoulders a certaine Cape like a Hood. Upon their bare skinnie they had a certaine round Garment like a Rotchet, which they

*The ancient apparell of the King of Congo, and his Courtiers.*

[II. vii.  
1019.]

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call Incutto, reaching downe to their knees, made after the manner of a Net, but the stuffe of it was very fine cloth of the said Palme-tree, and at the skirts there hung a number of threed-tassels, that made a very gallant shew. These Rotchets were turned up againe, and tucked upon their right shoulder, that they might be the more at libertie on that hand. Upon that shoulder also they had the tayle of a Zebra, fastned with a handle, which they used for a kind of braverie, according to the most ancient custome of those parts. On their heads they wore Caps of yellow and red colour, square above and very little, so that they scarcely covered the tops of their heads, and worne rather for a pompe and a vanitie, then to keep them either from the Aire or from the Sunne. The most part of them went unshod: but the King and some of the great Lords did weare certaine shooes of the old fashion, such as are to bee seene in the ancient Images of the Romanes, and these were made also of the Wood of the Palme-tree. The poorer sort and common people were apparellled from their middle downewards, after the same manner, but the cloth was courser: and the rest of their bodie all naked. The women used three kinds of Traverses, or (as it were) Aprons: beneath their Girdlestead. One was very long and reached to their heeles: the second shorter then that, and the third shorter then both the other, with fringes about them, and every one of these three fastned about their middle, and open before. From their brests downewards, they had another Garment, like a kind of Doublet or Jacket, that reached but to their Girdle: and over their shoulders a certaine Cloake. All these severall Garments were made of the same cloth of the Palme-tree. They were accustomed to goe with their faces uncovered, and a little Cap on the head, like a mans Cap. The meaner sort of women were apparellled after the same manner, but their cloth was courser. Their Maid-servants; and the basest kind of women were likewise attyred from the Girdle downward, and all the rest of the bodie naked.

*The ancient  
apparell of the  
meaner sort.*

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But after that this Kingdome had received the Christian Faith, the great Lords of the Court beganne to apparell themselves after the manner of the Portugals, in wearing Cloakes, Spanish Caps, and Tabbards, or wide Jackets of Scarlet, and cloth of Silke, every man according to his wealth and abilitie. Upon their heads they had Hats, or Caps, and upon their feet Moyles or Pantoffles, of Velvet and of Leather, and Buskins after the Portugall fashion, and long Rapiers by their sides.

*Their new  
kind of  
apparell.*

The common people, that are not able to make their apparell after that manner doe keepe their old custome. The women also goe after the Portugall fashion, saving that they weare no Cloakes, but upon their heads they have certaine Veiles, and upon their Veiles blacke Velvet Caps, garnished with Jewels, and Chaines of Gold about their neckes. But the poorer sort keepe the old fashion : for onely the Ladies of the Court doe bedecke themselves in such manner as we have told you.

After the King himselfe was converted to the Christian Religion, hee conformed his Court in a certaine sort after the manner of the King of Portugall. And first, for his service at the Table when he dineth or suppeth openly in publike, there is a Throne of Estate erected with three steps, covered all over with Indian Tapestrie, and there-upon is placed a Table, with a Chaire of Crimson Velvet, adorned with Bosses and Nayles of Gold. He alwayes feedeth alone by himselfe, neither doth any man ever sit at his Table, but the Princes stand about him with their heads covered. He hath a Cupboord of Plate of Gold and Silver, and one that taketh assay of his meate and drinke.

*The Court of  
Congo now  
imitateth the  
Court of  
Portugall.*

He maintayneth a Guard of the Anzichi, and of other Nations, that keepe about his Palace, furnished with such Weapons as are above mentioned : and when it pleaseth him to goe abroad, they sound their great Instruments, which may be heard about five or sixe miles, and so signifie that the King is going forth. All his Lords doe accompany him, and likewise the Portugals, in whom hee

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reposeth a singular trust: but very seldome it is that hee goeth out of his Palace.

*The Customes  
and Lawes of  
Congo.*

Twice in a weeke he giveth audience publikely, yet no man speaketh unto him but his Lords. And because there are none, that have any goods or Lands of their owne, but all belongeth to the Crowne, there are but few Suites or Quarrels among them, saving peradventure about some words. ^

*No Writing.*

They use no Writing at all in the Congo Tongue. In Cases Criminall they proceed but slenderly, for they doe very hardly and seldome condemne any man to death. If there be any Riot or Enormitie committed against the Portugals by the Moci-Conghi, (for so are the Inhabitants of the Realme of Congo, called in their owne Language) they are judged by the Lawes of Portugall. And if any mischief be found in any of them, the King confineth the Malefactor into some Desart Iland: for he thinketh it to be a greater punishment to banish him in this sort, to the end he may doe penance for his sinnes, then at one blow to execute him. And if it so happen, that those which are thus chastized doe live ten or twelve yeares, the King useth to pardon them, if they be of any consideration at all, and doth imploy them in the Service of the State, as persons that have beene tamed and well schooled, and accustomed to suffer any hardnesse. In Civill disagreements there is an order, that if a Portugall have any Suite against a Moci-Congo, he goeth to the Judge of Congo: but if a Moci-Congo doe impleade a Portugall, he citeth him before the Consul, or Judge of the Portugals: for the King hath granted unto them one of their owne Nation to be Judge in that Countrey. In their bargaines betweene them and the Portugals, they use no Writings nor other Instruments of Bils or Bonds, but dispatch their businesse onely by word and witnesse.

[II. vii.  
1020.]

*Time  
measured by  
the Moone.*

They keepe no Histories of their ancient Kings, nor any memoriall of the Ages past, because they cannot write. They measure their times generally by the Moones. They know not the houres of the day nor of the night: but

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they use to say, In the time of such a man such a thing happened. They reckon the distances of Countries not by miles or by any such measure, but by the journeys and travell of men, that goe from one place to another, eyther loden or unloden.

Touching their assembling together at Feasts, or other meetings of joy, as for example, when they are marryed, they sing Verses and Ballads of Love, and play upon certaine Lutes that are made after a strange fashion. For in the hollow part and in the necke they are somewhat like unto our Lutes, but for the flat side (where wee use to carve a Rose, or a Rundle to let the sound goe inward) that is made not of wood, but of a skinne, as thinne as a Bladder, and the strings are made of haire, which they draw out of the Elephants tayle, and are very strong and bright: and of certaine Threeds made of the wood of Palme-tree, which from the bottome of the Instrument do reach & ascend to the top of the handle, & are tied every one of them to his several ring. For towards the necke or handle of this Lute, there are certaine rings placed some higher and some lower, whereat there hang divers plates of Iron and Silver, which are very thinne, and in bignes different one from another, according to the proportion of the Instrument. These rings doe make a sound of sundry tunes, according to the striking of the strings. For the strings when they are stricken, doe cause the rings to shake, and then doe the plates that hang at them, helpe them to utter a certaine mingled and confused noyse. Those that play upon this Instrument, doe tune the strings in good proportion, and strike them with their fingers, like a Harpe, but without any quill very cunningly: so that they make thereby (I cannot tell whether I should call it a melodie or no, but) such a sound as pleaseth and delighteth their senses well enough.

*Their manner  
of Assemblies.  
Their Instru-  
ments of  
Musick.*

Besides all this (which is a thing very admirable) by this Instrument they doe utter the conceits of their minds, and doe understand one another so plainly, that every thing almost which may be explained with the Tongue, they can

*Speech by  
Instrument.*

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declare with their hand in touching and striking this Instrument. To the sound thereof they doe dance in good measure with their feet, and follow the just time of that Musicke, with clapping the palmes of their hands one against the other. They have also in the Court, Flutes and Pipes, which they sound very artificially, and according to the sound they dance and move their feet, as it were in a Moresco, with great gravitie and sobrietie. The common people doe use little Rattles, and Pipes, and other Instruments, that make a more harsh and rude sound, then the Court-Instruments doe.

*Their Physick.*

In this Kingdome, when any are sicke, they take nothing but naturall Physicke, as Herbes, and Trees, and the barkes of Trees, and Oyles, and Waters, and Stones, such as Mother Nature hath taught them. The Ague is the most common Disease that raigneth among them: and plagueth them in Winter by reason of the continuall raine, that bringeth heat and moysture with it more then in Summer, and besides that the sicknesse which heere wee call the French Disease, and Chitangas in the Congo Tongue, is not there so dangerous and so hard to be cured, as it is in our Countries.

*Their Medicine for an Ague.*

They heale the Ague with the poulder of a wood, called Sandale, or Sanders, whereof there is both red and grey, which is the wood of Aguila. This poulder being mingled with the Oyle of the Palme-tree, and having anointed the bodie of the sicke person two or three times with all from the head to the foot, the partie recovereth.

*Their Medicine for the head-ache, & other griefes of the bodie, is letting of blood.*

When their head aketh, they let blood in the Temples, with certaine little boxing hornes: first, by cutting the skinne a little, and then applying the Cornets thereunto, which with a sucke of the mouth, will bee filled with blood: and this manner of letting blood is used also in Egypt. And so in any other part of a mans bodie, where there is any griefe, they draw blood in this fashion and heale it. Likewise they cure the infirmitie, called Chitangas, with the same Unction of Sanders: whereof there are two sorts, one red (as we told you) and that is

*Their Medicine for the French Poxes.*

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called Tauila : the other grey, and is called Chicongo : and this is best esteemed, for they will not sticke to give or sell a slave for a piece of it. They purge themselves with certaine barkes of trees, made into powder, and taken in some drinke : and they will worke mightily and strongly. When they take these purgations, they make no great account for going abroad into the Ayre. Their wounds also they commonly cure with the juyce of certaine Herbes, and with the Herbes themselves.

*Their Purgations.*

*Curing of wounds.*

### §. VIII.

[II. vii.  
1021.]

Of the Countries that are beyond the Kingdome of Congo, towards the Cape of Good-Hope : Of the River Nilus, and of Sofala, Monomotapa, the Amazones, Saint Laurence, and other Æthiopian Countries.

**Q**Uimbebe (which is the Kingdome of Matama) from the first Lake, and the Confines of Angola, containeth all the rest of the Countrey Southwards, till you come to the River of Brauagull, which springeth out of the Mountaines of the Moone, and joyneth with the River Magnice, and that springeth out of the foresaid first Lake : These Mountaines are divided by the Tropicke of Capricorne, towards the Pole Antarcticke, and beyond this Tropicke lyeth all the Countrey and borders of the Cape of Good-Hope, which are not ruled and governed by any one King, but by divers and sundry severall Princes. In the middest betweene that Cape and the Tropicke, are the said Mountaines of the Moone, so famous and so greatly renowned among the ancient Writers, who doe assigne them to be the originall head and spring of the River Nilus : which is very false and untrue, as the situation of the Countrey doth plainly shew, and as we a little hereafter will discover unto you. This Countrey is full of high and rough Mountaines : it is verie cold, and not habitable : It is frequented and haunted with a few persons that live after the manner of the

*The kingdom of Matama.*

*R. Brauagull.*

*R. Magnice.  
The Mountaines of the Moone.*

*Not the head of Nilus.*

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Arabians, under little Cabbins in the open fieldes, and apparelled with the skins of certaine beasts. It is a savage and rusticall Nation, without all faith and credite, neither will they suffer any strangers among them. Their furniture is Bowes and Arrowes. They feed upon such fruits as the land breedeth, and also upon the flesh of beasts.

*The Lake  
Gale.*

*Camissa. 1.  
The Sweet  
River.*

*The False  
Cape.*

*The Cape of  
the Needles, or  
Agulhas.*

Among these Mountaines of the Moone, there is a Lake called Gale: a very little one it is, and lyeth somewhat towards the West. Out of this Lake there issueth a River, called Camissa, and by the Portugals, named, the Sweete River, which at the point of the Cape of Good-Hope, voydeth it selfe into the Sea, in that very place that is termed, The False Cape. For the shippes of the Indies sayling that way, doe first discover another greater Cape, which is called, The Cape of the Needles, and then afterwards this lesser Cape: Whereupon they call it the False Cape, because it is hid and covered with the true and great Cape. Betweene these two Capes or Promontories, there is the distance of an hundred miles, containing the largenesse and breadth of this famous Cape: which being divided into two points, as it were into two hornes, it maketh a Gulfe, where sometimes the Portugall ships doe take fresh water, in the River that they call the Sweete River.

*\*Not perfect  
blacke.*

The Inhabitants of this Coast, which dwell betweene these two points, are of colour black,\* although the Pole Antarctick in that place be in the elevation of five and thirtie degrees, which is a very strange thing; yea, the rude people that live among the most cold Mountaines of the Moone are blacke also.

*Seno Formoso.  
Seno del Lago.*

*River of Saint  
Christopher.*

Beyond the Cape or Point of the Needles, there are many competent Harboroughs and Havens, the principall whereof is Seno Formoso, the Faire Bay: and Seno del Lago, the Bay of the Lake: For there the Sea maketh a certaine Gulfe, wherein are sundry Ilands and Ports: and somewhat beyond there runneth into the Sea the River of Saint Christopher, and at the mouth thereof there



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lye three pretie Ilets. And a little further forwards, the Coast runneth all along by a Countrey, which the Portugals call, Terra do Natal, the Land of the Nativitie, because it was first discovered at Christmas: and so reacheth to the Cape, called Della Pescheria. Between which Cape and the River Magnice, within the Land is the Kingdome of Buttua, whose Territories are from the roots or bottome of the Mountaines of the Moone, untill you come to the River Magnice towards the North, where the Countrey of Monomotapa standeth, and Westwards from the River Brauagul towards the Sea, all along the bankes of the River Magnice. In this Kingdome there are many Mines of Gold, and a people that is of the same qualities and conditions, that the people of Monomotapa is, as hereafter shall bee shewed unto you. And so going along the shoares of the Ocean, you come to the River Magnice, which lyeth in the very entrance of the Kingdome of Sofala, and the Empire of Monomotapa.

The Kingdome of Sofala beginneth at the River Magnice, which springeth out of the first Lake of Nilus, and conveyeth it selfe into the Sea in the midst of the Bay, betweene the Point Pescheria, and the Cape, called Cape Delle Correnti, situate in three and twentie degrees and a halfe of the Pole Antarticke, under the Tropicke of Capricorne. With this River neere unto the Sea, there joyne three other notable Rivers, the principall whereof is by the Portugals, called Saint Chrystophers, because upon the day of that Saints Feast it was first discovered, but by the Inhabitants it is named Nagoa. The second tooke the name of one Lorenzo Margues, that first found it. These two Rivers doe spring originally from the Mountaines of the Moone, so greatly renowned among the ancient Writers, but by the people of the Countrey they are called, Toroa: out of which Mountaines they did thinke, that famous Nilus tooke also his beginning: but they were utterly deceived. For (as wee have already told you) the first Lake ariseth not out of those Mountaines, but lyeth a great way distant from it: and

*Terra do  
Natal.*

*Capo della  
Pescheria.  
River  
Magnice.  
The kingdome  
of Buttua.  
The kingdome  
of Monomo-  
tapa.  
R. Brauagul.  
Store of Gold  
Mines.*

*The originall  
of the River  
Magnice.*

*Three Rivers  
runne into  
Magnice.*

*1. River  
Nagoa.  
2. R. Margues.*

*[II. vii.  
1022.]  
Nilus ariseth  
not out of the  
Mountaines of  
the Moone. See  
of this inf. c. 8.*

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*River Arroe.*

betweene it and them, is there a very great and a huge low plaine. Besides that, the streames that flow from the said Mountaines, doe runne towards the East, and bestow their Waters upon other great Rivers; so that it is not possible for them to passe into the foresaid Lake, much lesse into Nilus, considering especially that the River Magnice, springeth out of that first Lake, and by a farre different course from the course of Nilus, runneth towards the East, and so joyneth it selfe with the two Rivers aforesaid. The third, is called Arroe, and ariseth on another side out of the Mountaines of the Gold Mines of Monomotapa: and in some places of this River there are found some small pieces of Gold among the Sand.

*The River of Cuama.*

These three Rivers enter into the great Magnice, neere unto the Sea, and all foure together doe make there a great Water, in a very large Channell, and so dischargeth it selfe into the Ocean. From the mouth of this River all along the Sea Coast, stretcheth the Kingdome of Sofala, unto the River Cuama, which is so called of a certaine Castle or Fortresse that carrieth the same name, and is possessed by Mahometans and Pagans: but the Portugals call it, The mouthes of Cuama; because at the entry into the Sea, this River divideth it selfe into seven mouthes, where there are five speciall Ilands, besides divers others that lie up the River, all very full, and well peopled with Pagans. This Cuama commeth out of the same Lake, and from the same springs from whence Nilus floweth. And thus the Kingdome of Sofala is comprised within the said two Rivers, Magnice and Cuama, upon the Sea coast. It is but a small Kingdome, and hath but a few Houses or Townes in it: The chiefe and principall head whereof, is an Iland that lyeth in the River called Sofola, which giveth the name to all the whole Countrey. It is inhabited by Mahometans, and the King himselfe is of the same sect, and yeildeth obedience to the Crowne of Portugall, because he will not be subject to the Empire of Monomotapa. And thereupon, the Portugals there doe keepe a Fort in the mouth of the River Cuama, and doe trade

*The kingdome of Sofola.*

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*The commodities of Sofala, Gold, Ivory and Amber.*

*The Inhabitants of Sofala.*

in those Countries for Gold, and Ivory, and Amber, which is found upon that Coast, and good store of Slaves, and instead thereof, they leave behind them Cotton-cloath, and Silkes that are brought from Cambata, and is the common apparell of those people. The Mahometans that at this present doe inhabite those Countries, are not naturally borne there, but before the Portugals came into those quarters, they Trafficked thither in small Barkes, from the Coast of Arabia Fœlix. And when the Portugals had conquered that Realme, the Mahometans stayed there still, and now they are become neither utter Pagans, nor holding of the Sect of Mahomet.

From the shoares and Coast, that lyeth betweene the two foresaid Rivers of Magnice and Cuama, within the Land spreadeth the Empire of Monomotapa, where there is very great store of Mines of Gold, which is carried from thence into all the Regions thereabouts, and into Sofala, and into the other parts of Africa. And some there be that will say, that Solomons Gold, which he had for the Temple of Jerusalem, was brought by Sea out of these Countries. A thing in truth not very unlikely: For in the Countries of Monomotapa, there doe remaine to this day many ancient buildings of great worke, and singular Architecture, of Stone, of Lime, and of Timber, the like whereof are not to be seene in all the Provinces adjoyning.

*The Empire of Monomotapa, full of Gold Mines. Sofala supposed Ophir.*

The Empire of Monomotapa is very great, and for people infinite. They are Gentiles and Pagans, of colour blacke, very couragious in Warre, of a middle stature, and swift of foot. There are many Kings that are vassals and subjects to Monomotapa, who do oftentimes rebell and make warre against him. Their weapons are Bowes and Arrowes, and light Darts. This Emperour maintaineth many Armies in severall Provinces, divided into Legions, according to the use and customes of the Romanes. For being so great a Lord as he is, he must of necessitie be in continuall warre, for the maintenance of his estate. And among all the rest of his Souldiers, the most valourous

*The people of Monomotapa.*

*The King of Monomotapa maintaineth many Armies.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Left-handed  
Amazons.*

in name, are his Legions of Women, whom he esteemeth very highly, and accounteth them as the very sinewes and strength of his militarie forces. These Women doe burne their left paps with fire, because they should be no hindrance unto them in their shooting, after the use and manner of the ancient Amazons, that are so greatly celebrated by the Historiographers of former prophane memories. For their weapons, they practise Bowes and Arrowes: They are very quicke and swift, lively and couragious, very cunning in shooting, but especially and above all, venturous and constant in fight. In their battailes they use a warlike kind of craft and subtiltie: For they have a custome, to make a shew that they would flye and runne away, as though they were vanquished and discomfited, but they will divers times turne themselves backe, and vexe their enemies mightily with the shot of their Arrowes. And when they see their Adversaries so greedy of the victorie, that they begin to disperse and scatter themselves, then will they suddenly turne againe upon them, and with great courage and fiercenesse make a cruell slaughter of them. So that partly with their swiftnesse, and partly with their deceitfull wiles, and other cunning shifts of warre, they are greatly feared in all those parts. They doe enjoy by the Kings good favour certaine Countries, where they dwell alone by themselves: and sometimes they choose certaine men at their owne pleasure, with whom they doe keepe company for generations sake: So that if they do bring forth Male-children, they send them home to their fathers houses: but if they be Female, they reserve them to themselves, and breed them in the exercise of warfare.

[II. vii.  
1023.]

*The situation  
of the Empire of  
Monomotapa.*

The Empire of this Monomotapa lyeth (as it were) in an Iland, which is made by the Sea-coast, by the River Magnice, by a piece of the Lake from whence Magnice floweth, and by the River Cuama. It bordereth towards the South, upon the Lords of the Cape of Good-Hope, before mentioned, and Northward upon the Empire of Mohenemugi, as by and by shall be shewed unto you.

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But now returning to our former purpose, that is to say, to runne forwards upon the Sea-coast, after you have passed over some part of the River Cuama, there is a certaine little Kingdome upon the Sea, called Angoscia, which taketh the name of certaine Ilands there so called, and lye directly against it. It is inhabited with the like people, both Mahometans and Gentiles, as the Kingdome of Sofala is. Merchants they are, and in small Vessels doe Trafficke along that Coast with the same Wares and Commodities, where-with the people of Sofala doe Trade.

*The kingdome  
of Angoscia.*

A little beyond, suddenly starteth up in sight the Kingdome of Mozambique, situate in foureteene degrees and a halfe towards the South, and taketh his name of three Ilands, that lye in the mouth of the River Meghin-cate, where there is a great Haven and a safe, and able to receive all manner of ships. The Realme is but small, and yet aboundeth in all kind of Victuals. It is the common landing place for all Vessels that sayle from Portugall, and from India into that Countrey. In one of these Iles, which is the chiefe and principall, called Mozambique, and giveth name to all the rest; as also to the whole Kingdome, and the Haven aforesaid, wherein there is erected a Fortresse, guarded with a Garrison of Portugals, whereupon all the other Fortresses that are on that Coast doe depend, and from whence they fetch all their provision: all the Armadas and Fleetes that sayle from Portugall to the Indies, if they cannot finish and performe their Voyage, will goe and Winter (I say) in this Iland of Mozambique: and those that travell out of India to Europe, are constrained of necessitie to touch at Mozambique, to furnish themselves with Victuals. This Iland, when the Portugals discovered India, was the first place where they learned the language of the Indians, and provided themselves of Pilots to direct them in their course. The people of this Kingdome are Gentiles: Rusticall and rude they bee, and of colour blacke. They go all naked. They are valiant and strong Archers, and cunning Fishers, with all kind of hookes.

*The kingdome  
of Mozam-  
bique.*

*R. Meghin-  
cate.*

*The Iland of  
Mozambique.*

*The Inhabi-  
tants of  
Mozambique.*

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*The kingdome  
of Quiloa.*

*The Iland of  
Quiloa, and  
the Inhabi-  
tants thereof.*

*The King of  
Quiloa over-  
throwne by the  
Portugals, and  
driven out of  
the Iland.*

As you go on forwards upon the foresaid Coast, there is another Iland, called Quiloa, in quantitie not great, but in excellency singular: For it is situate in a very coole and fresh Ayre: It is replenished with Trees that are alwaies greene, and affordeth all varietie of Victuals. It lyeth at the mouth of the River Coavo, which springeth out of the same Lake from whence Nilus floweth, and so runneth about sixtie miles in length, till it commeth neere to the Sea, and there it hath a mightie streame, and in the very mouth of it maketh a great Iland, which is peopled with Mahometans and Idolaters, and a little beyond that, towards the Coast on the West, you may see the said Iland of Quiloa. This Iland is inhabited with Mahometans also, which are of colour some-thing whitish. They are well apparelled, and trimly adorned with Cloath of Silke and Cotten: Their Women doe use ornaments of Gold, and Jewels about their hands and their neckes, and have good store of household-stuffe made of Silver. They are not altogether so blacke as the men are: and in their limbs they are very well proportioned. Their houses are made of Stone, and Lime, and Timber, very well wrought, and of good Architecture, with Gardens and Orchards, full of Hearbs and sundry Fruits. Of this Iland the whole Kingdome tooke the name, which upon the Coast extendeth it selfe from Capo Delgado, (the Cape Delicate, that bordereth Mozambique and Quiloa,) and is situate in nine degrees towards the South, and from thence it runneth out unto the aforesaid River of Coavo. In old time the Kingdome of Quiloa was the chieftest of all the Principalities there adjoyning, and stood neere to the Sea: but when the Portugals arrived in those Countries, the King trusted so much to himselfe, that he thought he was able with his owne forces not onely to defend himselfe against them, but also to drive them from those places which they had already surprised. Howbeit the matter fell out quite contrary. For when it came to Weapons, he was utterly overthrowne and discomfited by the Portugals, and so fled away. But they

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tooke and possessed the Iland, and enriched themselves with the great spoyles and booties that they found therein. They erected there also a Fortresse, which was afterward pulled downe by the commandement of the King of Portugall, because he thought it not necessarie, considering that there were others sufficient enough for that Coast.

And heere we may not leave behind us the Ile of Saint Laurence, so called by the Portugals, because they did first discover it upon that Martyrs feast day. It is so great, that it containeth in length almost a thousand miles, and standeth right over against the Coast which wee have described, beginning directly at the mouthes of the River Magnice, which are in sixe and twentie degrees of the South, and so going forwards to the North, it endeth right against the mouths of Cuama in the Kingdome of Quilloa. Betweene this Iland and the firme Land, there is (as it were) a Channell, which at the entry West-ward, is three hundred and fortie miles broad: in the middest where it is narrowest, over against the Iland of Mozambiche, one hundred and seventie miles, and for the rest, it enlargeth it selfe very much towards India, and containeth many Iles within it. The ships that goe from Spaine into India, or returne from India to Spaine, doe alwaies for the most part passe and sayle in, and through this Channell, if by time or weather they be not forced to the contrary. And surely, this Iland deserveth to be inhabited with a better people, because it is furnished with singular Commodities. For it hath many safe & sure havens. It is watred with sundry Rivers, that cause the earth to bring forth fruits of divers kinds, as Pulse, and Rice, and other Graine, Oranges, Limons, Citrons, and such like fruit. Flesh of all sorts, as Hens, &c. and Venison, as wilde Boare, & Deere, and such like, and all this of a very good taste and relish, because the soyle is very fat: their Fish also is exceeding good. The Inhabitants are Pagans, with some of the Sect of Mahomet among them. They are of the colour which the Spaniards call Mulato, betweene black and white. Very warlike they are, and given to their weapons, which

*The commendation of the Ile of S. Laurence. Of it, see the former Journals.*

[II. vii.  
1024.]

*The Inhabitants of the Ile of Saint Laurence. Their Weapons.*

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are Bowes and Arrowes, and Darts of very light Wood, strengthned with Iron, whereof they make the heads of their Darts, which are crooked like hookes: and these they will cast and throw most slightly and cunningly. They use also Targets, and Jackes that are made of certaine beasts skinnes, wherewith they save themselves in fight from the blowes of their enemies.

This Iland is divided among severall Princes, that are at enmitie one with another: for they are in continuall Warres, and persecute one another with Armes. There are divers Mines of Gold, of Silver, of Copper, of Iron, and of other Metals. The savage people doe not use to sayle out of the Iland, but onely from one side to the other they goe coasting along the shoares, with certaine Barkes that are made but of one stocke of a Tree, which they hollow for that purpose. The most part of them doe not willingly entertaine strangers, neither will they consent that they should Trafficke or converse with them. Notwithstanding, in certaine Ports the Portugals doe use to Trade with the Ilanders, for Amber, Waxe, Silver, Copper, Rice, and such other things, but they never come upon the Land. In the Channell before mentioned, there are divers Ilands, some greater, and some lesse, inhabited with Mahometans. The chiefe of them is the Ile of Saint Christopher, and then of Santo Spirito: and another, called Magliaglie, and so the rest, as the Iles of Comoro, Anzoame, Maiotto, and some other.

*Sundry Ilands  
in the channel.*

*The kingdome  
of Mombaza  
rich in Gold,  
and Silver,  
and Pearle.*

But let us returne to the Sea side, and prosecute the Coast of the Kingdome of Quiloa, where we left. Next unto it, is the Kingdome of Mombaza, in the height of three degrees and a halfe towards the South, which taketh the name from an Iland inhabited with Mahometans, which is also called Mombaza, where there is a faire Citie, with houses that have many Sollers, furnished Pictures, both graven and painted. The King thereof is a Mahometan, who taking upon him to resist the Portugals, received the same successe that hapned to the King of Quiloa, so that the Citie was ransacked and



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*The Citie of  
Mombaza  
spoyled as  
Quiloa was.*

spoyled by his enemies, who found therein good store of Gold and Silver, and Pearle, and Cloath of Cotton, and of Silke, and of Gold, and such other Commodities. This Kingdome lyeth betweene the borders of Quiloa, and Melinde, and is inhabited with Pagans and Mahometans, and yeeldeth obedience to the Empire of Mohenemugi.

*The kingdome  
of Melinde.*

A little beyond is the Kingdome of Melinde, which being likewise but a little one, extendeth it selfe upon the Sea Coast, as farre as the River Chimanchi, and lyeth in the height of two degrees and a halfe: and up the streame of that River, it reacheth to the Lake Calice, the space of one hundred miles within land. Neere unto the Sea, along the bankes of this River, there is a great deale of Countrey inhabited by Pagans and Mahometans, of colour almost white. Their houses are built after our fashion. But there is one particularitie to be admired, that their Muttons or Sheepe, are twice as great as the Sheep of our Countrey: for they divide them into five quarters, (if a man may so call them) and reckon the tayle for one, which commonly weigheth some five and twentie, or thirtie pound. The Women are white, and sumptuously dressed, after the Arabian fashion, with Cloath of Silke. About their neckes and hands, and armes, and feet, they use to weare Jewels of Gold and Silver: When they go abroad out of their houses, they cover themselves with Taffata, so that they are not knowne but when they list themselves. In this Countrey there is a very good Haven, which is a landing place for the Vessels that sayle through those Seas. Generally, the people are very kind, true and trustie, and converse with Strangers. They have alwaies entertained and welcomed the Portugals, and have reposed great confidence in them, neither have they ever offered them any wrong in any respect.

*The tayle of a  
sheepe in  
Melinde  
weigheth com-  
monly 25. or  
30. pound.  
See Leo Afer  
of Egyptian  
sheepe.*

In the Sea betweene these two Capes of Mombaza and Melinde, there are three Iles: the first, is called Monfie; the second, Zanzibar; and the third, Pemba; all inhabited only with Mohemetans, that are of colour white. These Iles abound in all things as the others do, whereof we

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made mention before. These people are somewhat enclined to Armes: but they are in deed more addicted to dresse and manure their ground: For there groweth much Sugar, which in small Barks they carrie away to sell into the firme Land, with other fruits of that Countrey.

[II. vii.

1025.]

*The Empire of  
Mohenemugi.*

Besides these three Realmes last described, Quiola, Melinde, and Mombaza, within the Land is the great Empire of Mohenemugi, towards the West. It bordereth upon the South, with the Kingdome of Mozambique, and with the Empire of Monomotapa to the River Coavo, upon the West with the River Nilus, betweene the two Lakes; and upon the North it joyneth with the Empire of Prete-Gianni. Towards the Sea, this Emperour standeth in good termes of peace with the foresaid Kings of Quiola, Melinde, and Mombaza, by reason of their trafficke together, and the better to secure the entercourse and trade by Sea: by meanes whereof they have brought unto them much cloth of Cotton, and cloth of Silke from divers Countries, and other merchandises that are well esteemed in these parts: and particularly certaine little balls, that are made in the Kingdome of Cambaia, of a kind of Bitumen or clammie Clay, like unto Glasse, but that it is (as it were) of a red colour, which they use to weare about their neckes, like a paire of Beades instead of Neck-laces. It serveth them also in stead of Money, for of Gold they make none account. Likewise with the Silkes that are brought unto them, they doe apparell themselves from the girdle downewards. In exchange and barter of all these commodities, they give Gold, Silver, Copper, and Ivorie.

But on the other side towards Monomotapa, there are continuall warres; yea, and sometimes so bloudie, that it is hardly discerned who hath gotten the victorie. For in that Border there meet together two of the greatest and most warlike Powers and Forces that are in all those Regions: that is to say, on the Partie of Monomotapa, there came forth into the field the Amazones, of whom wee

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told you before; and on the other partie of Mohenemugi are the Giacchi, (as the Moci-Congi doe call them) but in their owne tongue they are called Agagi, who did sometime so greatly afflict the Kingdome of Congo, as you may remember. Neither are these people lesse couragious or strong then the Amazones, but are of a blacke complexion, and presumptuous countenances. They doe use to marke themselves above the lip upon their cheekes with certaine lines, which they make with Iron instruments and with fire. Moreover, they have a custome to turne their eye-lids backwards: so that their skin being all blacke, and in that blacknesse shewing the white of their eyes, and those marks in their faces, it is a strange thing to behold them. For it is indeed a very dreadfull and Devillish sight. They are of bodie great, but deformed, and live like beasts in the field, and feed upon mans flesh. In fight they shew themselves exceedingly couragious, and doe utter most horrible showing and crying, of purpose to daunt and affright their Enemies. Their weapons are Darts, and Pavises of Leather that cover all their whole bodie, and so defend themselves therewith. Sometimes they will encampe together, and sticke their Pavises in the ground, which are unto them instead of a trench. Sometimes they will goe forwards in the battell, and shrowd themselves under them, and yet annoy their adversaries with the shot of their Darts. And thus by warlike policie they doe ordinarily plague their Enemies, by endeavouring with all subtiltie to make them spend their shot in vaine, upon their Targets: and when they see they have made an end of shooting, then doe they renew the battell a fresh, and driving them to flight, make a cruell slaughter of them without all mercie. And this is the manner which they use against their Enemies, and the Amazones. But the Amazones, on the other side, which are very well acquainted herewithall, doe fight against them with other militarie stratagems (as we have above declared) and doe overcome the forces of their Adversaries with their swiftnesse, and great skill in matters of Warre. For, they doe

*The Giacchas, or Agagi. And, Battell sayth, that the Jagges came from Sierra Liona. But they dispersed themselves as a generall pestilence, and common scourge thorow most parts of Ethiopia.*

*The Amazones.*

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assure themselves, that if they be taken, they shall be devoured: and therefore with doubled courage they fight for life, that they might overcome, and in any case save their lives from that fierce and cruell Nation. And in this sort doe they maintaine continuall Warre, alwaies with great mortalitie on both sides. These Agags dwell at the beginning of the River Nilus, (where it runneth Northwards out of the Lake,) upon both the bankes of the River, till it come to a certaine limite, wherein they are bounded; and then Westwards all over the bankes of the said Nilus, even to the second Lake, and to the borders of the Empire of Prete-Gianni. Touching these Agags, I thought it convenient in this place to adde this, which before I had omitted. Betweene the confines of this Mohenemugi, and Prete-Gianni, there are sundrie other petie Lords, and people that are of a white colour, and yeeld obedience sometimes to one of these two Princes, and sometimes to the other. They are men of a farre greater stature then all the rest of the people in those Countries.

*Many good  
Havens.*

*The Cape of  
Guarda Fuy.*

[II. vii.  
1026.]

Towards the Cape of Guarda-Fuy, there are many places inhabited with Mahometans, all along the Sea-side, of colour being white. Upon this shoare there are divers good Havens, where the ships of sundrie Countries doe trafficke with the foresaid merchandises. The first of these places, is called Patee; the second, Brava; the third, Magadoxo; the fourth, Affion; and the last is, the famous Promontorie and Cape of Guarda-Fuy: which because it is very great, and jutteth out a good way into the Sea, is well knowne to all Sailers that come from India, and from Ormuz, and from Arabia Foelix. It is the place and harbour where the Portugals are wont to attend, and yeerely with their Navies to watch for the Vessels of the Mahometans, that being laden with precious merchandises, doe saile into those parts without their licence, they being the Lords of the trafficke and trade for Spicerie, and all other commodities that are brought from India. So that every yeere the Portugall Fleet doth take great prizes of

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Merchants ships in that place, as the English and the French doe at Cape Saint Vincent.

After you have compassed about the foresaid Cape of Guarda-Fuy, toward the red Sea, you shall come to other Townes and Havens of the Mahometans. The first of them is called Methe, and another beyond that, called Barbora. And this is the farthest place wherein you shall find any people with white skins: for here the men beginne to be all blacke. Then there is Ceila, and Dalaca, and Malaca, and Carachin: and all this Coast is called in that Countrie language, Baragiam. The People that inhabite therein are all blacke, valiant in Armes, and apparelled from the girdle downwards with cloth of Cotton: but those that are of the best account among them, doe weare upon their shoulders certaine Clokes with Hoods, called Bernussi, such as the ~~old~~ Romans used, and were termed Saga Romana. It aboundeth in Gold, and in Ivorie, and in Metals, and in Victuals of all sorts.

*Divers Ports  
on the Sea  
coast towards  
the red Sea.*

*That which  
followeth of  
Abassia,  
Nilus, &c., is  
omitted.*

Then follow the Mouths or Entrances into the red Gulfe.

### Chap. V.

The Voyage of Sir Francis Alvarez, a Portugall Priest made unto the Court of Prete Janni, the great Christian Emperour of Ethiopia.\*

**I**N the Name of Jesus, amen. I, Francis Alvarez, Priest of the Masse, which by especiall commandement of the King our Lord, Don Emanuel (whom God hath received into his glorie) went with Edward Galvano, a Gentleman of his house, and one of his Counsellors; which was Secretarie unto the King Don Alfonso, and unto King John, his Sonne, till his dying day; and by King Don

\*I know not who translated this Booke, I found it in Master Hackluyts papers, and have abbreviated it where I could; although it still continueth very long, if not tedious. I also examined it with Ramusio his Italian Edition, and in many places amended the translation, in many supplied it, and added other things: illustrating it with marginall notes, &c. He that compareth these Relations with those of the Great

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

[II. vii.

1027.]

Emanuel was sent Ambassadour unto King Prete Janni, have determined to write all things which hapned unto us in this Voyage, and to describe the Countries wherein we were, with the qualities, customes, and usages thereof, and how they agree with Christian Religion. Neither doe I here take upon me to reprehend or approve their customes and usages, but leave them wholly unto the Readers (which are able to instruct mee) to praise, amend, and correct whatsoever they shall thinke good. And because I may seeme sometimes speaking of one Countrie, and eftsoones of another, to confound the same together, I say, that wee were resident in these Countries for the space of sixe yeeres together, wherein I sought to know a great part of the Countries, Kingdomes, and Signiories of the said Prete Janni, and their customes and usages, some by sight, and some others by the report of credible persons. And ever, as I came to the knowledge of them, so I put them downe in writing, that is to say, delivering such things as I saw, as having seene them; and things reported, as received by hearing: and therefore I sweare and protest upon my conscience, that I will not wittingly report any untruth. And even as I hope and trust in our Lord God, that my confession shall be true unto my lives end, so likewise shall this my present writing be true: for he that lyeth to his neighbour, lyeth to God.

Mogoll in Sir T. Roe, shall find great correspondence in the uncivill customes whereinto wild Majestie and barbarous Greatnesse, both here and there, have degenerated: both vast bodies rather then strong; the one flourishing, the other fallen, and now retayning but the struggling extremes of that giantly unweldinesse here by this eye-witnesse in those times observed. He calls him Prete or Priest John, following the vulgar error, growing from the relations of a Priest John in Asia, and by ignorance applied to this Negus of Ethiopia, as in my Pilgrimage you may see at large. I esteeme his relations true in those things which he saith he saw: in some others which he had by relation of enlarging Travellers, or boasting Abassines, hee may perhaps sometimes rather mendacia dicere then mentiri. Even yet the Law-giver is not departed from Juda, if Melechs posteritie hath ever since raigned, wily wits had their pias fraudes to make Religion a stirrop of State.

## §. I.

Matthew the Ambassadors of Prete Janni, is conducted by the Portugals unto the Haven of Maczua in the red Sea, and what hapned to his death.

**W**Hereas I said that I went with Edward Galvano (whom God pardon) true it is that I did so, and he died in Comoran, an Ile of the red Sea, neither tooke his Ambassage any effect, during the time that Lopez Suarez was Captaine generall of the Indies. Diego Lopez de Sequeira succeeding Suarez in the government of India, effected that which Lopez Suarez would never execute, to wit, the conducting of Matthew (who was sent Ambassadors from Prete Janni to the King of Portugall) to the Haven of Maczua, neere unto Ercoco, being a Port-towne of Prete Janni. This Diego Lopez prepared a goodly and great Fleet, wherewith we sailed into the red Sea, and arrived at the said Iland of Maczua on Munday in the Octaves of Easter, the sixteenth of the moneth of Aprill, in the yeere 1520. which Iland we found abandoned and forsaken by the Inhabitants, because that five or sixe dayes before they had knowledge of our comming. This Ile is distant from the Continent about two Crosbow-shots, whither the Moores of the said Iland were fled with their goods. Our Fleet therefore riding betweene the Continent and the Iland, the Tuesday following, there came unto us one Christian and a Moore from the Towne of Ercoco. The Christian said that the Towne of Ercoco belonged to the Christians, and was under the Jurisdiction of a great Lord, called Barnagasso, being subject unto Prete Janni; and that the Inhabitants of this Ile of Maczua, and of Ercoco, when the Turkes came thither, fled all into the Mountaines; but at this present they would not flee away, having understood that wee were Christians.

*The Chapters, as they are divided in Ramusio, are expressed by the figures in the beginnings of the lines: which method I have reduced to our wonted forme of Paragraphs, lest so many divisions should make the Booke to swell over-much. Maczua or Mazua. Ercoco. 1520.*

*Barnagasso.*

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*Matthew the  
Ambassador  
of the Abas-  
sine.*

Our Generall having heard thus much, gave thanks to God, that he was come to the happie knowledge of Christians; and this procured great favour unto Matthew, which before that time was little accounted of.

2. The day following being Wednesday, the Captaine of the said Towne of Ercoco came to speake with our Generall, and presented foure Oxen unto him, and the Generall gave him very courteous and honourable entertainment.

*The Monas-  
terie of Bisan.*

Twentie or foure and twentie miles from this place standeth a very high Mountaine, with a famous Monasterie thereupon, which Matthew oftentimes made mention of, being called the Monasterie of Bisan, that is, Of the Vision. The Friars of this Monasterie having knowledge of us, came seven of them the Thursday after the Octaves, to visite us; whom our Generall and all his people went on shoare to meet, with great joy and gladnesse: and they seemed to rejoyce no lesse; and said, that they had long time looked for Christians, because they had certaine Prophetes in their written Booke, which foretold that Christians should arrive at this Haven, and that a pit should there be digged, after the opening whereof, no more Moores should dwell in that place: with many other Speeches tending to the like purpose. At all these things the Ambassadour Matthew was present, whom the fore-said Friars did greatly honour, kissing his hands and his shoulders, according to their manner; and he, on the other side, tooke great delight in them also. These Friars said that they observed then the Feast of Easter, and eight dayes next ensuing, and that during those eight dayes they used neither to travell, nor to doe any other work; but so soone as they heard say that Christians were arrived at that Haven (a thing which they so earnestly desired) they craved licence of their Superiour to undertake this journey for the service of God, and that Barnagasso was likewise informed of our arrivall, but that he would not set forward out of his house till eight dayes after Easter.

*Prophetes.*

✓

[II. vii.  
1028.]  
*Easter Rites  
by Monkes.*



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3. These Friars use to carrie Crosses in their hands, and other people weare them about their neckes, made of blacke wood, and all our companie bought of the same Crosses which they weare about their neckes, because it was a new thing, and not usuall amongst us. While these Friars abode with us, the Generall commanded one Fernando Diaz, which understood the Arabike Tongue, to goe and view their Monasterie.

4. On Tuesday the foure and twentieth of Aprill, Barnagasso came to the Towne of Ercoco, and gave us advertisement of his arrivall. Order was taken, that they should meet one another in the mid-way. Barnagasso came thither first, but he would not come to the place which was prepared for him. The Generall being lighted, seing that he would not come thither, caused the preparatives to be carried before neere unto the place where he stood: which againe, to maintayne his grandure and reputation, would not once stirre with his people to come unto the place prepared, so that the said Anthonie de Saldanza and Matthew the Ambassadour, were constrained to returne againe, which in the end resolved, that both of them at one instant, should set forward, that is to say, the Generall and Barnagasso, and so they did, meeting together and conferring in a large champaine field, as they sate on the ground upon certaine Carpets. And among many discourses that they had together, giving thanks to God for this their enterview. Barnagasso taking a Crosse of Silver in his hand (which was there readie for the same purpose) said, that he sware upon the signe of the Crosse, upon which our Lord suffered his Passion, in the Name of Prete Janni his Master, that he would alwaies favour and aide the people and affaires of the King of Portugals, and also assist his Captaines which should arrive at that Haven, or in any other Havens or Lands, where it lay in him to aide and assist them, and likewise that he would take into his protection the Ambassadour Matthew, and other Ambassadors, which it pleased the Generall to send into the Kingdomes and

*Comming of  
Barnagasso.*

*State observed.*

*League confirmed by  
Oath.*

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1520.

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Dominions of Prete Janni, with all such people and goods as they should carrie with them.

*Mutuell gifts.*

The Generall sware, on the other part, to doe the like for the Subjects and Affaires of Prete Janni, and of Barnagasso, there and in every place where he should find them, and that the rest of the Captaines and Lords of the King of Portugall should doe the like. The Generall gave unto Barnagasso a faire Armour, and certaine pieces of cloth of Silke; and Barnagasso gave unto the Generall a faire Horse and a Mule: and so they departed glad and contented on either part.

This Barnagasso had in his traine two hundred persons mounted upon Horses and Mules, and two thousand Footmen. Our Gentlemen and Captaines seeing these so good newes which God had sent us, and that a doore was opened to exalt the Catholike Faith, whereof afore wee had small hope of any successe, all men holding this Matthew for no true Ambassadour, but for a false man and a Counterfeit, whereupon they were onely of opinion to put him on Land, and let him goe his way, when they had seene these things (as wee have said before) they all rouzed up themselves, requesting the Generall of his favour, that hee would suffer them to goe with the said Matthew to Prete Janni, in that Ambassage; considering that by that which they had seene, it was perfectly knowne that the said Matthew was a true Ambassadour. And albeit, many requested this charge, yet was it granted to Roderigo de Lima: and the Generall appointed certaine that should goe with him, which were these, George de Breu, Lopez de Gama, John Scolaro Secretarie of the Ambassage, John Gonsalvez Interpretor and Factor of the same Ambassage, Emanuel de Mares an Organist, Pedro Lopez, Master John the Physician, Gaspar Pereira, Stephen Pagliarte, both Kinsmen of Don Roderigo, John Fernandez, Lazarus de Andrada Painter, Alfonso Menzdez, and my selfe, Francis Alvarez Priest, though unworthy. All we before mentioned went in the company of Don Roderigo, and likewise, three Portugals accompanied

*Roderigo de  
Lima, sent to  
the Prete in  
Embassage.*

*The use of a  
Painter in dis-  
coveries.*

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Matthew, of whom, the one was named Magaglianes, another Alvarenga, the third, Diego Fernandez, Presents also were provided.

We went to Ercoco, where we were appointed by Barnagasso, which caused us to lodge two or three Crossebow-shoots distant from the Towne in a certaine Plaine, which is at the foot of a Mountaine, whither immediately hee sent us of free gift an Oxe, and Bread and Wine of the Countrey. We stayed there, because in that place they were to provide us of Horses and Camels to carrie our goods. This was upon a Friday, and because in this Countrey they observe the old and the new Law, we rested the Saturday and the Sunday to keepe both those dayes holy.

✓  
*Saturday and  
Sunday  
Sabbaths.*

In this meane space, the Ambassador Matthew, dealt very effectually with Don Roderigo, and with us all, not to stay with Barnagasso, although hee were a great Lord, but that it was farre better to goe unto the Monastery of the Vision, where wee should have farre better dispatch. Whereupon, giving him to understand, that wee were not to stay with him, hee departed and went his way, neverthesse hee gave us fourteene Horses and tenne Camels to carrie our goods.

6. We departed out of this Plaine, neere unto the Towne of Ercoco on Munday, the thirtieth of Aprill, wee travelled not above two miles from that place, but that wee rested about noone, neere unto a River which was dried up, which had no water saving in certaine small Pits. And because the Countrey through which we were to travell, was dry and barren, and the heate extreame; each of us carried with him his Vessels and Bottles of Leather full of water. Upon the bankes of this River grew many trees of divers sorts, among which were Sallowes, and trees of bearing the fruit, called Jujuba, with other fruitlesse trees. While we rested by this River, about noone there came a Gentleman unto us, named Framasgual, which in our Language signifieth, The Servant of the Crosse, who in his blacknesse was so faire, that he seemed

[II. vii.  
1029.]

*Drought, heat,  
barrennesse.*

*Ginggiale.*

*A Gentleman.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Matthew  
suspicious.*

to be a Gentleman indeed, and they said that he was allyed to Barnagasso, that is to say, his Wives Brother. Before he came at us, he lighted from his Horse, because this is their custome, and they use it also for a courtesie. The Ambassadour Matthew, hearing of his comming, said he was a Thiefe, and came to rob us, and that we should all betake us to our Weapons; and Matthew himselfe caught up his Sword, and put on his Head-piece. Framasgual hearing this noyse, sent to crave leave to come unto us, and though he could not obtaine it of Matthew, yet neverthelesse, he came unto us as a man well brought up and very courteous, and as one that had beene conversant at the Court. This Gentleman had a very good Horse before him, and a faire Mule whereon hee rode, and foure men which went by him on foot.

*A Caravan.*

7. From this Lodging we departed all together, and the said Gentleman riding upon his Mule with his Horse before him, accosted our Ambassadour, Don Roderigo with his Interpreter, and they rode a great while conferring and devising together. Hee was in his conference and in his answeres very gentle, and courteous, and the Ambassadour tooke singular delight in him. Wee found a Caravan of Camels and people, which came from Ercoco, because they travell not but in Caravans for feare of theeves. Wee lodged all in a Wood where there was water, being an ordinary place for Caravans to lodge in, and the foresaid Framasgual remayned with us, where we and those of the Caravan kept watch all night for feare of wild beasts. The next morning, we departed from this place, alwayes travelling over dry Rivers and Brookes, most huge Mountaines standing on both sides of the way, with great Woods and Trees of divers sorts, most beautifull and tall, the greatest part whereof were without fruit, and among them were some which I my selfe knew, being called Tamarindi, which beare clusters of fruit like unto Grapes, which being pressed are somewhat blacke, because they make Wine of them, some quantitie whereof they carrie unto all their Faiores, as they use to make of Raisins. The Rivers and

*Dry Rivers.  
Mountaines  
and Woods.*

*Tamarinds.*

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wayes whereby we passed, seemed to be high and ragged, which commeth to passe through the fury of the water of stormes and tempests mingled with Thunder, which waters hinder not the way, according as they told us, and as we saw our selves in other places like unto these. The remedie was at the time of these stormes to stay upon the side of some Hill, the space of two houres, untill the force of these stormes be runne downe. And how great and terrible soever these Rivers became through the foresaid showres, the water is no sooner falne from the said Mountaines, and come into the Plaine, but it is dispersed and soked up, and never commeth unto the Sea: neither could we learne that any River of Æthiopia entereth into the Red Sea, but that all of them have their ending, as soone as they come to the low and plaine fields.

*Furious storms  
and thunders.*

*Strange sud-  
denesse of  
showres.*

Upon these Mountaines and Rockes, are many beasts of divers kinds, as we our selves saw, to wit, Elephants, Lions, Tygres, Buffes, Badgers, Ante, Deere without number, and other beasts of all sorts, saving two, which I neither saw, nor heard to be in those parts, that is to say, Beares, and Conies. There are likewise all kind of singing Birds, which may be imagined, and also Partridges, Quailes, wild Hens, Doves, and Turtles, in such incredible numbers, that they covered the Sunne, of all those sorts which are in our parts, saving that I saw no Pyes, nor Cuckoes. All along these Rivers and Rockes I saw great plentie of sweet Herbes, which I knew not, saving onely Basill, whereof there was exceeding store, which yeelded a fragrant and sweet smell, and had leaves of divers sorts.

*Many beasts.*

*Ante a kind of  
beast.*

*No Beares nor  
Conies.*

*Store of Basill  
and sweet  
Herbs.*

8. The time of resting our selves being come, Matthew determined to cause us a-new to leave the high way, and to travel with him toward the Monasterie of the Vision, through Mountaines and Woods exceeding full of high Trees.

We departed from this Lodging, and travelled through a more rough and craggie Countrey, and through farre

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*Matthews per-  
verseness to  
lead them  
way-lesse  
ways: con-  
trary to  
Framasguals  
liking.  
Wild beasts.*

*Millet.*

*Naked people.*  
[II. vii.  
1030.]

greater and thicker Woods, being our selves on foot, and our Mules before us, which were not able to travell. The Camels yelled out as though they had beene possessed with Devils. It seemed, to us all, that Matthew had brought us into this way, eyther to make us lose our lives or our goods, for in that place we could doe no other but call upon God to helpe us; and the Woods were so darke and fearefull, that Spirits would have beene afraid to passe them. We saw many savage and cruell beasts at noone-dayes, passing this way and that way, without being any whit afraid of us. For all this we went forward, and began to find people of the Countrey, which kept their fields that were sowne with Millet, and came farre off to sow it upon these high and craggie Mountaynes. We saw likewise many Herds of goodly Oxen, and Goats feeding. The said people which we found there, were all naked, and hid in a manner, no part of their bodies. They were very blacke, and were said to be Christians. They had their Wives with them, which covered their Privities with a ragge of cloth halfe torne. These women weare upon their heads a kind of attyre, made after the fashion of a Crowne, as blacke as Pitch, and their haire bound up in round wreathes like Kandles of Tallow: the blacknesse of these attyres, with these Lockes of haire fastned unto them, seemed a very strange thing to behold. The men weare a piece of skinne before their Privities.

Thus travelling forward through many other Woods which could hardly be passed, and wee our selves lighting on foot, and unlading our Camels there met us tenne or twelve Friers of the Monasterie of the Vision, among whom, there was foure or five very aged, and one older then the rest, whom all the rest did reverence, and kissed his hands; and our selves did the like, because Matthew told us that he was their Bishop, but afterward we knew that he was no Bishop; but that he had the Title of David, which signifieth a Warden; & that in the Monasterie there was another above him, whom they call Abba, which signifieth

*Matthew  
false.*

*David &  
Abba.*

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a Father, beeing like unto a Provinciall, and in regard of their age and drynesse (for they were as dry as a stocke) they seemed to be men of a holy life at the first blast. The foresaid Friers travelled through the Woods to gather their Millet which they had sowed, as also to gather up their Roots, which are payed unto them by such as sow Corne in those Mountaines and Woods. Their apparell was made of dressed Goat-skinnes, others weare apparell made of old yellow Cotton, and went bare-foot. From hence we departed not till our Camels had rested a little : afterward, within the space of halfe a mile, we came to the foot of a very rough and cragged Mountaine, upon the which our Camels could not ascend, and hardly the Mules without their burthens, and heere wee rested our selves at the foot of a Tree.

*Inaccessible  
Mountaine.*

9. The next day the Ambassador Matthew commanded his goods to be laden upon the backs of Negroes, to carry them into a small Monasterie, halfe a league distant from us, called Saint Michael de Iseo. Here Framasgual departed from us, and wee came unto the Monasterie halfe dead, as well for the roughnesse and steepnesse of the way, as also because of the great heat.

*S. Michael de  
Iseo.*

While we aboad there, the said Matthew came unto us with a counter-mand, and said unto us, that he had written unto the Court of Prete Janni, and to Queene Helena, and to Marke the Patriarke, and that the answere could not bee returned in lesse then fortie dayes, and that without the same we could not depart, because from that place they were to furnish us, and to have Mules for us, and for our goods ; neither was he well assured of the performance of this, but said that Winter began to approach, which lasted about the space of three monethes, wherein we could not travell, and that therefore it was needfull, that wee should provide victuals for our selves : for three monethes in the Winter they travell not in these Countries, to wit, from the midst of June to the midst of September, which is their ordinarie Winter. Within a short space after our arrivall here, our people as well Portugals as

*Their Winter  
from June to  
September.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*They fall sicke.* slaves fell so sick, that few or none escaped untouched, and many were sicke to the point of death, insomuch that they stood in need often to be let blood and to be purged. Among the first, Master John our Physician fell sicke, which was all our humane helpe, yet it pleased God that he recovered, and from that time forward he laboured for us with all his power.

*Matthew  
dieth.  
The death of  
Matthew, the  
Abassine  
Ambassadour.*

Among these, Matthew the Ambassadour fell sicke also, which had many Medicines ministred unto him, and when he seemed to be very well recovered and strong, he rose up and commanded his goods to be carryed to a Towne belonging to the Monasterie of the Vision, where he yeelded up his spirit unto our Lord, which was the foure and twentieth of May, Anno Dom. 1520. and I confessed him, and ministred the Communion unto him, and he made his will in the Portugall Tongue, but it was also made in the Abassin Tongue, by a Frier of the said Monastery. We caused the corps to bee buried very honorably in the said Monastery, where wee said Service and Masse for him according to our custome, and the Friars did the like according to theirs.

*Abassines  
untrustie, and  
therefore  
mistrustfull.*

10. Wee determined, to send to request Barnagasso, that hee would give us some meanes to returne into our Countrey, to the end wee might not perish in that place. The Friars understanding this, tooke it in very ill part, and calling Don Roderigo aside, perswaded him not to send thither, praying him to attend the comming of the Provinciaall, which would bee within ten dayes, and if he come not, they would furnish us with necessaries for our journies. And because they are people of small trust themselves, they gave no credit unto us, although the Ambassadour had promised them to doe so, but sought to minister an Oath unto each of us upon a Crucifixe, that we would stay during those tenne dayes, and they likewise tooke an Oath to performe that which they had promised.



## §. II.

[II. vii.  
1031.]

Of the manner and situation of the Monasteries,  
and of their holy Rites, Times, Places, and  
Things: And first of this of Saint Michael.

11. **F**irst, this Monasterie is situate upon the cragge  
of a Mountaine, which is very wild, seated at  
the foot of another huge Mountaine, upon the  
which no man can ascend. The stone of these Rockes is  
of the colour and graine of the stone, wherewith the wall  
of the Cities of Portugall are built, and the stones are  
verie great. All the ground except these stones is covered  
with many great Woods, and the greatest part are wild  
Olive Trees, and great store of Herbs grow among them,  
and the most part is Basill. The Trees which were not  
Olives, were not knowne of us, and all of them were  
without fruit. In certaine narrow Vallies, which belong  
to this Monasterie, were Groves of Orange-trees, Limons,  
Cedars, Vines, and Figs of all sorts, as well of those which  
are found in Portugall, as those of India, and Peaches:  
there were also Cabbages, Corianders, Cressis, Worme-  
wood, Mirtles, and many other kindes of Herbes fragrant  
and medicinall: and all was ill husbanded, because they  
are people of no industrie; and the Earth bringeth forth  
the things aforesaid, as it bringeth forth wild things, and  
would bring forth much better, all they should plant or  
sow. The House of the Monasterie seemeth, indeed, to  
bee a Church-building beeing made like unto ours: it  
hath about it a circuit like to a Cloyster, and the covering  
above is fastned to the covering of the Church. It hath  
three gates, as ours have, to wit, one chiefe gate in the  
fore-front, and one on each side in the midst. The  
covering of the Church, and of the circuit is made of wild  
Reed, which lasteth the life of a man.

*Orchards.**The Abassins  
not industrious.**The building  
of the  
Monasterie.*

The body of the Church is made with Iles, very well  
wrought, and the Arches are very well stored, it seemeth  
all to be made like a Vault: It hath a little Quire behind

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the great Altar, with a Crosse afore it, whereupon hang Curtaines which goe from one side to another; and likewise, there are other Curtaines before the Gates, passing from one Wall to another, and they are of Silke, and the entrie by these Curtaines is at three places, and are fastned against the Walls: and at these three entrances or gates, are little Bels fastned to the Curtaines, about the bignesse of Saint Anthonies Bels; and a man cannot enter in at the gates, but these Bels will ring. There is but one Altar belonging to the whole Church, which standeth in the great Chappell. Above the Altar is a Cloath of Gold borne up with foure pillars, and the Altar toucheth all these foure Pillars, and the said Cloath of Gold is hollow like a Vault, it hath his Super-Altare, or consecrated stone, which they call Tabuto, and upon this stone standeth a very great Bason of Copper, and it is flat in the bottome, and is low brimmed, which reacheth unto all the foure Pillars of the Altar, because the Pillars are set in a square, and in the said Bason is set another lesser Bason, and on every side of this cloth of Gold, that is to say, behind and on both sides a Curtaine hangeth downe which covereth the whole Altar downe to the ground, saving that it is open before.

*Little Bels.*

*Bels of stone.*

*Basons used  
for Bels.*

*Iron Bels.*

Their Bels are of stone, that is to say, long and thin stones, hanged up with Cords, and they beat them on the inside with a piece of wood, and they make a very strange sound, like to the sound of broken Bels when they are heard afarre off. And likewise on Festivall dayes, they take Basons, and strike them with certaine small stickes, which make them sound very loud. They have likewise Bels of Iron, which are not fully round, but have two sides like unto the Jacket of a Muletier, whereof the one part covereth him before, and the other behind; they have a clapper which beateth the same first on the one side, and then on the other, and it maketh a sound like unto a man that diggeth Vines. They have also other Bels ill-favouredly made, which they carrie in their hands when they go on Procession, and ring them altogether upon

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Festivall dayes, on other dayes they use their Bels of stone, and of Iron; they ring to Mattens two houres before day, and they say them by heart without light: onely there hangs a Lampe before the Altar, wherein they burne Butter, for they have no Oyle.

*Darke  
Mattens.*

*Butter used  
for Oyle.*

*They stand  
away in the  
Church.*

They sing and say with a loud and harsh voice, as of one that cryeth, without any art of singing: they say no Verses, but their speech is as it were in Prose, and yet they are Psalmes, and on their Holidayes, besides their Psalmes, they say Prose, and according to the Feasts so is their Prose, and alwayes they stand on their feet in the Church. They say not above one Lesson at their Mattens, with a harsh, disordered and untuneable voice, and like unto that wherein wee pronounce the words of the Jewes, in representing the Passion of our Saviour Christ. And although their voice be so harsh, yet they speake it running, as fast as the tongue of a man can wagge, and a Clerke or a Frier saith the same; and this Lesson is read before the principall gate.

*Undevout  
devotions.*

Which being ended on Saturday and Sundayes, they goe on Procession with foure or five crosses, being carryed upon certaine staves not very high; and they carrie the same in their left hands, because in their right hand they carrie a Censer, and alwayes there are so many Censers as there be Crosses. They weare certaine Copes of Silke, but rudely made, for they be no broader then the breadth of a piece of Damaske, or of any other piece of Silke from the upper part to the neather part; and on the breast before, they have a traverse; and on both sides they sewe a piece of other Cloth of what colour soever, although it agree not with the principall; and of the principall Cloth they let a traine hang downe upon the ground. They make this Procession in their Circuit, which is like unto a Cloister. Which being ended on Saturdayes, and Sundayes, and Festivall dayes, he which is to say Masse, with two others, enter into the Chappell, and take out an Image of our Ladie, which they have in an old Cell (for in all Churches they have of their \* Cells) and they

*Procession.*

*Censers and  
Crosses.*

[II. vii.

1032.]  
*Copes and  
other holy  
Vestments.*

*Image of our  
Lady.  
\* Ancone.*

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*Candles.*

put it on a Crozier, turning the face toward the principall gate, and this Image holdeth her hand before her breast, and they which stand on both sides of it hold lighted Candles in their hands, and then they which are before it beginne to sing in manner of prose, and they goe all crying and dancing as if they were in a Towne-dance. And going before this Image with this their song or prose, they ring their little Bells and Cymbals with the like sound, and as often as any chanceth to passe before this Image they doe great reverence to it, which seemeth to the beholder to be done with great desire of devotion: and so they carrie in this Feast Crosses and Censers, as they did in their Procession.

*The manner of  
ministring the  
Communion  
among the  
Ethiopians.  
Great unlea-  
vened Cake.*

When this is ended, which continueth for a long space, they salute the Image, and then they goe unto a certaine closet, which standeth toward the North; and that part where the Gospell is said, according to our Masse, is without the circuit, wherein they make the Host, which they call Corbon, and they carrie Crosses, Censers, and Bells with them, and from hence they bring a Cake of Wheat-flowre unleavened, newly made, very white and very faire, of the bignesse and roundnesse of a great Paten, because there are but a few people in this Monasterie: but in other Monasteries and Churches (whereof there be many) they make this Cake great or small according to the number of the people, for all doe communicate, and according to the breadth so they make the thicknesse, either halfe a finger, or a whole finger, or a thumbe thicke: and they carrie this Cake in the little Bason which is one of them that belong to the Altar covered with a cloth, with a Crosse and Censer, and a Bell ringing afore them. Behind the Church where that Quire is, which they hold as a Cloister, no man may stand which is not in holy Orders,\* but all of them must stand before the principall gate, where there is another great circuit which all Churches have, but it is not covered, and there may stand any man that list.

*\* An order  
sometimes so  
strictly  
observed, that  
Saint Amb.  
sent Theodosius  
to remove, &c.  
Procession  
with the Host.*

When they goe in Procession with this Cake, all they

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which stand in the Church and in the circuit, when they heare the little Bell, bow downe their heads untill the Bell cease, which is, when they set it upon the Altar in the lesser Bason which is set (as I said before) in the greater Bason, and they cover it with a blacke Cloth like unto a Corporall. This Monasterie hath a Chalice of Silver, and likewise in all principall Churches and Monasteries they have Chalices of Silver, and in some they have Chalices of Gold. In the Churches of the poorer people (which they call the Churches of the Balgues, that is to say, of the Husbandmen) they have brazen Chalices. These vessels are more wide then ours are, but evill made; but they have no covers. They powre into the Chalice, wine made of Raisins in great quantitie; for, as many as receive the Bodie, receive also the Bloud.

*Chalices of  
Gold, Silver,  
Brasse.*

*Wine of  
Raisins.  
Communion in  
both kinds.  
Rather speak-  
ing then  
singing.*

Hee that is to say this Masse, beginneth, saying Halleluia, with a lowd voyce, rather speaking then singing, and all the companie answeare him; and then he holdeth his peace, and beginneth to blesse them with a little Crosse which he carrieth in his hand; and as well they that are about, as those which are within beginne to sing, untill a certaine time, when as one of them two that stand at the Altar take a Booke, and receiveth blessing of him that sayeth Masse, and the other taketh a Crosse, and a Bell, and goeth ringing the same toward the principall gate, where all the people standeth in that circuit; and there he readeth the Epistle running very fast with his tongue, and afterwards singing returneth backe to the Altar: suddenly he which singeth the Masse taketh a Booke from the Altar, kissing the same, and giveth it to him which is to say the Gospell, which boweth downe his head, and asketh him blessing; which when hee hath received, as many as stand at the Altar doe kisse the same, a candle is borne with this Booke, and he which reads the Gospell, readeth it as the Epistle was read, very hastily, and with as high a sound as his tongue can utter, and his voyce can beare: and returning to the Altar, on the way he beginneth likewise another song, and those which goe

*The Epistle.*

*The Gospell.*

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*Kissing the  
Booke.*

with him follow him : and when they be come to the Altar, they give the Booke to kisse to him that sayeth Masse, and so they put it in its place.

*Censing.*

And suddenly, he which sayeth Masse, taketh a Censer, and censeth the upper part of the Altar, and they goe often about it and cense the same. When they have done these

*Blessing with  
crossing.*

blessings, he turneth to the Altar, and blesseth it very often with the Crosse, and then hee uncovereth the Cake which he had covered in stead of the Sacrament, and taketh it up in both his hands, and lifting up his right hand the Cake remayneth in his left hand, and with his thumb he maketh five signes like prickes, that is to say, one in the top, another in the midst, another in the bottome, and the other two on both sides ; and therewithall he consecrateth it in his owne Language, with the very words that we use, and he useth no elevation. The very same he

*Consecration  
in the vulgar  
Tongue.*

*No elevation.*

[II. vii.]

1033.]

doth over the Cup, and lifteth it not up, he sayth over the same, the very words that wee use in his owne Tongue, and he covereth it, and taketh the Sacrament of the Bread in his hands, and breaketh it in twaine, and of the part that is in his left hand, hee breaketh a little Morsell of the top of the same, and the other two pieces hee layeth the one upon the other. The Priest taketh this little Morsell for himselfe, and likewise taketh part of the Sacrament of the bloud, and after he taketh the Bason with the covered Sacrament, and giveth it to him which hath said the Gospell, and likewise he taketh the Chalice with the Sacrament, and giveth it to him which read the Epistle : and suddenly they give the Communion to the Priests which stand at the Altar, receiving a small piece of Sacrament out of the Bason, which a Deacon holdeth in his right hand ; and while the Deacon giveth the same, a Sub-Deacon taketh of the bloud in a spoone of Gold, of Silver, or of Copper, according to the abilitie of the Church, and giveth it unto him which receiveth the Sacrament of the body in very small quantitie : and on the other side, standeth another Priest with a little Vessell of holy Water, and powreth into the palme of his hand,

*Deacon and  
Sub-deacon.  
The Wine  
administred  
with a spoone.*

*Holy Water.*

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which receiveth the Communion, a litle of that water, wherewith he washeth his mouth, and afterward swalloweth it up.

This being done, they all goe to the Altar with this Sacrament, before the first Curtaine, and in this sort they give the Communion to them which stand there, and afterward to all those of the other Curtaine, and lastly, to the Secular people which stand at the principall gate, as well men as women, if the Church be such that women may bee suffered to come thither: at the giving of the Communion, and at all other divine Services all stand

*Standing.*

upon their feet: and when they goe to receive the Communion, all of them come with their hands lifted up before their shoulders, with the palmes of their hands spread abroad before them: and when any man receiveth the Sacrament of the bloud, he receiveth of that Holy Water, as I said before. And also generally al such as are to receive the Communion before the Masse, use to wash

*Washing.*

their hands with water, which is placed in all Churches and Monasteries for this purpose. The Priest which saith the Masse, and they which stood with him at the Altar (the Communion being ended) returne unto the Altar, and wash the Bason wherein the Sacrament was put with the water remayning in the Vessell, which they say is Holy Water: this Water is put into the Chalice, and he which said Masse drinketh it up all. This done, one

of the Ministers of the Altar taketh a Crosse and a sacring Bell, and beginning a little Song, goeth to the principall gate where the Epistle and Gospell were read, and where they ceased to give the Communion, and all they which are in the Church, and without the Church, incline their heads and take their leaves, saying, That this is the blessing, and that without this no man may depart. On Saturdaies and Sundaies, and Feastivall daies, in all Churches and Monasteries, they use to give holy Bread. The forme of Ceremonies which this little Monasterie useth (which hath not above twentie or five and twentie Friers) is observed in all other Monas-

*No man may  
depart without  
the blessing.*

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## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Short Masse.*

teries and Churches. The service of the Masse, (except the Processions) is very short, because the Masse in the weeke daies, is ended almost as soone as it is begun.

*Manner of making the Cake.*

12. The manner how they make the Cake aforesaid, is this: The house where they make it in all Churches & Monasteries, is placed (as is said before) toward that part where the Gospel is said without the Church, and the covered circuit, which is as a Cloyster in all Churches and Monasteries: and they use the other circuit which is without and not covered, as a Churchyard. This house is as bigge as the Quire behind the great Altar, and somewhat bigger, and in all Churches and Monasteries they

*House of purpose for it.*

have nothing else in that house, but that which serveth for this businesse; to wit, a Staffe to beate the corne out of the eares, and an Instrument to grinde the Meale, because they make it very white, as is convenient for such a purpose: because they make not the said Sacrament with Meale or Wheate, wherein Women have put their hands.

*No women may touch the Meale.*

They have Earthen Platters, wherein they knead the Meale, and they make the Dow harder then we make it, they make a little Oven like a Still to Still Water, and upon the same a plate of Iron, (and some Churches have it of Brasse, and some others of Bricke) which is round, with a large compasse, and they put the fire underneath it, and when it is hot, they make it cleane with a course cloath, and then lay a good piece of this Dow upon it, and spread it abroad with a Woodden Knife, as broad as they will have it, and make it very round, and when the Cake is baked they take it away, lay it aside, and make another after the same fashion; and this second Cake after it is likewise ready, they take the former, and lay it thereupon, to wit, that side which was uppermost they turne downe-ward, and so both these two Cakes are laid together, as they were one Cake, and they doe nothing all the while but turne and tosse them upon this Plate, untill they bee baked beneath and above, and on every side, and so they make as many as they will. In the same house

*The Oven.*

*The Raisins.*

are also the Raisins where-with they make their Wine,



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and the Instrument where-with they presse the same. In these houses also is the Holy Bread made, which is distributed on the Saturdaies and Sundaies, and other Feativall dayes, and when their great Feasts are held, as Christmas, Easter, and our Lady of August, they fetch out this Sacrament of Bread with a Vestment, \* Bels and Crosses, very devoutly, and before they enter into the church therewith, they go once about the circuit, which is like unto a Cloyster, but when it is not Holy day they go strait into the Church. The Saturday before Ascension day when we use to say our Letanies, these Friers made a Procession, and because we were strangers in the Countrey, it seemed a goodly sight unto us, and it was on this wise: they tooke Crosses and a consecrated stone of the Altar with great reverence, covered with cloth of Silk, & a Frier which carryed it on his head, was likewise wholly covered with the like cloth of Silke: they carryed also Bookes, Bels, Censers, and holy water, and went into certaine fields sowed with Millet, and there they made their Devotions, with cryes after the manner of Letanies, and with this Procession they returned unto the Monasterie. And when we asked them wherefore they did this, they said, because the Wormes doe eate their Corne, therefore they went to sprinkle them with Holy Water, and pray to God to take them away. He which saith Masse, hath no other difference in his apparell from a Deacon and Sub-deacon, saving a long Stole slit in the midst, so that hee may thrust his head through it, and behind and before it reacheth downe to the ground. The Friers which say Masse weare their haire long, and the Priests weare it not, but are shorne, and so they say Masse, and are alwayes bare-footed, and no man may come shod into the Church, and for this purpose they alleage that which God said unto Moses, Put off thy shooes, for the place where thou standest is holy ground.

*Holy Bread.*

*\*Patio.*

[II. vii.  
1034.]

*Rogation, or  
ganging Pro-  
cession.*

*Sprinkling  
Wormes with  
Holy Water to  
kill them.*

*Bare-footed in  
imitation of  
Moses.*

13. In this Monasterie of Saint Michael, where we were, we said Masse every day, not in the Monasterie, but in the circuit which is like a Cloyster: because in this

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*But one Masse  
a day.*

Countrey they say but one Masse a day in every Church or Monasterie. The Friers came unto our Masse with great devotion, as they seemed, and supplied our want with Censers and Incense, because wee had brought none with us: and they thinke it an ill thing to say Masse without Incense, and they said that all things seemed well unto them, saving that they thought it not commendable for one Priest alone to say Masse, because among them they use not to say Masse, except they bee three, or five, or sixe, and all these stand at the Altar. Also, they misliked that we went with our shooes into the Church, and much more when we did spit in the Church. But wee excused our selves, saying; That this was the fashion in our Countrey. And so wee said Masse every day untill Trinitie Sunday, and when the Munday after the said Trinitie Sunday came, then they would suffer us to say no more Masse in the morning, and we marveiling thereat, and not well pleased, and having at that instant no Interpreter to learne wherefore they would not suffer us to say Masse, at length we understood, that which by experience afterward we saw, to wit; that they observe the Old Testament in their fasting; for they fast very straitly in the Lent, which they begin the Munday after the Sunday of Sexagesima, which are ten dayes before our Shrovetide, and so they make their Lent of fiftie dayes, and say that they take those dayes before, for the Saturdayes on which they doe not fast: and their Fast is to eate at even-tide, and every day they receive the Communion, and therefore they say not Masse but in the evening, and when Masse is done, they receive the Communion and then goe to supper. And like as they have these fiftie dayes of fast, so they take as many dayes after Easter and Whitsontide, wherein they fast not at all; and when it is not fasting day, they say Masse in the morning, and all those dayes they eate flesh without observing any one of them, and say Masse in the mornings, and strait way goe to dinner because they fast not.

*Many Priests  
necessary to  
our Masse.*

*Shooes and  
spitting in  
Churches  
misliked.*

*The great fasts  
which these  
Religious men  
use.*

*In Fasts, no  
eating till  
Sunne be  
downe.*

When this time is ended, and Trinitie Sunday past,

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all the Clerkes and Friers are bound to fast every day saving Saturdayes, Sundayes, and this Fast continueth untill Christmasse day. And because they fast all, they say Masse at night, alleaging for prooffe hereof the Supper of Christ, how that it was fasting time, and almost night when he consecrated his Bodie. But commonly, the Lay-people as well men as women are bound to fast weekly on Wednesdayes and Fridayes, from Trinitie Sunday untill Advent: and from Christmasse Day till the Purification of the Virgin Marie (which they call the Feast of Saint Simeon) they fast not at all. The three dayes after the Purification being not Saturday nor Sunday, are an exceeding strait Fast for the Clerkes, Friers, and Lay-people, for they say that they eate but once in all these three dayes, and they call it the Fast of Ninive. These three dayes being ended, untill the beginning of Lent, they fast againe as they did before, untill the Feast of the holy Trinitie. In the Advent and all the Lent the Clearkes, the Friers, the Laitie, the men and women, small and great, sound and sicke doe all fast. And likewise, from Easter unto Trinitie Sunday, and from Christmasse unto the Purification, the Masse is said in the morning because there is no Fast, all the rest of the yeare it is said in the evening because they fast.

*A fast from  
Trinity  
Sunday till  
Christmasse.*

*Lay Fast till  
Advent.*

*Fast of  
Ninive.*

The Monasterie where we buried Matthew, is distant from this wherein we aboad three miles space of very bad way, & it is called, The Monastery of the Vision of Jesus. It is seated upon the point of a Rocke exceeding high, and from every part as a man looketh downward, there is a Valley which seemeth to be as deepe as Hell. The Church of the Monasterie is very great of bodie, & greater in revenues, and is very well disposed and governed. It is built with three great allies or walkes, which are very finely made with their Arches and their Vaults, which seeme to bee made of wood, because they are all painted over, so that a man cannot perceiue whether the Church be built of stone, or of wood. It hath two walking places in forme of a Cloyster about the bodie of the Church,

*The situation  
and forme of  
the Monasterie  
intituled, The  
Vision of Jesus.  
Dreadfull  
Valley.  
Forme of the  
Church.*

A.D.  
1520.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

[II. vii.  
1035.]  
*Saint George  
on horse-backe  
in all their  
Churches.  
Saints in  
Arras.*

*Images in a  
Vestry.*

which are both covered and painted with the Pictures of the Apostles, and Patriarkes, and with the storie of all the Old Testament, and with Saint George on Horse-backe, which is to be seene in all their Churches. And likewise, there is in the same a great piece of Arras, wherein is woven a Crucifixe, our Ladie, the Apostles, the Patriarkes, and Prophets, and every one hath his title or name in Latine, which sheweth that the same worke was not made in those Countries. There are also many ancient Images, which stand not upon the Altars, because it is not their fashion, but they keepe them in a Vestry lapped up with many Bookes, and they bring them not forth but on Holydayes.

*Hard Dyet.*

*Novices.*

*They aboad  
six yeares in  
Æthiopia.*

In this Monasterie there is a great Kitchin, with all things thereto appertayning, with a great roome to dine in, where they sate altogether, and they eat three and three in a Treen dish which is not very deepe, but plaine like unto a wooden Platter. Their Dyet is very homely, their Bread is made of Millet and of Barley, and of another Seed which they call Tafo, which is small and blacke. This Bread they make round, about the bignesse of an Apple of Adam, and they give three of these to each one, and unto the Novices they give three of them betweene two, and I wonder greatly to thinke how they can live with so little a quantitie. Likewise, they give each of them a little fresh fish without Oyle or Salt. Of the selfesame Dyet, they send so many aged and honorable Friers, towards whom they use great reverence, which come not unto the dining hall. And if any man aske me how I know this, I answere, that besides that which I saw when we buried Matthew, the greatest part of the sixe yeares which wee aboad in Æthiopia, our Lodging was not farre from the said Monastery, so that I departed oftentimes from our house upon my Mule, and came in the evening to the Monasterie, and for the most part I went to passe the time with the Friers, and principally at their Festivall times, and I learned many things of them concerning their Affaires, Revenues, Usages, and Customes.

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An hundred Friers are commonly in this Monasterie, and the most part of them are very aged, and as dry as a stocke, few of them are young. There are also many little children, of eight yeares old and upward, which they bring up, and many of them are lame and blind. This Monasterie is walled round about, and hath no entrie but by two gates which are alwayes shut.

14. This Monasterie is the head of sixe Monasteries, which stand about the same among these Mountaines, and that which is farthest, is not past nine and twentie or thirtie miles off, and all of them are subject and yeeld obedience unto this Monasterie. In every one of them there is a David, that is to say, a Warden placed by the Abbot or Provinciaall, and that Monasterie which hath a David, that is to say, a Warden is subject to the Abbot, which is as Provinciaall. I alwayes heard reported, that there were about three thousand Friers in this Monasterie, and because I doubted much thereof, I came once to their Feast of our Ladie in August, to see how many were assembled there together: and surely, I tooke pleasure when I beheld the riches of this place, in a certaine Procession which they made, and in my judgement, the Friers were not above three hundred, and the greatest part of them were old men. I saw a great circuit, which this Monasterie hath about two places, which are like to Cloysters, which circuit is open; but at that time it was all covered over with great and small Clothes of Gold, Velvets of Mecca, all long pieces sewed one unto another, to hang round about that circuit, through which they made a goodly Procession, all clad in Copes of the said Cloth of Gold, but made ill-favouredly, as I have said before. They carried fiftie Crosses of Silver, small and badly made, and as many Brazen Censers; when they said Masse I saw a great Chalice of Gold, and a Spooone of Gold, wherewith they gave the Communion. And of the three hundred which were assembled in this Monastery, there were very few of mine acquaintance: I enquired of certaine of my friends, wherefore seeing so many Friers

*Six other Cels  
subject to this  
Monastery of  
the Vision, as  
in times past S.  
Albans and  
other great  
Abbeys here  
had.  
Three thou-  
sand Friers.*

*Three hundred  
Friers, most  
old men.*

*Their riches.*

*Abassines bad  
Artificers.*

A.D.  
1520.

## PURCHAS HIS PILGRIMES

*Yong Friers  
earne their  
living.*

belonged to this Monastery, as they said, so few were present at so great a Solemnitie : they answered me that the number was greater then they looked for, because they are divided in other Monasteries, Churches, and Faieres to earne their living as long as they be yong : for they cannot be maintayned in the Monastery, but by their owne industrie, and when they are so old that they cannot travell, they come to end their dayes at this Monastery. This day I saw seventene yong men taken into Orders.

*Philip, an  
Erroneous  
Saint.*

In this Monastery is the buriall of an Abbot or Provinciall, called Philip, and his workes of Holinesse were very great : for they say, that there was once a King or Prete Janni, which ordained that they should not keepe the Saturday holy throughout all his Kingdomes and Dominions. And this Philip repaired immediately unto him with his Brethren and with many Bookes, and shewed him how God had commanded that the Sabbath Day should bee observed, and that whosoever observed it not should be stoned. This man disputed this question before all the religious men of Æthiopia, and was commended before the King : and therefore they take him to bee a Saint, and they observe an Holy-day unto him every yeare in the moneth of July, which they call the Fascar of Philip, which sinifieth the Testament or Memorie of Saint Philip. And therefore the Inhabitants of this Countrey and Monasterie are more infected with this Jewish Heresie, then any other part of the Dominions of Prete Janni, although all of them bee in part infected : but these are more then any others. I have seene them with mine eyes seethe fish on the Sabbath, and bake bread also : and on the Sabbath in this Monastery, they make no fire at all : on the Sunday following, they make readie all things needfull for their Dyet, and I came twice to this Fascar of Philip, at which times they received me with great honour. And at this Feast yearely, they kill many Oxen, and at one of them I saw them kill thirtie, and at another eight and twentie, which were offered by the Inhabitants their Neighbours, for devotion unto this Philip, and they give

*Holy day to  
him.*

*Difference of  
Rites.*

[II. vii.  
1036.]

*Oxen offered  
to Philips feast.*

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1520.

this flesh raw to all the people, that come to the Fascar without any bread at all. The Friers eate no kind of flesh.

They sent me yearely two great fat quarters of beefe, with much bread and wine of Honey, which likewise the Friers drinke not in the Monastery, but when they are abroad with us Portugals, they drinke wine and eate flesh if they be but one alone, but if they be two, they doe it not, for feare the one of the other. This Monastery and all the rest which are subject to it, observe an order, that no woman may enter into it, nor shee Mules, nor Kine, nor Hens, nor any other beast of the female kind. This I both learned and saw my selfe; for when I came thither a Crosse-bow shoot distant from the Monastery, they came to take my Mule, not suffering mee to come with her to the Monastery, and they sent her to a house of theirs, called Giangargara, where Matthew died. They kill their Kine and Hens, a certaine distance from the Monasterie. I saw but one Cocke in the Monastery with two bels at his legs, without Hennes, and they said, that they kept him to crow at the time of their Mattens. If any woman come into the house, they know it, for oftentimes I asked certaine children which were brought up there, whose Sonnes they were, and they named unto me, the Friers for their Fathers, and so I know the yong Friers to be called the Sonnes of all the old Friers.

*Friers eate  
no flesh.  
Wine of  
Honey, or  
Mead.*

*No woman nor  
beast of the  
female sexe  
may come  
neere this  
Monastery.*

END OF VOLUME VI.





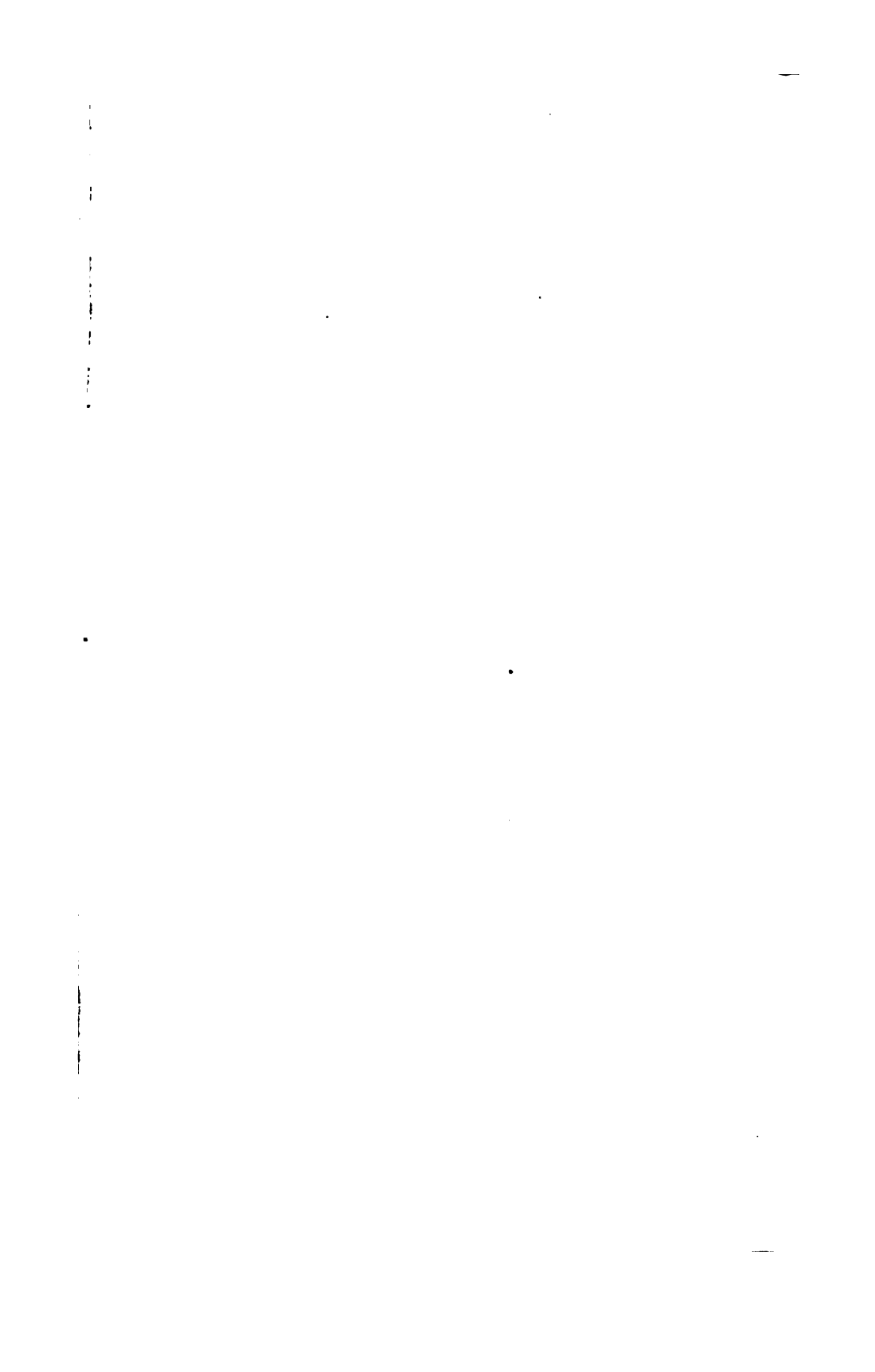


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